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TRANSACTIONS

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OF THE

GENEALOGY DEPARTMENT

MORAVIAN

HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

1857-58.

Part I.

PERIODICALS RECEIVED

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TRANSACTIONS

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OF THE

MORAVIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

1857-58.

NAZARETH.
1859.

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CONSTITUTION

OF THE

MORAVIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ARTICLE I. This Association shall be called "THE MORAVIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY," and its object shall be the elucidation of the History of the Moravian Church in America, not, however, to the exclusion of the general History of the Moravian Church.

ARTICLE II. The Society shall be composed of such persons as have been, or may be, admitted, from time to time, according to its laws and regulations.

ARTICLE III. The Officers of the Society shall be annually chosen, by a majority of ballots, at the Stated Meeting in February, and shall consist of a President, a Vice-President from every congregation, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, and a Librarian.

ARTICLE IV. It shall be the duty of the President, or in his absence, of the Vice-Presidents, in rotation, to preside at the meetings of the Society, to preserve order, to regulate the debates, to state motions and questions, and to announce the decisions thereupon. If neither the President nor any of the Vice-Presidents be

present at a meeting, the Society may choose a member to act as President at that meeting.

ARTICLE V. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct and have charge of the correspondence of the Society, and shall assist the Recording Secretary in the reading of all letters and other documents at the meetings.

ARTICLE VI. The Recording Secretary shall keep full and correct minutes of the proceedings of the Society, and shall transcribe the same into a book of record. He shall give due notice of any Special Meeting that may be called.

ARTICLE VII. The Treasurer shall have charge of the moneys and other funds belonging to the Society. He shall collect the contributions of the members, and other income of the Society, and shall pay such claims against the Society as shall have been duly examined and ordered to be paid. He shall present, at the Annual Meeting, a statement of his receipts and expenditures during the preceding year, with a full report on the financial condition of the Society.

ARTICLE VIII. The Librarian shall have charge of the books, manuscripts, and other property in the rooms of the Society, and shall arrange and preserve the same in proper and convenient order. He shall keep a Catalogue of the books, manuscripts, and other donations, with the names of the donors. At the Annual Meeting he shall present a report to the Society, embracing an account of his administration of the Library, and of its condition during the preceding year.

ARTICLE IX. Vacancies which may occur in any of the above-named offices shall be filled by an election at the next Stated Meeting after such vacancy shall have been announced to the Society; but such election shall be only for the unexpired term of the person vacating the office.

ARTICLE X. The Society shall hold Stated Meetings on the second Monday evening of every month. Special Meetings may be called by the President, or, in his absence, by any of the Vice-Presidents, at the written request of at least three members of the Society; of which meetings due notice must be given. The members present at any meeting shall constitute a quorum. The Annual Meeting shall be held on the third Wednesday in October.

ARTICLE XI. No alteration shall be made in this Constitution unless the proposed amendments shall have been drawn up in writing and read to the Society at three successive Monthly Stated Meetings. Nor shall any such amendment be considered as adopted unless sanctioned by the votes of three-fourths of the members present at the meeting when the question shall be taken upon its adoption.

Proviso. Article XI. shall not go into force until the Society shall have existed six months.

LAWS OF THE

MORAVIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ARTICLE I. Any person belonging to the Moravian Church may become an active member upon application to any officer of the Society.

ARTICLE II. Any person not belonging to the Moravian Church may be elected an honorary member at the next Stated Meeting after his name shall have been proposed, as a candidate, to the Society.

ARTICLE III. Those active members shall be deemed qualified voters at the meetings and elections, who have subscribed the Constitution, and who have paid all their dues to the Society.

ARTICLE IV. All active members shall pay an annual contribution of not not less than half a dollar. The payment of ten dollars, at one time, by a member not in arrears to the Society, shall constitute him a member for life, with an exemption from all future annual payments. And any member liable to an annual contribution, who shall neglect or refuse to pay the same for the term of two years, shall be notified by the Treasurer, in writing, that his rights as a member are suspended; and, in case the said arrears are not paid when the third annual contribution shall have become due, the membership of such defaulting member shall then be forfeited,

his name stricken from the roll, and reported to the Society by the Treasurer.

ARTICLE V. Honorary members may attend any meeting of the Society.

ARTICLE VI. At the Stated Meeting in October five Managers shall be chosen by the Society, who, together with the officers of the Society, shall constitute an Executive Committee, with full power to direct the business affairs of the Society; and they shall meet on the fourth Monday of every month. Four members shall constitute a quorum.

ARTICLE VII. All Committees shall be chosen, unless the Society shall otherwise direct, on nominations previously made and seconded, the question being taken on the appointment of each member of the committee separately. The member first elected of any committee shall be chairman, and considered responsible for the discharge of the duties of the committee. A majority of any Special Committee shall be a quorum.

ARTICLE VIII. The Executive Committee shall present, at the Annual Meeting, a report upon the transactions and general condition of the Society during the preceding year.

OFFICERS OF THE MORAVIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

President.

JAMES HENRY.

Vice-Presidents.

WILLIAM C. REICHEL, Bethlehem.
NATHANIEL S. WOLLE, Litiz.
EUGENE LEIBERT, Sharon.
GRANVILLE HENRY.
CHRISTIAN R. HOEBER.

Treasurer.

WILLIAM BEITEL.

Corresponding Secretary.

HERMANN A. BRICKENSTEIN.

Recording Secretary.

ALBERT OERTER.

Librarian.

OWEN RICE.

Managers.

FRANCIS JORDAN, Philadelphia.
MAURICE C. JONES, Bethlehem.
J. C. BRICKENSTEIN.
EDWARD H. REICHEL.
HENRY J. VAN VLECK.

Publication Committee.

JAMES HENRY. WILLIAM C. REICHEL.
HERMANN A. BRICKENSTEIN.

Library Committee.

ANDREW G. KERN. OWEN RICE.
HENRY J. VAN VLECK. EDWARD H. REICHEL.
HERMANN A. BRICKENSTEIN.

NOTICE TO MEMBERS AND OTHERS.

The Moravian Historical Society being very anxious to collect, in a safe and accessible place, all documents, etc., relating to the history of the Moravian Church, will be grateful for donations of such to its collection, and proposes also to receive *on deposit* all books, manuscripts, relics, etc., etc., which shall still be considered the property of their owners, shall be so labeled and catalogued, and shall at any time be returned on demand.

Donations or deposits of the following are solicited :—

1. Books and pamphlets that relate in any manner to the Moravian Church, from the earliest times, whether written by Moravians or others, for or against Moravianism.

2. Copies of printed sermons, or other religious or literary productions of Moravians.

3. Printed or manuscript histories and statistics of single congregations.

4. Manuscript journals, autobiographies, letters of ministers and laymen, and even when these are not considered of historical interest, maps, pictures, and relics.

Papers on subjects of historical or antiquarian interest, and essays relating to the condition and the development of the Church in our own times, are also especially desired.

Address the "Moravian Historical Society, Nazareth, Northampton County, Pennsylvania."

THE MORAVIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

ITS ORGANIZATION AND AIMS.

In the early part of the year 1857, a few of the friends of Moravianism met together at Nazareth, and formed themselves into an Association, which they styled the Moravian Historical Society.

Quite a number of the members of the Society of the United Brethren showed themselves favorably disposed towards this enterprise, and united with it, furnishing, at the same time, some valuable works having reference to the early annals of our Church in America.

In the month of November of the present year, 1858, the Nazareth congregation of the United Brethren presented us with a room in the old stone mansion, known as the "Whitefield House," erected in the year 1743; the reoccupation of which, and its inauguration by the members of our Association, are recorded in the pages now presented to the public.

In calling into existence this humble and unpretending union, we propose to gather and preserve, not merely the relics of the past, in the shape of visible emblems of Moravianism, but more particularly to collect all that is valuable, curious, and edifying in its past history in this country.

With this view we desire to draw from the cotemporaneous history of the States, all that has a bearing upon Moravianism: to rescue from the traditions of the living what-

ever is deemed worth preserving and incorporating with the record of the things that are past; to cull many interesting memoirs from the manuscript archives of the Church, illustrating Moravianism in its most popular and engaging features, by unfolding to a new generation of men the beauty of that Christian life which adorned the age that has nearly passed away; and, as a matter still more incumbent on us, to review, discuss, and point out the merits of our present and past virtue, and spiritual system.

When we look into the tendency of things in this country, we shall find that the great watch-word is *change*. There is, perhaps, too little reverence for the past among the people of our time, and it is the mission of such a Society as ours to stem this tendency, to defend the past in all that is good and estimable, and, if possible, by reawakening a love of the old and forgotten, to resuscitate into being that to which the heart still clings.

The outward aspects of Moravianism have materially changed in this country during the last twenty years, and along with this change many religious observances have either been entirely discontinued or greatly modified.

It becomes our duty, in pursuance of our assumed mission, to dwell upon such modifications, and it will be the employment of our future meetings to produce papers on the various topics of discarded or neglected rituals. In most cases, where one external form is substituted for another, which the pressing demands of the times and the country are supposed to have rendered obsolete, the plea is that all forms have a merely spiritual signification, and that where the spiritual remains in full activity, the form is of no moment, and altogether dispensable.

Such reasoning, certainly, has its weight; but in taking the Christian world as we find it, we perceive a large portion of men led into the spiritual by the medium of external

form, and, for this very reason, the danger to any sect lies in rejecting its typical peculiarities, and thereby casting its own spirituality into jeopardy.

The venerable Church at Hernhut still stands in all its artless simplicity, unadorned by any of the fancies of modern cathedral architecture. Its seats are neither painted nor cushioned, and a simple table and reading desk supply the place of the pulpit. Yet within this primitive sanctuary the beautiful Moravian service is preserved intact, and presents, in all its parts, the unearthly picture of a Christian devotion which needs no help from Gothic architecture.

In passing through the cathedrals of Italy and Germany, and witnessing the solemnities of the high festivals of Catholic countries, under the gloom of those grand structures which astonish the world by their magnificence, no single ceremony ever touches the spectator like the simple rituals of Hernhut. Hence we cannot easily see the necessity of assuming new externals, or of admitting such innovations upon old-established usages. In the present stage of things in our country, the most fearful contest that awaits us is with materialism, an adornment of spiritual life with the sensual. Let it ever be held in remembrance that our ancestors were a hardy people, whose worship was entirely independent of locality or edifice.

The inner life of the old Moravian sought no accessories from that which is without; and in taking up the theme before us, we shall endeavor to lay a peculiar stress upon the great principle, that the Christian temple is an edifice "not made with hands."

PETER BOEHLER'S OAK-TREE.

A Paper read before the Society, at the Stated Meeting on March 9th, 1857.

By H. A. Brickenstein.

In this matter-of-fact age the subject of the topography of the tree, under which the first Moravian Brethren who came to the Nazareth tract passed the night, may seem of trivial interest and of no consequence whatsoever. Without stopping to deplore, or endeavoring to controvert the evil tendencies of this materialistic, irreverent character of our day, we purpose, nevertheless, to devote a few pages to this very topic.

The following extract from Br. Levin T. Reichel's MS. History of the Moravian Church in America, is an appropriate introduction to the subject:—

"April 13th, 1740, the Moravian Brethren left Savannah, where they had gained many friends, of whom some (as Brownfield, James Burnside, H. T. Beck, and Abr. Büninger [Bininger,] from Purisburg) [Purysburg,] afterwards followed them to Bethlehem. They traveled in Mr. Whitefield's company to Philadelphia, where they arrived on the 25th of April. It was a great disappointment to them to find here neither Spangenberg, who had left for Europe, nor Bishop Nitschman, whose arrival was daily expected. In their dilemma they went first to Christopher Wiegner [Wagner,] in Skippack, then to Henry Antes, Oley, and, finally, back to Germantown, where those who had

settled here in the year 1738, endeavored to persuade them to make their home. But Peter Boehler and Anthony Seiffert, though, for the moment, at a loss what to do, preferred to await Bishop Nitschman's arrival. Meanwhile, Mr. Whitefield had bought 5000 acres of land in the forks of the Delaware, (now Northampton County,) from Mr. William Allen, for £2200 sterling, intending to erect there a school for negro children. May 5th, he came to Christopher Wiegner's [Wagner's] plantation to see P. Boehler concerning the intended building, and, as some of the Brethren were carpenters, he proposed to them to do all the carpenter's work, for payment, and requested P. Boehler to take the general superintendence of the erection of the house. Many people having assembled to see and hear the famous Mr. Whitefield, he preached to them in English, and P. Boehler closed with a German address.[1]

"The next day P. Boehler and A. Seiffert, accompanied by H. Antes, set out to look for this tract in the Northern forest-wilds of Pennsylvania, and found, Saturday, May 7th, an extensive Indian village, where, at the present day, the Old Nazareth Farm buildings are standing. Having returned to Philadelphia and reported to Mr. Whitefield, he closed his contract with Mr. Allen, and called the tract Nazareth, once more renewing his proposition to the Brethren. After serious deliberations, and consulting the Lord, by lot they accepted Mr. Whitefield's proposal, glad to have found

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[1] W. Seward writes in his journal, April 24th, (old style:)—"It was surprising to see such a multitude of people gathered together in such a wilderness country, thirty miles distant from Philadelphia. Our brother was exceedingly carried out in his sermon, to press poor sinners to come to Christ by faith, and claim all their privileges, namely, not only righteousness and peace, but joy in the Holy Ghost; and, after he had done, our dear friend, Peter Boehler, preached in Dutch (German) to those who could not understand our brother in English."

at least a temporary occupation until Bishop Nitschman should arrive. After a three days' march from Germantown, the company of seven brethren, two sisters, and two boys,[1] are found (May 30th) seated under a large forest tree, singing songs of praise and prayer to their Lord and Saviour."

The indefatigable exertions of our Nazareth antiquary, Br. A. G. Kern, have enabled him to point out with sufficient accuracy the spot where this tree stood; nay, he has even discovered what he believes to be its very stump.

Two venerable brethren, Mr. Christian Brunner and Mr. Godfrey Belling, whose recollections extend as far back as the year 1799, still distinctly remember having seen this tree as it then stood in the forest. It was a black-oak, and for many years the wood-chopper's axe turned away in reverence from its ancient trunk. It stood on a gentle acclivity, at whose base runs a little brook, meandering slowly through the rich meadows, and singing its low, cheerful song, now as it did then, when these homeless pilgrims stretched their weary limbs beside its whispering stream. The Kœnigs-Strasse (King's Highway) extending from Bethlehem to the Indian settlements of Minnesink, ran close by the tree, through the present orchard (formerly belonging to the farm known as Plantation No. 4) to the Rose Tavern. In the year 1786, as we learn from the Nazareth Diary, the initials of P. Boehler and A. Seiffert's names, cut by themselves in the bark of the tree, were still visible. In the year 1799 they had become almost illegible, according to the brethren Brunner and Belling. Br. Charles Gotthold

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[1] P. Boehler, A. Seiffert, Martin Mack, John Boehner, G. Zeisberger and Rosina, his wife, Matthew Seybold, Hannah Hummel, Benj. Summers, and —— James.

Reichel, Inspector of Nazareth Hall from 1785 to 1802, had a piece of leather, on which the names of Boehler and Seiffert were painted, affixed to the tree. When and how this *quercus sacra* fell, it has been impossible to ascertain, probably not, however, until after Br. Reichel's departure from Nazareth.

Among the many incidents of stirring interest connected with the early history of our Church in America, there are few more touching than that which this oak-tree witnessed. Rather than perform what was contrary to conscience, these brethren had abandoned their comfortable homes and smiling fields, and, trusting alone to the protecting providence of the Saviour, embarked for Pennsylvania. And here they are, singing glad hymns of thanksgiving and faith,—around them the dense forest, still and darksome; above them only the branches of the stalwart oak and the stars of the Almighty, so silent and watchful; and here they lay down to sleep in fearless security and trusting confidence. And if the task that awaited the learned Magister of Jena and his companions on the morrow was the humble one, as hired laborers, of digging out the foundations, and quarrying the stone, and felling and hewing the timber, to build another man's house, it was work cheerfully done, for it was labor performed in their Master's name, and for his glory.

As time rolls on, and mellows the valued pictures of the past, the site of this tree will be viewed with increasing interest by the pious Moravian, and by the admirer of genuine Christian heroism.

AN ACCOUNT

OF THE CELEBRATION OF THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE MORAVIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

On the afternoon of Thanksgiving-Day, Nov. 18th, 1858, a number of the members of the Moravian Historical Society assembled in the Ephrata, or Whitfield House, to partake of an old-fashioned Moravian "*vesper*." The Library had recently been removed from its temporary quarters to this venerable building, in which a very commodious room has been placed at the disposal of the Society by the trustees of the congregation. It was suggested that a "vesper," with all its pleasant associations and cheerful influences, would be an appropriate celebration of the event and of the anniversary of the Society. That it was so, all who were present will testify.

An old Moravian vesper! Who that ever attended one has not been delighted and improved by the hearty kindliness, the genuine geniality that pervaded them, and the innocent, rational amusement they afforded? In the pleasant summer days how often was the cool, sequestered glen, where the limpid brook went softly singing on its way, the scene of these festive gatherings? Or the tree-crowned island, sleeping on the bosom of the romantic river, where, in pleasant converse, or in rendering, with no mean skill, the productions of the masters of classic music; in mirthful games, or the ever-delightful boating excursion along the laurel-skirted shore, or over the placid surface of the river, while rocks and hill re-echoed to the sound of merry

call and joyous laughter, the swift-winged hours sped along, till over the waters, still gleaming in the soft light of the sunset, come the sweetly-blended voices of the singers, and a day of pure and simple-hearted enjoyment is closed in the hymn of praise and prayer to God.

In the cold winter days the vesper-company meets in the comfortable family-room, around the table, graced by that master-piece of housewifely skill, the sugar-cake. While the brethren smoke, and drink their coffee, the sisters ply their clinking knitting-needles—those invariable companions of the matrons of those days—with such skill and energy that the stocking seemed perceptibly to grow under their busy fingers.

The march of "progress" has made sad inroads upon many of our time-honored Moravian customs. No doubt the times have changed, and usages and institutions which once were the objective form in which the inner life of the early brethren found expression, must needs, by degrees, totally vanish, since, though the spirit be the same, altered circumstances, changes in taste and habits of thought, will either modify or completely destroy its former outward manifestation. And so, perhaps, the "vesper," too, is doomed, as a vestige of the days of the Arcadian simplicity of Moravianism with which our modern, more artificial state of society has no sympathy. With it another delightful feature of the old social and domestic life of the congregations will have passed away.

To resume. Before partaking, according to the olden custom, a hymn was sung by the whole company standing. The repast being over, cups were refilled, the tray, with its bundle of cigars and lighted taper, went the rounds, and Br. James Henry, President of the Society, proceeded to deliver the anniversary address. A copy of this production is annexed to this sketch. Br. Jedediah Weiss, of

Bethlehem, then entertained the company in his own peculiar, happy style, with some interesting personal recollections. While the rest are engaged in calling to mind reminiscences of former days, or discussing the questions which have agitated modern Moravianism, we will make the tour of the room and note whatever is curious or interesting in the collection.

The walls are hung with a number of pictures, maps, and plans, among the former of which are three in oil, by Haidt, our Moravian artist. These must be full a century old, and, without any claims to high artistic merit, they evince considerable talent in the choice of subjects and composition, and are a pleasing evidence of the recognition, even amid the exigencies of those early times, of the claims of art, and of its zealous pursuit. Rather a curious picture is one representing the arrival of Bishop Loskiel, at Gnadenhütten, Ohio, with Major Jonathan Cass, (a United States Deputy Surveyor-General, and father of Gen. Lewis Cass,) in cocked-hat and small-clothes, in the foreground. Of the maps, the most interesting is one of Pennsylvania, containing the route of Zinzendorf and his party to Shamokin, (now Sunbury,) and one of Bethlehem, made in the year 1755. On the mantel are two specimens of the *schnabel-haube*, or caps which were formerly worn by the female members of the congregations, each choir or class having a distinctively colored ribbon. Here, in a frame, is one of Zinzendorf's poems, "Maria Ver Kündigung," in his own hand-writing. It is found in Knapp's Collection, page 91. Over it hangs his portrait, in oil, probably by Haidt. In a glass case are some valuable and interesting relics, among them the tassel of Zinzendorf's cane, and a set of portraits in miniature, most exquisitely done in water-colors, of Zinzendorf, his son Christian, Anna Nitschman, and Bishop Watteville. Over the door hangs a bell, supposed to be the first one used by the

Brethren in this country. Here is a distaff, formerly used by a teacher in Nazareth Hall to spin flax, as was then the custom during the after-dinner recess. Here is a hickory twig, found in a house at Old Nazareth, where it was used as a lath. Aside of it are a piece of the stump of "Peter Boehler's Oak-Tree" and a huge clothes-pin, seemingly fashioned out of the solid tree. In a corner stands a spinet, or clavichord, an instrument of rather primitive construction, and evidently of great age.

The number of books in the library is already more than five hundred. Of many of them it is doubtful whether there are duplicates, at least in this country. A few only of the most note-worthy are here specified:—a copy of the Hymn-book used by the Old Bohemian and Moravian Churches, printed in the year 1639; a Bible of the year 1553; complete sets of our Church publications from the beginning, and of the Historical Records of Pennsylvania, New York, and Massachusetts; an almost complete series of the different editions of Hymn-books and Liturgies of the Church; a Hymn-book belonging to the learned Peter Boehler, and by him presented to Br. Abraham Reinke; most of the controversial writings of the early period of our Church history in this country; letters from Hans von Schweinitz, Zeisberger, Heckewelder, Ettwein, Forestier, Jacob Van Vleck, Grube, Loskiel, Schnall, Denke, C. G. Reichel, Gregor; Arthur Gradin's History of the Unitas Fratrum.

ADDRESS

Delivered at the Anniversary Meeting of the Moravian Historical Society.

By James Henry, *President.*

Brethren:—Under the attendant circumstances, it is a matter of congratulation to us that we have been enabled to meet together over an old "Moravian Vesper," and all its genial accompaniments.

The room we now occupy constitutes one of the most eligible portions of that venerable pile known as the Ephrata Building, or Whitefield House. We are indebted to the liberality of the Trustees of Nazareth for the privilege of occupying an apartment in this building for the future uses of our Association, and we now propose to inaugurate it after the manner very appropriately suggested by your Committee, viz., with a "vesper" in the old style. The Moravian Historical Society dates its origin from the early part of 1857, and as yet has been unable to exhibit much fruit growing out of its antiquarian researches. Among the numerous friends who have joined us, several have come forward with many valuable contributions in the shape of books, paintings, early records, and manuscript documents. Several cotemporary Historical Societies have given us costly works, and the success we have thus far met with, promises a fair future, and out of it an institution may grow up, that, under the nurture of a new generation, will serve to chain the present to the past.

It is one of the charges against the living race, that it

is looking too much toward the future, and when it does cast a retrospective glance, it is with the desire of destroying and erasing all that is left behind it, so as to cast into oblivion the transactions of its ancestors, in as far as these can be shown by monuments of wood and stone, and every visible landmark. Even our own people, the Society of the United Brethren, have not been slow in effacing old landmarks, destroying vestiges, and even burying beneath the surface of the earth the memorials of primitive Moravian life.

If we were to ask those who are so zealous in the cause of remodeling the whole exterior of domiciliary life, gilding the sanctuary, and borrowing from Roman Catholicism the ideas of architecture, amid the most unfitting associations of which the old Zinzendorfian worship is to be upheld, the apology would invariably be that we must do as others do, and attract the world towards us by yielding a little in the outward garb that gives our religion the air of solecism.

In looking around us amid these precincts, and seeing how the *old* has been absorbed by the *new*, so that to the pilgrim who comes from the distant past to revisit us, a new world has sprung up, and the earlier depositories of his childhood's affections are no longer traceable, it is still a matter of no small satisfaction that the venerable Ephrata has been thus far untouched.

We have many iconoclasts among us, image-breakers, who, in assailing the old forms, demolishing them, and setting up new ones, will tell you they have accomplished the work. but they themselves cannot explain why.

In this country we are told to move with the age, but whether the age can be justified in its movements, no one ever pauses to reflect. It is but a few years ago that this interesting mansion, with its surroundings, was a sequestered spot off from the village of Nazareth, whither the stranger

generally repaired to muse in quiet upon its earlier history, and indulge in reminiscences of its past annals.

Here upon this memorable ground he called up before his imagination the picture presented one hundred and seventeen years ago. But now how the village itself has changed! For more than a century the abode of Moravians alone, now its doors have recently been thrown open to the world at large. Its limits have extended on all sides, and ancient Ephrata is nearly absorded by modern Nazareth.

We had heard, occasionally, some rumors of its intended demolition, that it should be razed to the earth, its walls of adamant torn apart, its foundations covered up, and the highway pass over its former site. But we have reason to be grateful for the conservative spirit remaining among us that this has not come to pass, and that the very spot where the Moravians may be said to have first gained a permanent foothold in America, still remains unmarred in any of its essential features.

That a locality, rendered sacred by the important position it occupies in the history of American Moravianism, should have its visible presence expunged, and give place to tenements where the stranger may dwell, who would look down with contempt upon the people who have preceded him, and that all this should be brought about by the sweeping desire of earthly acquisition, would be among the deplorable events of our present history.

The house we now occupy was erected amid many adverse and untoward circumstances, and although its annals, from its origin up to the present time, never appear to have been duly and patiently recorded, and many interesting events connected with it have been consigned to that most unreliable chronicler, tradition, yet enough can be gathered out of the fragments at hand to form an episode in our American church history.

It would appear that when the twenty German emigrants who left Hernhut for Georgia, were obliged to forsake that province, a portion of them came, in the year 1738, to Pennsylvania, and settled in the vicinity of Germantown. Among those who had remained near Savannah, were Anton Seiffert and Peter Boehler, who, before they left, made the acquaintance of George Whitefield, recently arrived from Europe. In company with Whitefield, these two brethren, and the remnant of the Moravian emigrants, six in number, traveled to Philadelphia, and during the journey cultivated his friendship. Antes was at this time employed with one Wagner, who owned a plantation on the Skippack, in what is now Montgomery County, and about thirty miles from Philadelphia. After finding Antes, they returned to the other party of brethren at Germantown, and these endeavored to persuade them to remain with them and wait the return of Spangenberg, who had gone to Europe.

In this short interval, however, Whitefield had purchased a tract of land in the northern wilderness of Pennsylvania, ten miles north of the Lehigh, and projected an asylum to be erected there for the education of negro children. He made the negotiations for the purchase with Mr. Allen, without seeing the property, a journey through those forests at that time being a serious adventure from the known hostility of the Indians. Before closing his purchase with Mr. Allen, he went to Wagner, on the Skippack, in search of Boehler, May 5, 1740, whom he desired to undertake the superintendence of the erection of a large house, in conjunction with Seiffert, Antes, and others who were good mechanics.

Having induced these three brethren to go in search of the lands, Whitefield proceeded to Philadelphia, and awaited the return of the three pioneers. Boehler, Seiffert, and Antes pushed forward without delay through the trackless

forest, and arrived as early as Saturday, the seventh of May, at a considerable Indian village, now old Nazareth, a little beyond which they reposed, that same night, beneath the memorable tree, the crumbling fragments of which some of our most industrious antiquarians have been in search of, and finally succeeded in discovering. They viewed the ground, and then, returning to Philadelphia, reported to Mr. Whitefield.

He finally persuaded them to accept his offers for the building of the house, and then concluded his contract with Mr. Allen. Seven brethren, two sisters, and two boys, eleven in number, then started off for this place, under the guidance of Boehler, Seiffert, and Antes, and finally succeeded in reaching this very spot on the thirtieth of May, 1740, and closed the journey with songs of praise to their Lord and Saviour. The cellar of this house was dug, and the walls were built to the second floor, when autumn came on, and it was found expedient to suspend operations and throw up the two story log building, as is generally supposed, standing near this one.

Our chroniclers of the present day differ as to which was the very first of these two log houses, but from the fact that seventeen persons took shelter here during the ensuing winter, I should conclude that a single cabin with but two or three rooms, like the lower one of these buildings, would have been inadequate.

While this house was in progress, Brother Eschenbach arrived from Europe, announcing a small party that was coming on after him, and which arrived at the humble log dwelling of Ephrata in the month of December of the same year. This company embraced three of the most noted characters that graced our history: old David Nitschman, or Father Nitschman, in his sixty-fourth year; Bishop David Nitschman and Anna Nitschman, the youthful Eldress

of Hernhaag, in her twenty-fifth year, with sister, mother, and Brother Froehlich, of Holstein, a baker by profession. These five pilgrims found shelter in one of those log tenements we now see before us, and remained here, surrounded by a dreary American forest, and within sight of the Indian wigwam, during the winter of 1740–41.

We are further told, that before the following spring dissentions sprung up between Whitefield and Brother Hagen, a missionary in Georgia, and the brethren were notified to leave his lands. Ephrata, with the spring of 1741, was accordingly deserted. A tract of five hundred acres on the Lehigh[1] was purchased of Mr. Allen, and another solitary log house built there, into which the infant colony of pilgrims moved in the month of March, 1741.

After this event, the property here was unoccupied until the year 1743, or during the space of nearly three years, when a purchase was effected (and a payment made out of the general church funds of the European Church) of the five thousand acres constituting the Whitefield tract, and called the Nazareth Manor.

On the second of January, 1744, thirty-three married couples moved into it from Bethlehem, and it was occupied by the brethren until January 7, 1749, when the "nursery," previously existing at Bethlehem, was removed hither, and commenced with fifty-six children, some of whom were but eighteen months old, at which age they were, at that period, removed from their mothers and placed under the common charge.

During the year 1744, some of the principal buildings of what constituted "Old Nazareth," were commenced near a spring at that place.

The old well, which is still before this house, was commenced January 14, 1762, and finished the same autumn.

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[1] Now the site of Bethlehem.

The lawn, which still lies spread out before us, undisturbed in its quiet rural beauty, was often the scene of church solemnities, such as the Love Feast at the laying of the corner-stone of Nazareth Hall, May 3, 1755.

The means are not at hand, nor would the present occasion admit of relating the whole story of the memorable old "stone house," as it used to be called. Many of the most curious details are in the memories of some of our older people, and I leave the work of calling out these forgotten events to some of our antiquarian associates.

I have already observed, in connection with the history of Ephrata, and the extension of Nazareth, that the latter was thrown open to the world.

By this is implied, that from having been an isolated community, excluding all from dwelling among us as proprietors, unless professing the same faith and observing the same form of worship, we now allow free ingress to every one who choses to enter, without reference to sect or creed. Under this phase of our existence, we have departed from fact to problem, and it is left to be shown whether we can remain a distinct religious body under this new organization, and in contact with the world at large, or whether we are destined to merge gradually into another sect.

In the previous history of our Church, we have seen no attempt made to popularize Moravianism, or lead it out among the mass of society. From its very nature, it was never thought that such a step would prove successful.

Throughout all its previous career, as well as at the present day, we do not find Moravianism to have met with that popular favor which leads a sect into society at large, and makes its converts by indiscriminate and enthusiastic numbers. To account for this, we must look into its earlier organization.

Its pioneers were a hardy and self-sacrificing body of

people, and they entered upon the cause before them with the spirit, and endured the privations of martyrs. As a test of their faith, some of the closest ties of affinity had to be loosened. They thought this was demanded of them, to enable them to discharge the obligations of an heroic religious enterprise. This species of Moravianism, therefore, being Moravianism in its emphatical sense, was never destined for the mass of the people. It was an Association which, by nourishing its principles of high, stern, and persevering faith, grew up in small numbers, and at distant intervals of the earth, apparently sustaining itself by its very concentration. In its palmy days, its village family was, in a comparative sense, pure, and the nature of its worship did not admit of a promiscuous state of society.

The modern thinkers on Moravianism urge that its mission is to extend; but many suppose that this would tend to dilute it and expel its best qualities. As to the necessity of its isolation in distinct communities, some strong reasoning can be used, which would operate with equal force against bringing it in indiscriminate contact with society.

If we enter into the everyday life of the older Moravian we shall find that his Christian exercises required seven days in the week. We shall also find that the whole process of ordinary life, working and pleasure, the meals, rising and retiring, birth, marriage, and death, worldly gains and worldly loss, joys and afflictions, traveling, departure and return, were all imbued with one tone of thought, prefiguring another life, and full of those favorite symbols and the imagery with which Zinzendorf filled his lyrics.

When the social circle of a village was one-minded, these Christian exercises would be pursued without molestation; but when gayety and licentiousness disturb these pure and innocent forms of life, there is but one inference left as to general results.

It should not be argued that the isolation of the Moravian tended to bigotry, selfishness, or that unproductive and barren existence which lives but for itself, and leaves no impression on the world at large. If we examine it closely we shall find that its very isolation led to its influence, and that the pure flame within cast a radiance round about it. This radiance is evident in its vast and successful missionary labors and the equally extensive educational efforts among all classes and sects of society. It is a most remarkable fact that, in the prosecution of these two great ends, it has discarded all sectarianism, and has achieved its greatest work by the promulgation of four simple words of Scripture, "Christ, and Him crucified."

The important work of education having been prosecuted from a very early period, and the number of the Brethren's institutions in Europe and America having increased to nearly fifty, their reputation has extended over a large portion of civilized society, and, along with this reputation, a large share of that Christian influence which the Moravian culture bears with it. By means of its captivating forms of worship and those views of God and the Saviour which appeal to the understanding of the most childlike intellect, our missionaries have ventured in among the savage tribes of almost every portion of the uncivilized globe, and, in most instances, found access to the untamed heart.

Hence our past career has not been that of an exclusiveness, which, wrapped up in its own thoughts and enjoyments, discards our fellow-men, and denies all communion with them; on the contrary, the very forms of life which have given a peculiar stamp to the Moravian character, have served as important means to the attainment of great ends, the civilization and salvation of mankind.

The Moravianism of the present day is susceptible of as much heroism as that of former times, but this heroism is

of a different character. Then, the contest was for food and raiment, with the opposition of governments, the persecution of society, and the dangers of savage life. Now, the struggle has changed into a resistance of the luxuries and the conventionalities of polished life, the seductions of the world in their thousand forms, with new modes of thought, with a new race of men, and feeble faith.

These strong contrasts between our primitive and present forms of life, between the first picture of Ephrata, with its actors in those early and eventful scenes, and the transactions now going on around us, render the subject a matter of increasing historical interest, and, as we move forward into the future, the heart seeks a solace in the past, which many feel, but which is only fully appreciable by the antiquarian.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

MORAVIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

SERIES I.—PART II.

THE FIRST "SEA CONGREGATION."

A. D. 1742.

BY JOHN C. BRICKENSTEIN.

The first Moravian Brethren who emigrated to this country about the middle of the last century, crossed the ocean at different intervals of time, and in larger or smaller companies. Whenever they had obtained full control of a transport ship, by charter or otherwise, our forefathers never failed to introduce among the passengers on board a complete social and religious organization, corresponding as nearly as might be with that established in their congregations at home. Hence the term used in the reports of the day, *die See Gemeinen*, the "Sea Congregations."

Regular times were set apart in these floating congregations for their various religious meetings; chaplains, teachers, exhorters and nurses were provided, and system was carried into the minutest details of life. Each member was assigned to a mess and hammock-company, and his place and duty in every contingency were designated. They all felt that they formed a united band of followers of the same Lord, to serve whom in a new field of labor they had forsaken their homes and their native land.

The days spent on the ocean were not to be wasted in idleness or inactivity, but must be employed in preparing, instructing and invigorating their minds, and in promoting their growth in grace. Although sickness, storms and other perils of the sea interfered with prescribed rules, yet they carried across the waves not only their God in their hearts, but some of the most blessed practices

and observances they had been accustomed to at home. Ship-life proved to them a season of rich mental and spiritual activity and enjoyment, and, combined as it was with order and discipline, it had a powerful tendency to increase their bodily comfort and well-being.

The first "Sea Congregation" left London in March, and arrived at Philadelphia in June, 1742. Count Zinzendorf himself had preceded them about six months before, and during twenty previous months small companies, partly direct from Europe and partly by way of Georgia, had been their forerunners. Some preliminary arrangements for their reception had been made, and their arrival was anxiously looked for by about twenty-five or thirty Brethren and Sisters, residents for the time being in Pennsylvania.

The responsible task of fitting out and organizing the expedition had been intrusted to Brother Spangenberg, then residing in London, and the selection could not have fallen upon a more suitable individual, for to his other qualifications he joined that of personal experience. Seven years before he had fitted out the first Moravian colony which went to Georgia, had himself accompanied it across the Atlantic, had spent four years in Georgia, Pennsylvania and the West Indies, and had made several voyages between those colonies, some of which were attended with more than ordinary privations and dangers. He was now, after Zinzendorf's departure, at the head of the affairs of the church in England, and had a serious responsibility resting on him. Yet he did not decline this additional weight, but applied himself to his new duty with his accustomed devotedness, alacrity, foresight and attention to details.*

The majority of the "Sea Congregation" consisted of Germans, many of whom had been selected to replace the first colony at Pilgerruh in Holstein, but being refused admission by the government at Copenhagen, they now proceeded to America. Of that part of

* We have not been able to discover anything like an official report of this expedition, though it is almost impossible that such a report should not have been made at the time. The sources whence we derive our knowledge are very scanty, and consist of some catalogues of passengers and a MS. journal of Brother J. Philip Meurer, an Alsatian by birth, and a shoemaker by trade. It was evidently intended for the eye of his family alone, but it found its way, nevertheless, into the archives of the congregation at Bethlehem. Reference to this expedition is also made by J. Risler in his Life of Spangenberg.

their journey which preceded their arrival in England, nothing is known to us; Brother Meurer, to whom we have just referred, having sent home from London the first portion of his journal. In the second part he takes up his narration from the day of his arrival in that city.

The party arrived in London, February 24th, 1742, and met with the kindest reception on the part of the English Brethren. Lodgings had been provided for them in three different houses in Wild street, one for the single Brethren and two for the married Brethren and Sisters. The following two days were spent in receiving visits from their English friends, who omitted nothing that might impress the strangers with the feeling that they were sincerely welcome.

On the 27th of February* the party was formally organized as a "Sea Congregation." For this purpose they met in the chapel in Fetter Lane, where they were joined by some three hundred Brethren and Sisters, members of the London Society. After the services had been opened by a love-feast and Brother Spangenberg had addressed the meeting, and especially those who were about to unite themselves into a "Sea Congregation," the appointments to the various offices were made known, and the persons chosen received the blessing of the assembly. The meeting was protracted into the night, and the occasion was of so moving and pathetic a character that even those English Brethren who scarcely understood a word of German were affected to tears.

On March 8th, the single Brethren left their lodgings in town and proceeded on board the ship "Catharine,"† Capt. Gladman,

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* See Life of Spangenberg. Brother Meurer mentions the 26th of February as the day of organization.

† Some members of this "Sea Congregation" were fond of calling their ship "Irene," *i. e.* peace, but the ship generally known under that name was built in 1748, in New York. The ship "Catharine" belonged to the class of vessels which went under the name of "Snow," or "Snauw,"—thus the Snauw "Alletea," which had carried Zinzendorf in 1739 from St. Eustace to England. The "Irene" was owned by the church, and with a crew of church members under (Brother) Captain Nicholas Garrison, was navigated by him up to the year 1755. He was succeeded by (Brother) Captain Jacobsen who commanded her until 1758, when he was captured by a French privateer. During the existence of this church-ship, there flourished a permanent floating congregation, or church, to be found at one time in Europe, at another in America, in Greenland, Surinam, &c.

which was to transport them to America. Brother Peter Boehler,* their chaplain, entered upon his duties, and received the Brethren with a love-feast and an address.

During their stay in London, the Brethren confined themselves pretty much to their lodgings, or to ship-board; occasionally, however they ventured upon a short exploration† though the city.

March 15th, the married couples and the English Brethren, who joined the expedition, went on board, and next evening the ship dropped down the river Thames, and proceeded slowly to Gravesend. Spangenberg and his wife were on board, helping to make final arrangements, and conversing with each individual member of the company. They declared themselves highly gratified with the frame of mind in which they found them.

The "Sea Congregation" consisted of the following persons:

CAPTAIN GLADMAN, in command.

REV. PETER BOEHLER, chaplain and teacher, with his wife ELIZABETH.

GEORGE PISCH, leader (*Vorsteher*),—son-in-law of DAVID NITSCHMAN (*Altvater*) then at Bethlehem, and father of ANNA JOHANNA.

ADOLPH MEYER, M. D., late of Pilgerruh, first Elder of Nazareth.

JOHN BRANDMUELLER, of Basel, by occupation a bookkeeper.

REV. PAUL DAN. PRYZELIUS, of Sweden, with his wife REGINA DOROTHEA.

GEORGE HARTEN, with his wife, ELIZABETH.

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* Peter Boehler, after having left Georgia in 1740, and spent the last six months of that year with the Brethren who built the first houses in Nazareth Manor, had been re-called to Europe. Having married there, he now returned to America.

Among the passengers was David Wahnert, who possessed the rare gift of making himself useful on ship-board, the more so, as he was not subject to sea-sickness. His wife, Mary Elizabeth, was his equal in every respect. In consequence of these qualifications, he was frequently sent back to Europe in order to guide fresh colonies through the physical and mental trials of a passage across the sea. Between 1742 and 1753 his name occurs six times in the catalogue of arrivals. Twice he is found among the widowers, but in 1753, on board the ship "Diaconus," D. Wahnert returned to America with a second wife.

† On the 6th of March, 1742, persons passing in front of St. Paul's church might have heard strange and unaccountable sounds high above their heads. If they had investigated the matter, they would have found that the sounds proceeded from eight Moravian Brethren, who had ascended the steeple, and, at the sight of so many thousands of houses, were deeply moved by reflecting on the question, how many of these houses were, or were not, abodes of peace, where Jesus was a constant and welcome guest. Praying for all the inhabitants, and having always at command some of their native psalms, expressive of their feelings, they were singing out their blessings over the housetops of London.

JOACHIM SENSEMAN, with his wife CATHARINE, afterward Missionary.
DAVID BISHOFF, with his wife, ANN CATHARINE, purser (*Ausgeber*), and subsequently Missionary.
MICH. MIKSCH, with his wife, HANNAH.
JOHN BRUCKER, with his wife, MARY BARBARA.
DAVID WAHNERT, with his wife, MARY ELIZABETH, cook and sick-nurse.
MIC. TANNEBERGER, with his wife, ROSINA, assistant cook.
HENRY ALMERS, with his wife, ROSINA.
THOM. YARRELL, with his wife, ANNA.
JAMES TURNER, with his wife, ELIZABETH.
OWEN RICE, with his wife, ELIZABETH.
SAM. POWEL, with his wife MARTHA.
JOSEPH POWEL, with his wife, MARTHA.
ROBERT HUSSEY, with his wife, MARTHA.

The last seven were English Brethren, and afterwards constituted the earliest congregation at Nazareth, which, however, lasted but a few weeks.

Single Brethren:

NATHANIEL SEIDEL, leader (*Vorsteher*), afterwards married to ANNA JOHANNA NITSCHMAN.
GOTTLIEB PEZOLD.
JOS. MOELLER.
JOHN GEORGE ENDTER.
MATTH. WITTKE.
JOAN PHIL. MEURER, the writer of the journal, and afterwards minister at Tulpehockeen.
REINHARD RONNER.
GEO. WIESNER.
JOHN OKELY, (English).
WM. OKELY, (English).
MICH. HUBER.
JAC. LISCHY.
JOHN GEORGE HEYDECKER.
GEO. KASKE.
GEO. SCHNEIDER.
FRED. POST, (afterwards Missionary).
LEONARD SCHNELL.
CHRISTIAN WERNER.
JOS. SHAW, (English).
HECTOR GAMBOLD, (English).
ANDREW, "the Moor," (having married, he returned to Europe the following year, with Zinzendorf).

Total of members 56, exclusive of the Captain.

The crew consisted of the captain, two mates and six sailors. At Gravesend anchor was cast, and a lively intercourse with the shore continued for more than a day, for thither many of the London friends had repaired to bid a last adieu to the dear Brethren of the floating congregation. These were once more called on deck by Brother Spangenberg, on the morning of March 19th, when he commended them to the protection of the Lord in a fervent prayer, and encouraged them fearlessly to trust to Him, in whom lay the disposal of their future lot. He then bade them farewell,

he kissing the Brethren, and his wife the Sisters. The scene was so affecting that even the rough sailors shared in the general emotion. As soon as Brother and Sister Spangenberg had left the ship, anchor was weighed, the sails were spread, and in what seemed a few moments, the wind being very favorable, the ship entered the British Channel.

Navigation at that time was hazardous in the extreme for an unprotected British vessel, inasmuch as, on account of the war between England and Spain, assisted by France, in addition to the dangers of the deep, the risk of meeting with French or Spanish men-of-war, or privateers, which were infesting every sea, was to be encountered. Besides, not a few of these privateers had been pirates before war was declared, and consequently carried lawless and ferocious crews.*

The passage through the British Channel presented no difficulties. Soon after leaving Deal, where they had touched, the Captain took a southwest course, and they lost sight of land, March 23d. But now, when the mountain waves of the Bay of Biscay caught hold of their little bark, and tossed it up and down, like a nutshell, and when, at the same time, nearly all of them were prostrated by sea sickness, they realized the nature of a sea voyage. Yet their hearts did not grow faint. Brother Meurer relates, that, sick as he was, and to such a degree that he could assume no other than a recumbent position, he always felt happy in his mind, for he knew that he was not alone, not forsaken by the friend of his soul, and others told him they were enjoying the same peace of mind, even when they encountered a dreadful storm. On that occasion the rudder had to be secured by ropes, the vessel drifted before the wind, and the waves dashed upon and into the vessel, completely drenching everything. They also felt deep gratitude to the Lord for always sustaining a few Brethren in sufficient health to minister to those who stood in need of some assistance. On one occasion, when a sudden squall struck the ship, and the sails and the tackling became entangled, those Brethren who could stand on deck,

* This was what Carlyle calls "the War of Jenkins' Ear," declared by England in 1739. See Carlyle's Frederick the Great, Vol. III, p. 293, where an account is given of this war. Privateers proved a great annoyance to the British colonies. Two companies of Brethren returning to Europe on a visit, were captured at a later date; one by a Spanish, the other by a French privateer.

rendered valuable service, by assisting the sailors at the ropes. The captain repeatedly declared himself surprised at, and gratified with the equanimity and courage of his passengers.

Twelve days after the coast of England had disappeared from view, the mountains of the island of Madeira hove in sight, and about the same time a vessel under press of sails was discovered standing directly towards the ship—but, before approaching near enough to become a subject of uneasiness, her progress was checked, and both vessels found themselves becalmed, and unable to move. Next morning the two ships had lost sight of one another. On this day, April 7th, all hands having recovered from sea sickness, they entered the port of Funchal. Scarcely had they done so, when they were boarded by two English ship captains, who informed them that the vessel which had approached them the day before, was a Spanish privateer. How grateful did they feel to the Lord for having preserved them not only from harm, but even from the suspicion of danger! The port of Funchal presented a lively aspect. There was a great display of national ensigns, the flag of Portugal on the ramparts, that of Great Britain on more than ten men-of-war, and a captured Spanish cruiser, besides those of merchant vessels of different nations.

The empty water casks were here replenished, and a live ox was taken on board. Some of the Brethren improved the opportunity to make a short excursion on shore. They were delighted to find vineyards in a most advanced state, and barley fields ripening at this season of the year. For the first time in their lives they saw orange, and lemon, and palm trees in the open air, and near to them fields of rice and sugar cane, whilst the air was soft and balmy, resembling in temperature that of the summer evenings in Germany. Yet they could not help feeling commiseration for the human beings they met in this paradise.

On the 10th of April, towards evening, the appearance of two strange sails created much excitement in port. There was firing of cannons, hailing with trumpets, beating of drums, and a diversity of noises. Amid this general turmoil, the ship Catharine glided gently out of port, and henceforth kept her head steadily northwest towards her final destination. The wind was favorable but gentle, and the boisterous commencement of the voyage was now succeeded by halcyon days, only the more enjoyable from the

contrast they formed to their first experience of the sea. Brother Meurer, no longer prostrated by the qualms of sea-sickness, gathered up his handicraft tools and store of leather, and overhauled and mended the foot-gear of the congregation, which occupied him more than two weeks. Morning and evening meetings could be kept regularly, and other meetings and love-feasts, which were held on deck, helped to while away the time profitably and pleasantly. Their special watches could also be regularly attended to, for it was one of the regulations of the company that some six Brethren should by rotation keep watch every night, independently of the ship-watch of the crew. At the present stage of their lives, their future in a new world lying all unknown before them, could there have been anything more delightful than to spend the hours of the tropical night on deck, under the canopy of heaven, in unreserved conversation with a knot of intimate friends, disturbed by nothing, not even by the swift, but steady and noiseless progress of the ship!

On April the 18th, toward evening, the monotony of these blissful days was interrupted by the sickness of one of the Sisters, who had a stroke of paralysis, yet, fearful as the rest had been at first of its effects, the attack proved to be of only a slight character. April 23d, was the anniversary of Brother David Wahnert's birth-day, and, feeling under many obligations to him as their ever faithful and reliable attendant during the hours of sickness, they each composed some congratulatory lines expressive of the gratitude they felt. Brother Wahnert, on his part, baked cakes and entertained the whole community with a love-feast. It may be imagined what a lively turn conversation took, when the experiences of the last month came to be touched upon. A similar celebration took place a few days afterwards, when a Brother, who had been a student of Theology at the University of Jena, availed himself of the occasion of his birth-day to entertain the community with a love-feast, and also with an interesting account of the circumstances by which the Spirit of God had wrought in him a change of heart. Many such special lovefeasts were celebrated, in addition to the stated ones on those Saturdays which were set apart for the celebration of the Holy Communion by the Brethren at home.

This placid course of life was interrupted toward the end of the month by a boisterous sea, in consequence of which some passen-

gers suffered from a second attack of sea-sickness. Hitherto, not a glimpse had been had of the dreaded Spanish privateers; in fact, no ships at all had been encountered, till now, when two vessels were seen sailing in company. This unexpected meeting (April 14th) caused at first considerable flutter and alarm on both sides, each party suspecting the other to be Spaniards. Afterwards, when the mystery had been cleared away, an interchange of civilities and presents took place. The vessels being English, and coming from St. Kitts, sent some West India produce, which was responded to by a sack of peas, and an English cheese.

Again, on the first day of May, before morning prayers, a sail was discovered ahead of our voyagers, directly in the ship's path. She soon attracted attention, and created suspicion by strange movements to the right and to the left, without pursuing any definite course. After a while the stranger was noticed to crowd all sail, and coming up directly toward the ship. This dispelled all doubt as to what he was. The captain and crew at once recognized a Spanish privateer of the most formidable class. What a prospect was now before the "Sea Congregation,"—capture, spoliation, personal abuse, suffering, perhaps death in some dreadful shape. Although from the outset they were in a manner prepared in their minds for such an event, yet now, when the evil was upon them, the Brethren and Sisters found it a bitter cup to taste. Still they did not yield to despair; confidence in the Lord did not forsake them; fear and grief were hushed in resignation, and they recollected the text on which Brother Spangenberg had spoken in his farewell address in Fetter Lane chapel, "If I perish, I perish," (Esther 4, 16). The captain had no choice as to the course he should pursue. Escape was out of the question, the Catharine, in comparison with the rakish Spaniard, being a dull and heavy sailer. Defence was also out of the question, since there were no arms on board, and if there had been, the passengers would have been unwilling to make use of them. All that remained was to keep on the ship's course with as much apparent unconcern as possible. Accordingly, neither sails nor helm were shifted an inch. When the vessels had approached so near that everything that was taking place on the one could be plainly seen from the other, the captain ordered all the male passengers up on the deck, with their hats on, thus presenting a spectacle of forty-nine hats on as many

heads, unshaken by fear. It was conjectured that a sight which had unnecessarily alarmed the two British vessels a few weeks ago, would have some effect upon the Spaniards. At the same time these men were disposed around the masts in such a manner that all the sails, at a given signal, could be lowered in an instant. The idea was to surrender upon receiving the first shot from the privateer, as it would have been worse than useless to provoke the animosity of the Spaniards by a different course. Slowly the moments of suspense wore away, whilst the most profound silence was observed on deck. The Brethren stood at their posts, inwardly praying, but showing no sign of trepidation. The Spaniards did not move, nor did they fire a single shot. Now the culminating point of danger seemed to be reached, and now, after some moments of agonizing suspense, to be past. The distance between the two vessels was apparently increasing. At length they ventured to breathe freely, and to realize the fact that they were out of danger.

What fervent thanks were now offered up, in private and in public, to Him who had saved them, when safety appeared an impossibility! The scenes of the morning seemed now like a horrible nightmare, which had happily vanished, but the events of that first day of May, 1742, remained indelibly fixed in the memory of those who had been on board the Catharine. The experiences of this day produced one practical effect in common upon all, namely, that henceforth they held all dangers that might seem to threaten them, of little moment. Nor were opportunities wanting to test the strength of this sentiment, for, during the remainder of the voyage, many severe storms were experienced, some of them accompanied by awful thunder and lightning, and on the 17th of May a strange sail, supposed to be another privateer, hove in sight and gave chase. But after a while, the deck of the Catharine having once more been crowded by all the men on board, the stranger desisted from pursuit and turned back. This happened when the ship was already in soundings, for on casting the lead, bottom was found at the depth of 35 and 30 fathoms.

The following day, May 18th, early in the morning, land was seen, and in the evening the houses and churches of Long Island were plainly distinguished. The passage from Madeira to within sight of land had lasted thirty-eight days. On the same day a

mess of 250 large and palatable fish were caught, the more acceptable, because, owing to fogs and other circumstances, the "Sea Congregation" were not as nearly within reach of fresh provisions, as some had been led to believe.

May 19th, was a cold day; a thick fog covered the sea, and prevented communication with a vessel coming from shore, by which the precise direction of New London might have been learned, of which the captain was ignorant. In the evening a violent gale drove the fog away, and the ship out to sea. It was not before the morning of May 23d that a sloop was met, the mate of which was willing to pilot the ship into port. About noon on that day, New London was reached, being the fifth day after the first sight of land had been obtained. During the late gales the ship had suffered considerably, hence a stay at this place was found necessary, in order to make some repairs before proceeding further.

Not long after the arrival of the vessel, the skipper of the above mentioned sloop made his appearance on board. He proved to be a native of Germany, had been seventeen years in America, and was well acquainted in the vicinity of Marienborn and Ronneburg. He expressed his surprise at the healthy appearance of the passengers and crew after such a long passage, and gave an account of the miseries often endured on board of emigrant ships, especially when ship-fever broke out on them. Of those who lived to reach shore many often perished, and were placed by scores in large ditches near the shore, and covered with sand. He also mentioned, that not long before, Spanish privateers had captured fifteen English vessels, in the neighborhood of the place where the Catharine had had its last sight of one of them, viz.: not far from Long Island soundings.

Next day, about sunrise, the remains of a child, born on board, were buried on shore directly opposite the ship. To mark the little grave, a stone was placed over it. In the afternoon, and on the following day, companies of Brethren visited the town. They were kindly received and Brother Boehler preached twice to numerous audiences. Among the hearers was the clergyman of the place. A number of Brethren made a short excursion into the country, and everywhere met with the same kindness. Brother Meurer says, "People called us into their houses, and loved us

much." On the 26th of May, the forty-second anniversary of Zinzendorf's birthday was remembered in public and private prayers, each one feeling a deep interest in that servant of the Lord, who had in His hands been instrumental in impressing a peculiar stamp on their minds, and in giving a new direction to their outward, as well as to their inward lives. The visits of the Brethren on shore were reciprocated on this day by a number of the people of the town, with their minister.

Meanwhile the ship's repairs did not advance as rapidly as might have been wished; and the prospect of still further delay was increased by three of the sailors leaving the ship, and taking up their quarters in the taverns of the town. Under these circumstances, the above mentioned skipper made an offer to take part of the passengers on board his sloop and carry them to New York in advance of the ship. This offer was accepted by twenty-six Brethren, Brother Meurer among them. The sloop started the same day (May 26), but meeting with adverse winds and calms, did not reach New Haven before the 28th. "When the people on shore," Brother Meurer writes, "discovered so many men on deck of the sloop, they became alarmed, thinking we were Spaniards, come to sack the town; but perceiving their error after we had landed, a concourse of all manner of persons gathered around us in the streets, requesting us to preach to them. There is a small University at this place, the students of which came to us with the same request. We discoursed with them as well as we could. Afterwards some of them, together with many other persons, came on board and crowded the deck of the sloop. Those of our company who could speak English, had each of them around him a knot of eager listeners and interrogators, who put their heads together. The students were not satisfied until they had induced some of the Brethren to accompany them to the College building. Here they called a meeting, and produced a controversial writing, containing theological questions, and treating of twenty-two articles of doctrine, on which the writer differed with Count Zinzendorf. The Brethren replied in answer thereto as much as was necessary, and then spoke of Jesus. The students seemed to be pleased, and loved us much. There are many awakened souls in this place, who frequently meet for religious conversation, and edification. The children also have meetings of their own. We became acquainted with

a boy who loved Jesus dearly, and came on board to see us. Our deck was crowded till night. Some of the visitors seemed actuated by curiosity only, or by a desire to engage in doctrinal disputes on predestination, &c. These received short answers; but there were others, who showed a deep concern for their soul's welfare; and not a few seemed eager to snatch the words out of our mouths. They asked whether we were certain that all that we had told them was true; we replied, 'as certain as that we have two arms attached to our shoulders.'"

On the 29th, early in the morning, the sloop resumed her voyage and proceeded as far as New Greenwich. Here the New Haven scenes were enacted over again, with even more intensity of feeling. The first demonstration was alarm, then so deep a distrust that the people would not even sell the Brethren bread and milk,—and, finally, an almost mysterious attraction towards them. The people offered to clear their houses to make room for meetings if the Brethren would only come and preach, and when this invitation could not be accepted, they came on board the sloop and engaged in conversation till late in the night.

The next morning seven of the English Brethren left the company to travel on foot the rest of the way to New York. On the first day of the voyage, during the passage from London to Gravesend, one of the ship's crew had been seized and carried on board a man-of-war, to be impressed into the King's service. His release had speedily followed, yet the Brethren, remembering the occurrence, preferred to avoid the British man-of-war, stationed near the port of New York. The sloop set her sails, and after having safely passed the dangers of Long Island Sound, and of the guard-ship, reached the harbor of New York. What was the astonishment of all to discover here amongst the shipping their own vessel, the Catharine, which four days before they had left at New London. The joy at meeting again was great on both sides; and the passengers of the sloop lost no time in returning to their former quarters and their old friends. These had made the passage from New London to New York in twenty-four hours, whilst the sloop had spent four days on the same route.

Still the Brethren of the sloop did not regret the part which had fallen to their lot. The time spent at New Haven, and at New Greenwich they knew was not time lost to their own hearts, and,

they fondly hoped, might have been of benefit to some of their New England friends. The accommodations afforded by the sloop had been rather inferior to those of the ship, but the Brethren had proved by experience that a man, healthy as to body and soul, can sleep in the open air, or on the bare ground as well as under more comfortable circumstances; and, besides, they had gained more knowledge of the new country than they could have done if they had remained all that time in one spot.

The Brethren who had remained on board of the Catharine (May 26,) had made frequent visits on shore, and were received with kindness, invited into houses, and had addressed numerous audiences, who crowded the houses inside, and outside around the windows and doors. Captain Gladman, meanwhile, with what assistance he could get, continued the work at the ship with great energy, and on the 28th finished the repairs so far that she was in a condition to proceed on her voyage. When this was discovered by the three sailors who had deserted, and who had imagined the repairs would take a long time, they sent a letter of apology to the captain, begging his permission to return on board. The captain, being a very kind-hearted man, agreed to receive them again, and paid their bill at the tavern. He also granted their request to be put on shore before coming in sight of the man-of-war, that they might escape being impressed into the King's service. Humble and penitent they now stepped up to the captain, one by one, and asked his forgiveness.

Everything being arranged, the ship left New London, May 29th, and arrived at New York, as just stated, on May 30th. They were soon visited by the leaders of the New York Society, Brother and Sister Noble, and by other Brethren. A number of other persons also came on board to see them, for the most part natives of Germany. The accounts these gave of the sufferings and miseries endured by them during their sea voyages, tended, if possible, to increase the gratitude felt by the members of the "Sea Congregation" for the favors they had received at the hands of the Lord.

Some of the late sloop party now went to meet the seven English Brethren, who had left them near New Greenwich, and conducted them on board. Their arrival completed the reunion of the whole original party. It appears the name of Moravians was

generally known through this part of the country by report, and many persons were anxious to hear more about them. Spangenberg, Bishop David Nitschman, Christian Henry Rauch and Peter Boehler had been at New York, and only six months before Zinzendorf, on his arrival in America, had made a short stay in the city, had delivered several addresses, and collected a small band of followers of Jesus, who have remained united ever since. When the seven Brethren stopped at a house for supper, its inmates refused to receive any pay, but the Brethren insisted upon making remuneration. Before night they were called upon by a young man with a message from his father, inviting them to spend the night with him, adding that "Count Spangenberg" had lodged at their house sometime ago. The invitation was accepted, and they spent a pleasant evening with their kind hosts.

It might be supposed that with the arrival of the "Sea Congregation" at New York, their navigation of the sea had come to a close, but for some unknown reason, this was not the case. On the 31st of May the sails were once more spread to the wind, and the ship left New York for Philadelphia, Brother and Sister Noble accompanying their friends out to New York bay. The passage of the ship was in the highest degree tedious and dangerous, because the captain hugged the shore as closely as possible, probably for fear of privateers. On the fifth day of the passage (June 4th) the ship entered Delaware Bay, and received a pilot on board, but was greeted by the Delaware with a tremendous thunder storm. In the following night great danger awaited the ship. One of the Brethren of the night-watch had separated from the rest, and, with the intention of pursuing his meditations undisturbed, had seated himself on the windlass of the anchor cable. About midnight he arose to seek another place, better protected from the wind, and in rising he accidentally disarranged the machinery of the windlass. The consequence was, that the cable began to unwind, finally snapped, and the ship drifted at an increasing rate towards the unseen lee-shore. As soon as the alarm had brought the captain on deck, he had a second anchor cast overboard, but, the windlass being now entirely out of order, it was with the greatest difficulty that the crew, assisted by many of the Brethren, succeeded in securing and fastening the cable in a proper

manner. Next day, June 6th, many hours were spent in searching for and recovering the lost anchor and cable.

This was their last trouble. The following morning the Brethren were agreeably surprised at the arrival on board of some former German friends residing in Pennsylvania, who had heard of its arrival in Delaware Bay, and had taken a boat at Philadelphia to meet it. At ten o'clock on the morning of Thursday, June 7th, the "Sea Congregation" landed at Philadelphia, having left Gravesend on March 19th, 1742.

According to the old style of reckoning, this was May 27th, and Ascension day. Count Zinzendorf had just closed a sermon in the Lutheran church. Brother Christian Henry Rauch, Missionary at Shekomeko, and Gottlob Buettner, (Lutheran) minister at Tulpehocken, were the first to make their way from the church to the ship. They were soon followed by Count Zinzendorf himself, Anna Nitschman, Anna Sophia Molther, (late de Seidewitz), and others. Great was the joy on both sides to meet and to embrace one another. Meanwhile a crowd of persons was seen gathering on shore, in expectation that the newly arrived immigrants were to be exposed for redemption-sale, according to the usage of the times, in the same manner in which the ship's company of an Irish vessel, lying alongside of the Catharine, had but a short time before been disposed of.

Next day, June 8th, (n. s.) all the members of the "Sea Congregation" repaired to the court house, Captain Gladman leading the way. Brother Meurer describes the scene as follows: "When we entered the court house, we found the government already assembled. We were told that this country belongs to the King of England, that we were required, in the first place, to take an oath of allegiance to the King and his successors, meaning that we would conduct ourselves as good and faithful subjects, not revolt against his Majesty, nor settle on lands not our own. In the second place, we were required to abjure all allegiance to the Pope.* One of the members declared in the name of all, that we were ready to promise all this, but would take no oath. Thereupon the members of the government talked a little to one another. At length one of

* Here Brother Meurer falls into an error, in confounding this with abjuring the Roman Catholic faith.

them said, that the oath would be dispensed with, but that he was now going to read something, which we must all repeat after him with a loud voice. To this we had no objection, and we repeated his words with a will, since all our life time we have been good subjects, and intend to be so in future, and, as to the Pope, we cared as little about him as he cared about us. Finally we had to sign our names to two different papers, one of which belongs to the King of England, and the other to the Government of Pennsylvania. This done, they wished us good success, and dismissed us."

The married Brethren and Sisters were provided with lodgings in town and left the ship. Some Indians strolling through the streets, were the first specimens of their nation seen by the Brethren, and impressed them with feelings of compassion; but next day (June 9th) Brother Louis (by which name Count Zinzendorf was generally called in America), brought an Indian Brother, John, of Shekomeko (the well known Tschoop, the first Indian convert,) on board, who had been baptized by Brother Rauch. With him they soon felt themselves one heart and one soul, because he dearly loved the Saviour. (He spoke German and Dutch, as many New York Indians did.)

On Sunday, June 10th, the Brethren attended service in the morning in the Lutheran church at Philadelphia, in the afternoon at Germantown. On both occasions Zinzendorf preached farewell sermons, previous to setting out on his travels into the interior of the state, and the Indian country.

On Tuesday, June 12th, the seventh Synod of the attempted union of all denominations of German Protestants, was opened at the house of Mr. Evans. The arrival of the "Sea Congregation" was officially reported by the Syndic, (Brother Louis), and its members were introduced to the assembly. The Synod extended a hearty welcome to all, and accepted an invitation to partake of a love-feast on board the ship. More than one hundred and twenty members of the Synod attended this love-feast, which may be considered as the solemn termination of the existence of the "Sea Congregation."

In the course of this and the following week, its former members left Philadelphia in small parties, taking an affectionate farewell of Captain Gladman, and with their hearts full of gratitude

to God for past mercies, and full of confidence with regard to the future.

As they reached the banks of the Lehigh, they found themselves opposite a forest-clad hill, on which, overhung by shady trees and concealed by the thick undergrowth, were standing the few log houses, called Bethlehem. Once more they intrusted themselves to a frail craft, such as navigated the Lehigh in those times, ascended the hill, and received a hearty welcome amongst the Brethren who formed the infant settlement.

SKETCH

OF THE

SETTLEMENT OF HOPE, NEW JERSEY.

BY REV. CHARLES F. KLUGE.

After the Brethren, in the year 1741, had settled in the Province of Pennsylvania and commenced the building of Bethlehem, some of their number from time to time visited the neighboring Province of New Jersey, for the purpose of preaching the Gospel at Anvil and other places, or passed through it on their way to the Indians in New York and New England. This gave rise to their friendship with Mr. Samuel Green and his wife Abigail, who were wont to entertain the missionaries and Indian Brethren and Sisters on their journeys from or to Bethlehem.

The Brethren Bruce, Shaw, Joseph Powel and others, from time to time, preached in their house. In 1749, both Mr. Green and his wife were baptized at Bethlehem by Brother Nathaniel Seidel and Brother John F. Cammerhoff; they also had their children baptized by the Brethren, and placed them in their schools at Bethlehem, to be educated. Indeed so great was their attachment to the Brethren, that Mr. Green, in 1768, came to that place and offered all his land to them, for the purpose of establishing in New Jersey a settlement of the Brethren, similar to Bethlehem.

After mature deliberation, the question of acceding to Mr. Green's proposal was submitted to the decision of the Lord by lot, and determined in the affirmative. Out of regard to the interests of the children of Mr. and Mrs. Green, the Brethren deemed it wrong to accept the land as a gift, or in consideration of an annuity to the old people, as the latter had proposed. Accordingly the

land was purchased by Brother Nathaniel Seidel from Mr. Green and his wife, with the full consent of both their sons, for £1000 cash; their house and garden, free firewood, and hay for two cows being reserved to them besides during their life time. In 1771 the additional sum of £100 was paid to them for a tract of land on the mountain, together with £100 for the use of their son Nicholas.

In the spring of 1769, the first settlers from Bethlehem, Peter Worbass and family, removed thither, and were hospitably entertained by Mr. and Mrs. Green, until the first house, a log building, had been erected. With a view to render the new purchase profitable as soon as possible, a flouring mill was built and put in operation in 1770, although but little wheat was then raised in that part of the country.

In May of the same year, during the visitation of the Brethren Christian Gregor, J. Loretz and Hans Christian von Schweinitz, the name of Greenland was given to the new place. Worbass having removed to Nazareth* in 1771, Frederick Leinback became manager in his stead, and commenced a small shop or store for the benefit of the settlement. Daniel Hauser took charge of the mill and Frederick Rauschenberger became assistant on the farm. In 1773 Frederick Blum settled there and established a tannery.

With regard to spiritual matters, it must be remarked, that during the first year, after the commencement of this new settlement of the Brethren, Bishop Ettwein frequently visited there, preaching both in the English and German languages, and administering the sacraments. In 1771, Brother John Jacob Schmick was appointed minister of the little flock; he was succeeded in 1773 by Brother Francis Boehler, who was followed in 1774 by Brother Daniel Sydrich. The latter being called to Philadelphia towards the close of the year, Bishop Ettwein ministered to the flock until May, 1775, when he was relieved by Brother Joseph Neisser.

In the year 1774, the Unity's Elders' Conference having determined to establish a regular settlement (*Orts Gemeine*) at Greenland, the resolution was announced to the members of the infant congregation on the 22d of May, and caused great joy. In accord-

* Peter Worbass occupied the first house built in Nazareth after the erection of the Hall. This house was built in 1771.

ance with it, the site of the future settlement was surveyed on the 25th and 26th of November, 1774, and a town laid out by the Brethren Nathaniel Seidel, John Ettwein, Hans Christian von Schweinitz, and the surveyor, Brother J. W. Golgosky. On the 8th of February, 1775, it was determined by lot that the place should be named Hope.

In the same year a dwelling house was built for the farmer, and a building erected for a distillery and brewery. Brother Stephen Nicolaus undertook the manufacture of bricks and lime, while Brother Adolph Hartman, who had removed thither from Christain's Spring, erected a dwelling house and smithy. On the 8th of June the Brotherly Agreement was subscribed by the first settlers, and it was determined that all future inhabitants should do the same. To complete the organization of the settlement, a committee, consisting of four Brethren, was appointed, to supply the place of a College of Overseers (*Aufseher Collegium.*)

In 1776, a house was built for a store, and occupied by Brother Frederick Leinback in 1777. The following year was a very sickly one, fever and dysentery prevailing extensively and proving fatal in a number of cases. From November 1779, till March 1780, Brother Ettwein again took temporary charge of the congregation, preaching in the English language every fortnight.

In 1781 the "Gemein Haus," (embracing dwellings for the officials of the church and a chapel) was built, the corner stone being laid by Bishop J. F. Reichel, then engaged in a visitation to the American congregations, on the 2d of April. The number of souls then belonging to the congregation of Hope was 53. In August of the same year Dr. C. F. Kampman took up his residence here, and engaged in the practice of medicine.

On the 8th of November, 1782, the chapel in the newly erected "Gemein Haus," and the dwelling appropriated to the ministering servants of the congregation, at that time consisting of Brother and Sister Joseph Neisser, were solemnly dedicated by Bishop Ettwein. They were succeeded in 1784 by Brother and Sister Meder, and thenceforward preaching in the English language was held every Sunday. During the visitation of Bishop Johannes de Watteville, in the year mentioned, a Single Sisters' Economy was commenced on a small scale, the Sisters living for the present in the "Gemein-Haus." A school for little girls was likewise begun,

and placed in charge of Sister Anna Rosina Mack, subsequently married to Brother Schlegel. In addition to a saw-mill, erected in 1780, and a pottery commenced in 1783 by Brother Lewis Moeller from Salem, N. C., a public inn was opened in the following year in the old "Gemein-Haus."

In 1786 Brother Christian Till took charge of the school for boys, which had previously been conducted by the minister, and also served as organist. In 1787 Brother Lewis F. Boehler succeeded to the pastoral charge of the congregation, special advisers were assigned to the choirs, and Brother Abraham Hessler was appointed first warden, and an Elder's Conference was regularly organized, but named the "Congregation Conference."

In the year 1788 a controversy of long standing respecting the township line was finally settled, a survey having proved that the greater portion of the settlement of Hope belonged to Oxford, and only six or seven houses, together with the farm, to Knowlton township.

A set of trombones having been procured from Europe, they were used for the first time on the church anniversary, November 8th, 1789.

In 1790 Dr. Kampman succeeded Brother Abraham Hessler as warden. The manufacture of potash was commenced for the Diacony.

At the close of the twenty-first year, since the establishment of Hope, the number of souls belonging to the congregation was 147, of whom 66 were communicants; 100 lived in town, and 47 in the vicinity. The number had increased from 2 in 1769, to 147 in 1790. From this time forward the membership steadily decreased.

In 1791 an oil mill was put in operation in the lower part of the saw mill at the expense of the Congregation Diacony. Brother Dreyspring, the adviser of the Single Brethren, departed this life during the season of general sickness that prevailed this year.

In 1795 Brother Lewis Boehler was succeeded as pastor by Brother Abraham Reinke, and the four following years were comparatively healthy.

In 1798 the first marriage was solemnized at Hope, viz.: that of Brother Francis Clewell, of Schoeneck, to Sister Anna Maria Leinback. In 1799, Brother Conrad Kreuser, who was then the

only single Brother at Hope, removed to Nazareth. During the following year (1800) two official visits on the part of the Provincial Helpers' Conference, were made at Hope, the one by Brother J. G. Cunow, for an investigation of the financial condition of the settlement, and the other by C. G. Reichel from Nazareth, chiefly in view of the discouraging state of things in general, evidences of which were seen in eight unoccupied houses and the discontinuance of the girls' school. The number of the congregation was now reduced to 84.

In the year 1803 Brother Abraham Reinke removed to Lancaster, and was succeeded by John Lewis Strohle, appointed minister of the congregation and inspector of the contemplated Boarding School for girls. The house destined for this institution, as well as for the single Sisters and girls, was occupied on the 5th of July, having been solemnly dedicated on the 11th of April. The Boarding School was opened on the first of August. In the same year Brother George A. Hartman was appointed teacher of the school for boys, and assistant to Brother Strohle in the spiritual care of the single Brethren and boys. On the 20th of November the house intended for the school was dedicated and occupied. In 1804 the boys' school was discontinued, and the store was transferred to Brother Daniel Kleist, who conducted it on his own account. In June, 1805, the Boarding School, which had had a precarious existence since 1803, was given up, as all means of sustaining it proved ineffectual. Dr. C. F. Kampman was succeeded in the office of warden by Brother John F. Stadiger.

In 1806 the Single Sisters' Economy was abolished. In May, 1807, the Brethren Verbeck and Forestier, members of the Unity's Elders' Conference, while on a visitation to the American congregations, came to Hope, and in a meeting convened on the 26th of May, announced that the church authorities had decided to break up the establishment at Hope, to sell the property, and remove the remaining members to other settlements.

This measure was necessitated by the precarious financial condition of the settlement, and the failure of a variety of endeavors, made from time to time, to increase the prosperity and maintain the existence of the establishment. It was, moreover, foreseen, that in consequence of the disturbed state of affairs in Europe at that period, the Wardens' College of the Unity would find them-

selves unable to continue their pecuniary aid. In accordance with this decision, the entire tract of land and all the buildings erected thereon were subsequently sold to Messrs. Kraemer and Horn, of Pennsylvania. A portion of the members of the congregation removed to other settlements during the year 1807, but the most of the inhabitants emigrated in 1808. Brother Strohle having been called to Hope, in North Carolina, was succeeded in the fall of 1807 by Brother Meder, from Nazareth, who remained at Hope until its final abandonment in the following year.

The number of souls belonging to the congregation at the close of the year 1807 was but 63. During the first months of the year 1808, those still remaining at Hope were occupied in preparing to remove. On Easter Sunday, April 17th, the last sermon was preached, and with the solemn evening service of that day, the existence of the congregation at Hope terminated.

During the week succeeding Easter, some of the few remaining families left for Bethlehem or Nazareth, who were afterwards followed by others who proceeded to the same places.

SKETCH

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE CONGREGATION

ON

STATEN ISLAND, NEW YORK.

BY REV. EUGENE LEIBERT.

In the spring of the year 1743, there was cited before the Mayor and Council of New York, a godly man, accused of no other crime than that of preaching the Gospel. Without a trial, without being informed wherein his offence consisted, he was ordered to leave the city, and when he meekly asked why the sentence was passed upon him, he was roughly answered, "because you are a vagabond." This persecuted servant of God was the learned and pious Moravian Bishop, Peter Boehler. The Mayor who banished him was the tool of men who should have given the Bishop the right hand of fellowship, as a co-laborer in the Lord's vineyard, and who might have profited by the instructions relating to pastoral duties that he was so well qualified by his rich experience and wonderful attainments to give, but who so far departed from the functions of their sacred calling, as to incite the populace against this faithful messenger of the Gospel.

Bishop Boehler obeyed the arbitrary decree and left the city, taking up his abode temporarily on Long Island. But neither he nor his friends would allow themselves to be thus driven from the field; they made no attempts to bring their false accusers or the unjust officers to account, as they might have done, but after ascertaining what was required by the civil law to empower a body of Christians to enjoy the ministrations of such a preacher as they might prefer, and complying therewith, the Bishop returned to the

city, and devoted himself to the interests of a little band of God's children, that had been awakened mainly through his instrumentality and those of others belonging to the same ecclesiastical organization with himself.

But not without further interruption; for the same bitter enemies endeavored to banish him from the city, and succeeded in having an act passed by the General Assembly of the Province, forbidding all Moravian ministers to preach. A few members of the Assembly opposed the act, one sarcastically proposing that it should be denominated the "Persecuting Act," and another advising its supporters to "hang the Moravians, as their forefathers had done to the Quakers."

But, strange as it may appear, the act was passed, and became a law for one year. The Moravians could hold no services; they were regarded with suspicion, hatred and envy. Denunciations were fulminated against them in pamphlets and newspapers; preachers vituperated and defamed them in their pulpits, and they could not venture abroad in safety. When they appeared in the streets they were recognized, and the populace cast stones at them. Two of the Brethren, missionaries, travelling through the Province on their errand of mercy to the Indians, were cast into prison, and nothing was left undone to harass and distract them.

All this took place a few years after the Moravians first commenced their labors in this vicinity. They had scarcely become acquainted with some pious individuals in the city of New York and its neighborhood, and held devotional meetings for them, before the whole community was in a ferment, and they were subjected to bitter persecution; so that the history of the planting of the Moravian church in these parts is, to a great extent, a narrative of continual annoyances and molestations from without, and of acts and doings on the part of nominal Christians that are a sad indication of the religious condition of the Province at that time. It is a narrative too of patient and self-denying labor for the good of mankind, of calm trust in God, of obedience to his commandments, of faithful devotion to His service; and it affords abundant evidence that the Master comforts and supports His servants, and ultimately crowns their labor with success.

When the first Moravian colonists arrived in this country, in the year 1735, and settled in the Province of Georgia, they pur-

chased their provisions, implements, and various needful articles in New York; and having become acquainted with an upright man residing there, who manifested great interest in them, they made him their agent. This man was associated with a few others who loved the Lord, and who were accustomed to meet together privately for mutual edification; and when Bishop David Nitschman and Brother Spangenberg, afterwards Bishop (or "Brother Joseph") who had accompanied the colonists to Georgia, passed through the city in the year 1736 on their way to Pennsylvania, they became personally acquainted with the members of this little circle, several of whom grew very much attached to them, and from that time desired that a Moravian church might be established in the city. Five years later, in 1741, Bishop Boehler organized a Christian Society, in connection with the Moravian church, who seem to have been full communicants of other denominations, but were dissatisfied with the worldliness that prevailed in their own churches, and were attracted by the simplicity and purity of faith exhibited by the early Moravians.

Count Zinzendorf, who arrived at New York the same year, on his way to Pennsylvania, spent a few days there, and his intercourse with the newly formed society had the effect of uniting its members still more closely together in the bonds of Christian love. They had as yet no minister of their own, but a pious man named Jacques Cortelyou, residing on Long Island, was appointed their Elder, and other officers were chosen, by whom weekly Conferences were held in which the interests of the little flock were considered. They held devotional meetings, and were visited at intervals by bishops and ministers from Bethlehem.

In the year 1742,* David Bruce was sent to look after the members of this Society, residing in the city of New York, on Long Island and Staten Island, and to preach to them, and we perceive that as early as the period just named there lived here friends of the Moravian Church who were ministered to by our Brethren.

Captain Nicholas Garrison, who, during frequent voyages at sea, had formed an intimacy with Spangenberg, and had thus been

* We gather this information from an old manuscript history of the Brethren's church in New York City.

attracted to the Brethren,* united with the church, and rendered it most valuable services in the capacity of commander of the Moravian ship "Irene," which was employed in carrying colonists and stores for them from the Old to the New World.

This Captain Garrison, who was a native of Staten Island, had his family residing there, and abandoned the sea from time to time to live temporarily with them. He is supposed to have done much to promote the cause of the Brethren on the Island.

It appears that the following ministers preached and visited here at stated times from 1742 to 1763, when the first church was built:

1742. David Bruce.
1747. Richard Utley.
1749. John Wade.
1750. Owen Rice.
1754. Abraham Reinke, Jasper Payne, Owen Rice and Abraham Rusmeyer.
1755. Richard Utley.
1756. Jacob Rogers.
1757. Thomas Yarrel.
1761. George Sölle.
1762. Thomas Yarrel.

Of the labors of these Brethren we have but very meagre accounts. Their hearers on Staten Island seem to have been subjected to the same persecutions as their Brethren in New York, being denounced by ministers of other denominations from their pulpits. As late as the year 1789, one of them, in the course of a farewell sermon, cautioned his hearers against entering a Moravian church.

In the year 1756 there were three communicant members of the Moravian church residing here, viz.: Brother Vanderbilt and his wife and Sister Ingard. In October, 1758, Bishop Spangenberg made an official visit to the island, and in the same month and year, Rev. Thomas Yarrel, pastor of the New York congregation, came hither to conduct the interment services of Mr. John Van Deventer, who was the builder of the ship "Irene," and a man of some note, as appears from the fact that his funeral was attended by a large

* Their acquaintance took place on the Island of St. Eustatius. See memoirs of N. Garrison, *Brüderblatt*, July, 1857.

concourse of people, among whom were the local and provincial civil officers residing in the vicinity.

It is not known with any degree of certainty where divine service was held by our Brethren before the church was built, but it is said to have been in a school house standing near, or on the very site of the old church.

The ministrations of the Brethren above mentioned seem to have been very acceptable to the people. They desired that a Moravian church might be established here, and in the year 1762 a letter was sent to the proper authorities at Bethlehem, requesting "that the little flock here might be remembered, and that a Brother might be sent hither to preach the Gospel, and teach the little lambs which had been baptized by the Brethren." This letter, which is still in existence, is signed by Richard Connor, Stephen Martins, Jun., Tunis Egbert, Jacob Van Derbilt, John Van Derbilt, Aaron Cortelyou, Matthias Engard, John Baty, Cornelius Cortelyou, Cornelius Van Derbilt, Cornelius Vandeventer, Stephen Martins, Mary Stillwell, Cornelius Martins and Peter Perine.

It appears that it was in contemplation to erect a church and parsonage, but no detailed history of the building of the church can be found. It is only recorded that on the 7th of July, 1763, the corner stone was laid, on which occasion Brother Yarrel, pastor of the church in New York, preached on the text, "Behold I lay in Zion for a foundation stone, a tried stone, a precious cornerstone, a sure foundation."

Rev. Hector Gambold, the first resident Moravian minister on Staten Island, and his wife, arrived on the 17th of August following, and took up their abode in a house that was prepared for their temporary accommodation, until the parsonage should be finished. On the 7th of December of the same year, the church was consecrated by Brother Yarrel of New York, who preached on the text, "We preach Christ crucified." The parsonage appears not to have been completed until the 21st of December following.

Stewards were appointed to manage the affairs of the congregation on the 14th of September, 1766, when a set of regulations for the congregation were adopted.

But the congregation here appears to have been only a branch of that at New York until four years later, the minister and communicants being in the habit of going to the city at every communion

season. This custom continued until some time between the year 1769 and 1779; but as the journals of these years are lost, it is impossible to determine when the Lord's Supper was first celebrated here.

Scarcely any records are left to hand down to us the annals of the church during the Revolutionary War, but we are led to infer that our people suffered as much as their neighbors during that period. Among the few incidents known to us, one is related of some soldiers who were stationed on the island and forcibly entered the parsonage one night for the purpose of plundering it. Considerable damage was done by them, although none of the inmates were harmed.

On another occasion, some soldiers endeavored to break into the house of Christian Jacobsen, in the evening about bedtime. The family was alarmed by the noise they made, and Jacobsen, going to the door to ascertain the cause, was shot by one of them and soon after expired. This Christian Jacobsen is well known in Moravian history as the Captain of the ship "Irene," after Captain Garrison retired from active life. Whilst he commanded her, she was captured by a French privateer in the year 1757, and sent to Cape Breton, but on the 12th of January, 1758, she was cast away. The crew took to their boats, were thrown upon a desert coast, and obliged to work their way with great trial and peril through snow and ice, until they came to Louisburg. Captain Jacobsen and some other persons bought a ship in London, which he navigated until he had a new one built at New York, which he called the "Hope," in which Moravian colonists afterwards sailed between the Old and New World.

In 1784, Gambold was succeeded by Rev. James Birkley. In 1787 Rev. Frederick Moehring arrived here and assumed the pastorship of the church. His diary furnishes an interesting and often touching history of the congregation at the close of the last century. At the commencement of his ministry it consisted of 27 communicants, 52 stated hearers and 41 children. This little flock who, for the most part resided near the church, seem to have been closely united in the bonds of Christian love. Brother Moehring was much beloved by his people and respected by other citizens of the island. He lived in terms of close intimacy with Rev. Dr. Moore, then Rector of St. Andrew's Church, at Richmond, and

afterwards Bishop of Virginia. When tidings of Moehring's death came in 1804, Dr. Moore preached a discourse in his memory in his church at Richmond, Va.

It was during Brother Moehring's pastorate that the first Committee, or Board of Elders, was organized by Bishop Ettwein, 18th May, 1788. Such a Board has been in existence ever since, and a faithful record of all its transactions has been kept. By this record it appears that the minister received no fixed salary. His people brought him grain, meat and various articles of food, fuel, &c. Other articles of clothing, &c., were partly made up by weekly collections after the sermon. The deficiency was divided into a certain number of shares, of which each member took his quota, according to willingness or ability. This method which had many disadvantages, was established about the year 1798, when the minister's salary was fixed at the sum of £20, in cash, besides which he received annually such articles as the people themselves produced, viz: grain, meat, fuel, candles, flax, linen, &c. But the contributions were at times so scant, that the minister was often in want of the common necessities of life.

Brother Moehring was succeeded in 1803, by Brother Nathaniel Brown, who labored here until his death in 1813.

As it is not our aim to prolong the history of our earliest settlements and congregations far into the present century, we herewith close the sketch of the Congregation on Staten Island.

CHRISTIAN'S SPRING.

BY JAMES HENRY.

Introduction.

Should the chronicler who searches Nazareth and its environs for precious fragments of history extend his researches in a western direction, he would encounter a cluster of quaint-looking houses, contrasting strongly with others of modern structure and fashion that stand in harmless company near them. The double-pitched roofs, the diminutive windows, and the antique style of these edifices point to some distant period, when such architecture was in vogue, but now intrudes itself upon our more fastidious taste as obsolete, and identified with a simpler age and race.

The village in question has changed its aspect within a few years, but even now there is enough of it left to indicate that it was a Moravian abode, and there is sufficient material there to interest the curious in these matters, and to tempt the enquiring historian or the curious antiquary to extend his walks in that direction. The beauty of nature, and the charms of one of the finest agricultural regions, are sufficient enticements to lead us in the direction of Christian's Spring; for no more pleasant landscape greets the eye than the one you enjoy between Nazareth and this ancient village.

In the early times of 1750, the period into which the wand of imagination is about to lead us, the walk from Christian's Spring to Nazareth, partly along garden-like fields, partly through the primeval forest of massive oaks, must have been such as to awaken in the souls of the simple Brethren who daily pursued that well-worn route, all the spiritual joy that lurked within their hearts. And this we know from the *Reise Lieder*, as well as tradition, they were wont to express in hymns and songs as they went along.

They sang in chorus as they journeyed from place to place; and

one can imagine how sweetly those time-honored chorales must have relieved the solitude of the woods that shaded the road to the Single Brethren's dwelling place, as they went to and fro to enjoy the Saturday love-feasts at Nazareth, or the Sunday morning meetings in the present Hall. Peaceful images of an earlier life! Let us dwell upon them in spirit as we pursue the little sketch now before us.

Its Origin and History.

Christian's Spring was a settlement of Single Brethren, and was situated at the distance of two miles from Nazareth. It overlooked the small village of Gnadenthal,* which lay on the road to Nazareth, and at the distance of about half a mile from Christian's Spring.

It dates its commencement on the 17th December,† 1749, and the incidents in connection with its first formation into a community of Single Brethren are related as follows:

"Wednesday, December 17, 1749, with the beautiful text of this day, 'The king has brought me into his chambers, He also

* The little settlement called Gnadenthal was commenced in 1745; it was designed as the abode of the married brethren, and the tract of land in which it lay was one of unsurpassed fertility. While the first house was being erected, in the month of January of this year, the Brethren slept at Nazareth, and continued to do so until the house was completed. At that time the Brethren Anton and Senseman came up from Bethlehem to assist in choosing the location, and give advice as to the building of the place. The visits of Spangenberg to Nazareth were very frequent, as we find him there on the seventh of January, superintending the builders of the first Gnadenthal house; and again on the thirteenth, in company with the Brethren (Captain) Garrison, Noble, Neusser, and others. On this occasion, soon after their arrival at Nazareth, they proceeded to Gnadenthal, when Brother Spangenberg proposed a love-feast, and rolling the logs together for seats, they contrived a table out of the split fragments of a tree. Around this rude board they seated themselves, and enjoyed the first Agapæ at Gnadenthal. In the afternoon they all returned to Bethlehem. When the first house was completed, December, 1745, Brother Zeisberger was duly installed as *Haus Vater*, and Brother Demuth was made his assistant, aided by a number of the other Brethren who were to perform the various duties assigned them.

Gnadenthal, the "Valley of Grace," was called by the Indians Nolemattink, which name they also applied to Christian's Spring.—*David Zeisberger.*

† Preparations had been made for the building of the place as early as 1747, when the grist and saw-mill were erected; the lower story of the structure was a grist, and the upper story a saw-mill. In 1748 the school-house was built.

knoweth my tenderness,' the removal of the dear hearts to Nazareth and Christian's Spring took place, amid the good wishes and blessings of the whole congregation (at Bethlehem). Previous to their departure, the Brethren and Sisters had a 'Quarter-Hour' in their prayer-hall, and the Single Brethren a love-feast in their own house. Then, under the guidance of Brother Nathaniel [Seidel] who was to remain some time with them in Christian's Spring, the following twenty-two Single Brethren proceeded thither:

Jacob Loesch,	George Huber,
J. Heinrich Paulsen,	William Okely,
Johannes Seifert,	Abraham Steiner,
Jacob Frey,	Erhard Heckedorn,
John Garrison,	Heinrich Liesch,
Jacobus von der Merk,	Michael Ranke,
Johannes Scheffler,	George Holder,
George Goepfert,	Jacob Kapp,
Andrew Broksch,	Michael Ruch,
John Beroth,	Friedrich Holder,
Heinrich Miller,	Jacob Wuest.

As they departed, the horns and trumpets were blown, and many Brethren and Sisters went along with the company.

"The Single Brethren were received in Christian's Spring by John Nitschmann's and Samuel Krause's, and the twelve married pairs were welcomed to Nazareth by a love-feast, and were led into their homes, which were consecrated for them."*

Here not only the Single Brethren dwelt, but the choirs of youth and smaller boys lived with them, and in the regulation of the so-called *Choir Houses*, a Superintendent (*Pfleger*) was appointed over each division of boys, youth, and Single Brethren, to take care of them both in a temporal and spiritual sense. From its first formation up to the year 1762, Christian's Spring constituted a branch of the general economy, and during this time Spangenberg was the Ordinarius, and superintended the economical affairs of the Brethren in this country. Hence in the earlier diaries, we find frequent mention made of "Brother Joseph." He was in the habit of visiting, periodically, Christian's Spring, Gnadenthal,

* It appears that an emigration from Bethlehem to Nazareth and Christian's Spring took place at the same time, the whole body consisting of twelve married couples, and twenty-two Single Brethren: the former to augment Nazareth, and the latter to start Christian's Spring. When the new occupants of Nazareth entered their houses, a formal consecration took place.

Nazareth and Friedensthal, and he found it incumbent on him to study the spiritual, and provide for the material, wants of all these places.

After it had ceased to be a part of the general economy, it had its own economy for many years, and remained a community of unmarried men and boys, who managed their affairs with the aid of several married families, up to the year 1796. In that year the choirs of Single Brethren and boys finally dissolved under the following circumstances:

"April 1, 1796. To-day the Brethren of the Helpers' [Elders'] Conference came here to meet in conference, and in the afternoon at two o'clock, there was a love-feast at Christian's Spring, for the purpose of closing the economy of the Single Brethren, preparatory to the new arrangements about to be made for the residence of married Brethren and Sisters there. The Brethren of the Elders' Conference, the Helpers' Conference and the Board of Elders of Nazareth, with some other guests, were present. Brother Ettwein, who presided at the love-feast, expressed in a verse of blessing written for the occasion, his heart's emotions in consequence of the change that was about to take place, which, together with the account of the first settlement of Christian's Spring, was read to the meeting. The Elders of the Choirs at Christian's Spring were enumerated, of whom five were present, viz.: David Zeisberger, Jacob Van Vleck, Andrew Busse, Johannes Schnall, Paul Miksch, the Superintendent John Bonn, who had occupied his office for thirty years, and George Golgowsky.

*Then there were many things told about the olden time and of the life of grace and happiness that had been led in this place, and expressions of gratitude evinced for the blessings and protection vouchsafed by God. Among other things, it was related that in the beginning the name of the place was Gnadenhöh, but that afterwards it was changed to that of Christian's Spring, in honor of Christian Renatus von Zinzendorf and the fine spring that is there. At the conclusion, Brother Paul Miksch was appointed Superintendent, and *Haus Liturguis* (conductor of family service), and notice was given the Brethren in Christian's Spring that, in

* In the Agapæ of former times social conversation took place, and under this agreeable form they were revived by Zinzendorf in 1727.

future, they would be served by the pastoral Brethren of Nazareth.

Rules and Customs of Primitive Days.

After giving the above brief history of the origin and decline of Christian's Spring, we will offer some descriptive details of life as it was spent there during the period the Single Brethren and boys were its occupants.

The day was always opened with an early morning service, (*Eine Früh-Stunde*), comprising singing and a short discourse, or reading. Then came the frugal meal, which was followed by the labors of the day.

At noon a Liturgy was sung, and in the evening a *Sing-Stunde*, with an occasional reading of the "Disciple House Diary,"* closed the history of the day. This was the routine of every day life, and nothing interrupted the performance of the morning and evening services. During the seasons of hay-making and harvest, when intense labor and fatigue distracted the mind, the mid-day service was occasionally omitted; but such instances were not frequent, and the flame of devotion burned on steadily without ever being extinguished.

During service it was not unusual to commemorate birth-days by singing a hymn of blessing for the Brother who might be celebrating such an anniversary. The verses were selected from the hymn-book, but on special occasions a composition by one of the Brethren was substituted. This anniversary was a prominent incident among the events of the Choir, and hence it was deemed indispensable to honor it, either in the morning or evening devotions, by some appropriate psalm or original ode.

In the larger congregations the children greeted the recipient of the birth-day compliments with congratulatory verses sung in chorus, although this was an act more usually performed towards one of the officials of the church. The congratulations of the birth-day extended even to those who were absent in distant parts of the earth, to Zinzendorf, the Countess, or Spangenberg, and

* The "Disciple House" was the designation of the quarters occupied by Zinzendorf and his whole missionary family, and the diaries kept at such residences, of which there were several in Europe, were transmitted to America for perusal by all the congregations.

after the death of these remarkable personages, their anniversaries were held in pious remembrance.

The Disciple, or *Jünger*, of the choir was always made the subject of a birth-day hymn, or address, on the eventful day. The officiating Brother was called the *Chor Jünger*, or Disciple of the Choir. The office was taken by turns, and the Brother who thus presided over the meetings was chosen by lot. The peculiar custom of administering the "kiss of peace" ratified the choice of the *Chor Jünger* upon entering on his new charge.

In addition to this, however, whenever the Brethren came from Bethlehem, on a visit, they usually officiated in the place of the *Chor Jünger*.

Among those who figured in the years embraced in the history of Christian's Spring and Gnadenthal, we find the names of Christian and Nathaniel Seidel.*

One of the most favorite hymns was:

"O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden!"
O head so full of bruises!

And this was frequently sung solo by two Brethren alternately. Events of any peculiar importance were announced or commemorated by chorales on the horns, (*Waldhörner*). Thus on the morning of the 25th of November, 1757, a chorale was performed in remembrance of the Brethren who had been massacred a few years previously on the Mahoni. When the news of a death came from Bethlehem, or elsewhere, the announcement was made by what was called the *Heimgangs Ton*, or death chorale, played from a high position in the open air. The horns were also called into requisition early in the morning of the birth-day of an official Brother, telling the event while yet in his slumbers.

The language of those days was one of the characteristics, not only of early Moravian times, but of the German style of thought and feeling. Thus, in speaking of the arrival of the Brethren from Bethlehem, the diarist says, "*Heute kamen unsere lieben*

* Nathaniel Seidel, one of the number who constituted the "Sea Congregation" in 1742, came with his wife, Anna Johanna, and a colony of fifty Brethren, to America in 1761. He was subsequently appointed to the office of *Economus* of the Brethren, and in his official capacity as such, visited at regular intervals the "Upper Places." Christian's Spring, Gnadenthal, Nazareth, Friedensthal and the Rose.

Herzen, Bruder Nathaniel und Schwester Anna Johanna von Bethlehem herauf zum Besuch," (To-day there came to us from Bethlehem, on a visit, our dear hearts Brother Nathaniel and Sister Anna Johanna.) The tone of thought prevailing among the early Brethren may be inferred from the term in use among them applied to the Count and Countess. The former was called "papa," and the latter "mama," and in all reference made to either, these familiar terms were cherished and constantly used.

During the enjoyment of the agapæ (love-feast), it was Spangenberg's habit to hold discourses in a conversational way, relating the affairs and recent occurrences of the European congregations, and telling the Brethren all that had occurred there.

The manner of holding the Easter solemnity (1756) is thus described, beginning with Maundy Thursday, "Brother Mattheus [Hehl] held the morning blessing; at noon followed the Liturgy, with a few verses. In the afternoon we went to Gnadenthal to partake of a blessed Communion. Soon after followed the agapæ, and at the conclusion, Brother Mattheus sung:

"Das lieblichste Gedichte,
Dabey mein Auge fliesst,
Ist die simple Geschichte
Wie Er verschieden ist."

He then read the history, taken from the Evangelists, how the Saviour with his Disciples eat the Paschal Lamb, and how he enjoyed with them the Sacrament, and all that ensued until he came to the Mount of Olives. When we returned, the "Office Sacrament" took place. At the usual hour we had our singing, and afterwards the communicants their prayer. On the 16th of April, it being Good Friday, at six o'clock, we had an appropriate Liturgy for the scene of our Saviour's sufferings in the garden. At nine o'clock we again came together and sang. Then followed the reading of the history of our Lord's passion, from his ascent of the Mount of Olives to his death on Golgotha. At twelve o'clock we went to Gnadenthal, and in commemoration of His crucifixion sung the Liturgy. Then the Passion history in relation to it was read, accompanied with chorales. At three o'clock we continued the reading of the Passion and of his pierced side, in which we made use of the Liturgy. We now returned home and had the Vesper Liturgy. In a little singing hour (*Sing-Stunde*), held by Brother Risler, we sang of his cold and lifeless body laid in the grave.

Then the communicant Brethren prayed in prostrate attitude, and finally we laid ourselves with the Saviour in the earth, [*i. e.* read the history of His burial.]

April 17th, it being Great Sabbath, we went at twelve o'clock to Gnadenthal, where Brother Mattheus kept a blessed love-feast, we then returned home and quietly celebrated the day there.

On Easter morning we proceeded to the grave-yard, near the "Disciple House,"* where at the same time the Brethren and Sisters from the other places had assembled.

Brother Mattheus kept the Easter Litany; at ten o'clock we had the history of the Resurrection, and in the afternoon listened to the reading of a discourse." On Easter Monday they proceeded to Gnadenthal and had services, *Gemeintag* and reading, and in the afternoon they resumed their usual labors in the field and shop.

The Single Brethren of Christian's Spring were in the habit of attending the semi-monthly Saturday afternoon love-feasts at Nazareth, as well as the meetings of Sunday. Before the building of the hall, these took place in Old Nazareth, but after that edifice was completed, all these general meetings for the congregations took place there. The "Morning Blessing" and evening service were transactions within their own little prayer-hall, or chapel at home. The Sabbath love-feasts (Saturday afternoon) were instituted at Nazareth, January 30th, 1745, and continued weekly until they were subsequently changed to semi-monthly meetings.

As a characteristic of those early days, and to show at the same time in what close ties the several settlements were bound, it may be mentioned, that as soon as a birth occurred at one village, a messenger was dispatched to all the others to announce the important fact.

Events and Incidents.

Removal of the boys to Bethlehem and Christian's Spring.

Among the artless incidents of those primitive days (1757) is the account of the exchange of the seven Christian's Spring for the sixteen Bethlehem boys.

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* Nazareth Hall was then called the "Disciple House," or the house intended for the residence of the "Disciple," Count Zinzendorf. The grave-yard had just been laid out on the slope of the hill.

September 27, we are told, "Brother Weber, who arrived here yesterday from Bethlehem, held the "Morning Blessing." Towards noon Brother Joseph* (Spangenberg) arrived, and in company with him, Brother Heckewelder,† who dined with us, and during the repast Brother Joseph made inquiries about the boys and Brethren who to-day were about to depart for Bethlehem. He asked the boys if it had gone well with them at this place, and if they had entered into hearty communion with the Brethren. He dwelt upon the privileges of those who had fallen among them, and showed them how they were trained to order and useful labor from youth upward. Then imparting his blessing, he kissed each of the boys, and they were dismissed from this place in the most kind and affectionate manner. Each boy was provided with cakes for the journey.

Under the guidance of Brother F. Weber the following boys then departed for Bethlehem: John Beutel, David Blum, John Heckewelder, Jacob, the mulatto, Ephraim Colver, David Volck and John Bivighaus. One of their advisers (*Aufseher*), Balthasar Hegel, accompanied them, and also Tobias Boedkel, who was to remain with them.

After this occurrence, Brother Joseph held a "Quarter Hour" for the communicant Brethren, spoke on the Daily Text for children, and invited them to the Communion on the coming 15th of October; "and since we are charged to examine ourselves, he reminded us of the special duty we had to perform, viz: that of searching each one his own heart, to ascertain whether he was in constant intercourse with the "Man of Suffering."‡ That every one in his own communings, should so far acquaint himself with his feelings, that in the "speaking" he might fully reveal them. Hereupon he held our Choir Liturgy,§ and subsequently left us for Gnadenthal.

September 28th, after the "Morning Blessing," we resumed our ordinary labors. We devoted the morning to clearing up and preparing the rooms for the reception of the boys from Bethlehem.

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* A name given to Spangenberg by Zinzendorf, on account of the excellent care he always took of his brethren.

† The father of John Heckewelder.

‡ The term *Schmerzensmann*, (man of suffering), was very common.

§ Each choir had its special Liturgy for various occasions.

Our team, which took the boys who left us down to Bethlehem, returned bringing with it the Bethlehem boys, sixteen in number, and four superintendents. After Brother and Sister Spangenberg and Graffs, and the Brethren Lembke, Heckewelder and Grube had come, they were welcomed with an affectionate love-feast, (*ein niedliches Liebesmahl*). Among these sixteen boys, some were destined for writing,* some for shoemaking, and others for tailoring and agriculture. Brother Joseph reminded them that the more each one lived in a child-like intercourse with the Saviour, the more faithful would he prove in the pursuance of his daily avocations.

He traced to this source all industry, willingness and submission, and was persuaded that all past faults, particularly negligence in transcribing the reports (*Nachrichten*), would thereby be amended. He felt satisfied of their gratitude towards Bethlehem, and that the utmost care had been taken of them while there; that they were now transplanted into a new spot, where due protection would be afforded them, and where they would be cheerfully received. He recalled to their recollection the words he had made use of upon their removal from the Children's to the Boys' Choir, that they should ever remain *children*. In these precepts they must abide and live. They were now about taking a great step and coming into nearer intercourse with the Brethren.† They should pursue their labor with joy and alacrity, and he hoped they might grow up and be fruitful in the service of the Lord. He then read a hymn (*carmen*) expressing his own and the congregation's solicitude for them.

After the love-feast, they were conducted to their respective rooms in the following manner:

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* Writing here refers to the copying of diaries, missionary accounts, proceedings of conferences, &c. The Brethren had a large amount of writing to perform, and the MSS. deposited in their various archives testify to their industry in this particular. It appears that in early Christian's Spring life, the boys were put to this service.

† The elementary branches had been learned at Bethlehem by this set of pupils, and their education was now to take a more practical turn.

I. ROOM.	II. ROOM.	III. ROOM.
Superintendents.	*Superintendents.*	*Superintendents.*
Lorentz Bage,	Philip Meyer,	Christian Dreyspring,
Brother Sydrich.	Jacob Meyer.	Brother Hellerman.
Writers.	*Shoemakers.*	*Tailors.*
James Noble,	David Bruke,	Peter Rice,
Joseph Otto,	John Nixdorff.	Gottlieb Anders,
Samuel Nixdorff,		Anton Ronner.
Gottlieb Senseman,		Friedrich Boehner.
Abraham Hessler.		
Agriculture.	*Agriculture.*	*Agriculture.*
Nathaniel Miksch,	Ludwig Meinung,	David Miksch.
Adolf Jorde.	John Schraub.	

Brother Lembke* was requested to visit the boys engaged in writing twice a week, in order to revise what they had written. Brother Grube was asked to instruct them in vocal and instrumental music, Brother Sydrich to give them assistance in Arithmetic and Geometry, and Brother John Bonn to furnish them the necessary instruction in agriculture, to which all consented.

Towards evening the communicant Brethren assembled, and Brother Gottlieb spoke to them in reference to the boys, consigning them to their special care, &c. This was followed by the "Singing Hour," and the day finally closed with an "Evening Blessing," held in the dormitory, while each boy stood beside his bed. They then retired cheerfully to rest."

The visits of Indian Brethren from Meniolagomeka were very frequent. They were generally called by scriptural names, which had been given them at their baptism, such as Joshua, Jonas, Jonathan, &c. Visitors frequently came to see the economy at Christian's Spring and Gnadenthal. In 1756 we find it related how Brother Papplewell brought twenty-two Quakers to see the plantations, who went away well satisfied. Brother Zeisberger came frequently on his return from, or on his way to, the Indian congregations of Meniolagomeka, Gnadenhuetten, Wechquetank, Pachgatgoch. Sometimes the Indian Brethren came from Meniolagomeka, and among these was a well known character, named Joshua, who acted as interpreter for his people, when the Brethren spoke to them.

* Brother Lembke was pastor at Old Nazareth, and subsequently at Nazareth proper, for almost thirty years.

The journeying between Bethlehem and Christian's Spring during the time of Indian warfare being mostly on foot, it is a matter of wonder that so few serious encounters occurred between the Brethren and their unfriendly neighbors. It did happen, however, that adventures arose from solitary rambles through the woods that separated the two places above named. On the 27th of October, 1757, as Brother Nathaniel was returning to Bethlehem, and had gone about two miles from Christian's Spring, he espied, standing behind trees and armed with guns, two naked Indians, who looked suspiciously at him. Brother Nathaniel turned around, chose a zigzag course among the trees, and reached Christian's Spring in safety. This incident gave rise to renewed precautions on the part of the inhabitants of our villages, and they strengthened their palisades and increased the number of sentinels.

On the 10th of July, 1760, we find the record of an interesting event, the celebration of the "Reapers' love-feast," and the consecration of the new Liturgy-hall. "As Brother Joseph and his dear Martha, together with a number of Brethren and Sisters from the other places, and Brother Van Vleck, had arrived at noon, the communicant members assembled within our new hall for liturgy. Brother Joseph then discoursed upon the daily texts, as well as on those of yesterday and the day before.

We then knelt down and Brother Joseph delivered a fervent prayer; he commended this our temple to the whole Christian family, and prayed that God might bless it with His presence. We left the hall and proceeded to the Reapers' love-feast. Here the discourse turned upon the blessings showered down upon us, both within and without, by our dear heavenly Father. At the same time an ode, composed by Brother Tanneberger,* was sung solo, and Brother Graff recited an inscription, written expressly for the Reapers' love-feast. Brother Albrecht and our smaller boys performed a fine piece of music; thereupon our guests departed."

In the year 1763 the wild Indians began to lurk in the vicinity of Christian's Spring, and it was found necessary to appoint a night-watch, for which office Brother Bitzman was chosen. It was the duty of the sentinel to be at his post day and night. During

* Tanneberger was the organ builder, and made those instruments for Bethlehem, Litiz, Christian's Spring, and Nazareth.

the month of October of this year, the occupants of the Irish Settlement fled to Christian's Spring for protection, as the savages began to prowl around them. The Brethren gave them a place of security in what was called their "Family House." These near and fearful encroachments of the hostile Indians made it necessary to look to some means of defense, and they accordingly proceeded to fortify with palisades their barns and stables, as these would naturally become the first objects of attack. The same precautions were adopted in all the Moravian villages at that time. In connection with the palisades, *Wach-huetten*, or sentry boxes, were erected, wherein the guards took shelter.

Statistics.

In taking note of the agricultural and industrial pursuits of the Brethren at that time, we have to observe that they cultivated all the cereals known at the present day. In addition to these, hemp and flax were raised and worked into clothing and fabrics. As late as 1766 the products of the farm and dairy consisted of:

1124	bushels of	Wheat.	1771	pounds of	Mutton.
1144	"	Rye.	3194	"	Pork.
1397	"	Oats.	246	"	Bacon.
462	"	Barley.	10,940	"	Beef.
710	"	Buckwheat.	856	"	Veal.
106	"	Corn.	1919	"	Tallow.
91	loads of	Hay.	4948	"	Butter.
28	"	second crop.	130	"	Lard.

2000 gallons of Cider.

The stock of the farm comprised 277 head of horned cattle. Six yoke of oxen were employed for work and draft. There were 46 swine, and the implements of husbandry consisted of three wagons, five ploughs, six harrows, thirty-six sickles, and twenty-five axes. There were 146 acres of wood-land enclosed in fences; and in addition to this, 97 acres of land were in meadow, and 353 acres employed in tillage.* Shingles were made and used for roofs, but tile-ovens for the manufacture of tiles, as well as lime-kilns for burning lime, were in use. Ploughing was done by oxen, as above stated, and the team frequently went to Bethlehem, transporting wheat thither, and sometimes it proceeded to Philadelphia. The driver or carter was such by appointment, as well as the *Stall Bruder*, or groom.

* These statistics were compiled by John C. Brickenstein.

Bees were raised and a house was erected for the apiary. In addition to the saw and grist mill, a brewery was one of the institutions of Christian's Spring, and beer was sent to Bethlehem.

In the beginning of the settlement, the Brethren were in the habit of raising tobacco, each for his private consumption, and on one occasion notice was given them by the Superintendent that, in future, they should all be supplied by the economy.

Goods were brought from New York to Bethlehem, and the team went from Christian's Spring to New Brunswick to transport them to Bethlehem. The pottery at that time was at Bethlehem, whence the earthenware was procured. Here the stoves were manufactured of earthen material, and some of these tile stoves are preserved as curiosities up to the present day. They were sometimes placed in the partition wall, so as to serve two rooms. The brick-kiln was at Nazareth. Oak timber used for building was felled in the vicinity, but pine logs were procured beyond the Blue Mountains, and in winter, when the ground was covered with snow, the Brethren, with all their sledges, set out to hew pine trees and convey them home. On the 15th of February, 1757, the sleds arrived from beyond the mountain with forty-five pine logs, for the purpose of being sawed into boards at the Christian's Spring saw-mill. A portion of these boards were taken to Bethlehem. The smiths used charcoal, which was burned in pits on the spot. During hay-making and harvest, hands came from Bethlehem to offer their assistance, and among these there were some Indian Brethren. We are told that for many years the horned cattle were driven over the Blue Mountains to graze during the summer, and that they were left there until autumn, when they were brought home.

APPENDIX TO SKETCH OF STATEN ISLAND CONGREGATION.

The following is a copy of a MS., in the handwriting of Rev. Hector Gambold, probably written in 1763:

"LIST OF OUR FRIENDS ON STATEN ISLAND."

Aaron and Elizabeth Cortelyou,
*Cornelius and Sara Cortelyou,
*Jacob and Mary Vanderbilt,
*John and Anne Beatty,
Tunis and Anne Egbert,
Richard and Catharine Connor,
Stephen and Anne Martins,
Stephen and Elizabeth Martins,
James and Catharine Columb,
*Abraham Van Deventer,
*Elizabeth Inyard,
Mary Dally.

Single Men.

Cornelius Van Deventer,
Nicholas Stillwell,
Benjamin Martins,
Edward Beatty.

Boys.

Peter Cortelyou,
Jacob Vanderbilt,
John Vanderbilt,
Jacob Barrago,
Henry Barrago,
John Egbert,
James Egbert.

Girls.

Sarah Stillwell,
Sarah Martino,
Elizabeth Cortelyou,
Eleanor Cortelyou,
Mary Vanderbeak,
Dorothy Vanderbilt,
Catharine Dally,
Catharine Egbert,
Anne Connor,
Catharine Connor,
Hannah Martino,
Abigail Martino.

Small Children.

Jacob Cortelyou,
Oliver Vanderbilt,
Joseph Vanderbilt,
John Beatty,
Edward Egbert,
Tunis Egbert,
Richard Connor,
John Martino,
Stephen Martino.

Widows.

Nieltie Vanderbilt,
Mary Stillwell,
Mary Barrago.

Single Women.

Catharine Van Deventer,
Anne Van Deventer,
Susanna Stillwell,
Catharine Stillwell,
Frances Stillwell,
Anne Stillwell,
Eleanor Martino,
Susanna Martino,
Isabel Beatty,
Dorothy Vanderbilt,
Eleanor Vanderbilt.

Mary Cortelyou,
Martha Cortelyou,
Elizabeth Beatty,
Anne Beatty,
Mary Cortelyou,
Elizabeth Egbert,
Sarah Connor,
Elizabeth Connor,
Elizabeth Martino,
Mary Martino,
Eliz. Van Deventer,
Susannah Dally,
Anne Dally.

* These names are marked with an asterisk in the original list. They are probably the names of full communicants. E. L.

REVOLUTIONARY LETTERS.

The originals of the following letters are preserved, amongst many others of great interest and value, in the archives of the church at Bethlehem.

HEAD QUARTERS 28th March 1778.

Sir

I have received your letter of the 25th instant by Mr Hasse: setting forth the injury that will be done to the Inhabitants of Letiz by establishing a General Hospital there—it is needless to explain how essential an establishment of this kind is to the welfare of the Army, and you must be sensible that it cannot be made any where, without occasioning inconvenience to some set of people or other—at the same time it is ever my wish and aim that the public good be effected with as little sacrifice as possible of individual interests—and I would by no means sanction the imposing any burthens on the people in whose favor you remonstrate, which the public Service does not require—The Arrangement and distribution of Hospitals depends intirely on Doctor Shippen, and I am persuaded that he will not exert the authority vested in him unnecessarily to your prejudice—It would be proper however to represent to him the circumstances of the inhabitants of Letiz; and you may if you choose it, communicate the contents of this Letter to him—I am Sir

Your most obed't Serv't

GO. WASHINGTON

Addressed "The Reverend Mr. Ettwein. Bethlehem."

BETHLEHEM September the 22d 1777

Having here observed a humane and diligent attention to the sick and wounded, and a benevolent desire to make the necessary provision for the relief of the distressed, as far as the powers of the Brethren enable them. We desire that all Continental Officers may refrain from disturbing the persons or property of the Moravians in Bethlehem, and particularly that they do not disturb or

molest the Houses where the women are assembled. Given under our hands at the time and place above mentioned

Nathan Brownson	Richard Henry Lee	Delegates of Congress.
Nath'l Folsom.	Wm. Duer	
John Hancock.	Cond. Harnett	
Samuel Adams	Henry Laurens	
Elipht Dyer	Benj. Harrison	
Jas. Duane	Jos: Jones.	
	John Adams	
	Henry Marchant	
	Wm Williams.	

[In the handwriting of Richard Henry Lee.]

My dear friend

Monsr. Gerard the Minister Plenepotentiary of France will be, provided he meets no obstruction on the Road, at Bethlehem on Wednesday the 25th Inst. about midday, this worthy Character merits regard from all the Citizens of these States, an acquaintance with him will afford you satisfaction and I am persuaded his Visit will work no evil or inconvenience to your community Don Juan de Miralles a Spanish Gentleman highly recommended by the Governor of Havanna will accompany Mr. Gerard, the whole suite may amount to six Gentlemen and perhaps a servant to each I give this previous intimation in order that preparations suitable to the occasion may be made by Mr. Johnson at the Tavern, and otherwise as you think expedient. My good wishes attend you all I beg Mr Okely will forbear with me a few days longer I consider him a merciful Creditor and when an opportunity presents I will pay him more in one Act than all my words are worth.

Believe me Dear Sir to be with sincere respect and very great affection your friend and most humble Servant

Henry Laurens.

Philadelphia. 23 Novem 1778.

The Revd. Mr. Edwin [Ettwein] Bethlehem.

Volume I

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Moravian Historical Society.

PART III.

NAZARETH.
1869.

Henry T. Clauder, Printer, Bethlehem, Pa.

EXTRACTS

From Zinzendorf's Diary of his second, and in part of his third journey among the Indians, the former to Shekomeko, and the other among the Shawanese, on the Susquehanna.

Translated from a German MS., in the Bethlehem Archives.

By Eugene Schaeffer.

Shamokin, on the Banks of the Susquehanna, (the present Sunbury) September 29th, 1742.

Beloved Followers of the Lamb:

I purpose giving you an account of my second, and, so far as is possible, of my third journey among the Indians. I do not commit anything to writing, and have in truth no gift for narrating; and I have, therefore, not kept my Bethlehem brethren informed in regard to my travels. You must, in fact, attribute it entirely to our Sabbath rest, and our comfortable quarters here, that I express my thoughts at present.

As I am very imperfect in this matter, and withal very forgetful, and as the want of a secretary still exists, and is particularly apparent in the fact that some things are entirely omitted, while others are mentioned twice, I will leave it in the hands of my dear brethren Spangenberg and Hermann to select the best from this diary.

We began our journey on the 10th of August; the main party consisting of my dear brother Anton,* Benigna,† and myself. On the 11th, we crossed the Blue Mountains, with much labor for the horses, and continued on our way toward Sopus.‡

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* Anthony Seifferth, the first Moravian Pastor ordained in America, having been appointed to take charge of the church in Georgia, organized in 1736.

† Zinzendorf's daughter, the Countess Benigna, afterward married to Baron John de Watteville.

‡ Sopus, or Esopus, was the present Kingston, in Ulster County, N. Y.

Indians, incomparable in spirit and disposition, are true men of God among the tribe, and constitute a conference whose meetings we have often attended with astonishment. O how deeply ashamed we feel before these brethren, who must help themselves in the Saviour's work with a language which is hardly better than a goose-cackle, while we, possessed of a language like that of the gods, can scarce express our hearts' emotions!

Every day had its peculiar blessing, and we spent our time in visiting, putting in order the various matters of the congregation, and caring for the spiritual welfare of the brethren. In this manner eight days passed by.

After having publicly taken an affectionate leave, we set out on our return, in the feeling of a reciprocated love, and we will probably not soon be lost from their memories.

On the 25th, we again crossed the North River; and because Sopus is the Sodom of the Government of New York, we passed through it by night, in order not to be obliged to spend the Sunday there.

After much trouble we were received at a house beyond Hurley, and, although I spent the whole day in the forest, I could not escape the evil which had been determined against me. On the same evening, an officer came to my room and found me and Benigna writing hymns. In the name of the king, he solemnly forbade us, and left in a stormy passion. Next morning, about five o'clock, as soon as we had arisen, he sent a constable who arrested me, Benigna and Anton, and brought us to Hurley. We were accused, and, without a hearing, convicted of Sabbath-breaking; were fined eighteen shillings and then dismissed with much bitterness, because no more serious charge could be brought against us. I think nothing would have pleased them better than to have sent us bound, as mockers of God and the king, to New York.

On the 29th, we pushed our way through the great forest across the Blue Mountains, and came to Nazareth that night.

On the 30th, we arrived at Bethlehem, where, on the 15th of September, we baptized David and Joshua, our two Indian fellow-travellers on our third expedition. Conrad* determined to be our

* Conrad Weisser, the Indian Agent and Interpreter of the Colony of Pennsylvania, a distinguished man in his day.

leader in the journey among the Shawenese; but before giving any further account of it, I wish to speak of the plan of this journey.

I do not feel disposed to go directly among the Six Nations and begin my labors in their regular villages; but wish to bring them to reflection through their own people; and for this reason. Through the conduct of the French and English, the Indians have acquired, among other wickedness, a hatred for religious matters; so that I apprehend when I preach among them, they will judge, from the similarity of our manner of speech, that we are the same sort of people. But I am in a manner situated like the Dutch in Japan, they are afraid of being European Christians, and I hesitate to be one.

In my first conference with the Six Nations, I, therefore, requested to be regarded as standing on quite a different footing, and asked them to have patience with me if I did not at once preach great sermons. I represented to them that my method was entirely peculiar; that I was intimately acquainted with the Great Spirit; and I expressed the wish that they would allow us to live in their towns as friends, until we had learned to know one another better.

And since, in the first place, I do not wish to appear to these nations as a religious Don Quixote, and, moreover, do not desire to mingle with them too freely, from reasons of policy and personal safety, I have chosen three places as centres of operation. The first is Shamokin, eighty miles from Tulpehocken, the residence of the kings of the Oneidas and Delawares; the second is Ostonwacken,* forty miles from Shamokin, where Madame Montour, an Indianized French lady lives; and the third, Skehantowa,† one hundred miles from Ostonwacken, inhabited by the whole nation of the Shawanese intermingled with various other tribes. At these places I propose to stay a longer or shorter time, making such observations as I may be able; so that the journey may last upward of fifty days, if all goes fairly.

The Six Nations and the Shawanese are alike in this respect, that they are admirable warriors after their kind; the friends of friends, and of enemies the most implacable enemies; but they

*An Indian town north of Shamokin, or Sunbury, on the west branch of the Susquehanna.

† The plains near Wilkesbarre, Pa.

also have very correct ideas of honor and honesty, as is proved by their customs and their dealings.

But to proceed to our third expedition.

Benigna could, this time, not accompany us on account of the difficulty of the journey, and we therefore took affectionate leave of her, as also of Anton and Rosina.

For several hours of the night we travelled on in pitchy darkness, over hill and dale, in the thick woods between the long meadow and the Oley hills. I received a bruise on the cheek, leaving a scar; and a much severer one on the left eye, with, however, no serious consequences.

During the night we reached the Oley boundary, and spent several days in that neighborhood.

On our way to Tulpehocken, Peter Böhler resolved to accompany us; and the Indian Joshua also suddenly came to the same determination.

On the 25th of September, we crossed a very high mountain, almost impassable on account of the sharp and precipitous rocks. These mountains having as yet no name, Conrad called them the Mountains of Thürnstein.* At their foot we encamped for the night, and were contented and happy in our roomy tent.

We now set out once more, and soon reached the lovely Susquehanna, and keeping along its banks we, at length, came to the entrance of Shamokin. This is so rugged and steep a mountain that I have hardly seen its equal; but we all got safely across. Anna,† went on before, for she is our greatest heroine. She wore a long riding habit, to the train of which I held fast; Conrad held on to the skirt of my coat, and Böhler had hold of Conrad's. In this way we all felt more compassed, and gained additional security. Toward evening we arrived at Shomokin, where Conrad, to his great surprise, was most cordially received by Shikellimy, king of the Oneidas. The chief pressed my hand, numberless times, and at once began to inquire of Conrad what my mission was.

Conrad repeated what he had told him on a former occasion; namely, that I was a servant of the Living God, but not of the kind of which several had presented themselves to him; that I labored quietly, and did not preach works, but grace and mercy.

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* In honor of Zinzendorf, one of whose titles was Lord of Thürnstein.

† Anna Nitschmann.

Shikellimy was glad that such a messenger had come among his nation. To-day, 29th September, he came into my tent. I seated myself between him and Conrad, and requested an audience. I then explained to him the object of my visit, wherewith he expressed himself much pleased, and promised to do his part in assisting me.

Meanwhile, it pleased the Lord to try our faith. David, one of our Indians, frightened by the length of the journey, could not go any further. Our brother Joshua was taken sick, but kept in good spirits. I was dissatisfied with David because he was so fretful, and told him to turn back while there was yet time; but he remained very low-spirited, and I found that all was in vain so long as I did not hit upon the precise cause of the evil. On the fourth morning, however, the moment I touched upon the proper point, the gloom was dispelled, and his cheerfulness and docility returned.

In their intercourse with the Indians, the brethren should particularly bear this in mind, that they must by no means trust to guessing, when they wish to give them the reason for something of which they themselves already know the reason. They must use patience and wisdom; for chagrin, frivolity, shame, grief and meditation, have much the same appearance among these Indians. They have only one pleasant look, and that is when they behold the wounds of the Lamb; otherwise they generally wear a dull and unhappy expression of countenance. Their heavy Indian corn generates thick blood, and clogs the spirit. In general, it is a great error, and perhaps even craftiness, when the Indians are represented among Europeans as a much happier race than ourselves. This is not by any means true. Their going naked, or covered only with blankets, passes with us for philosophy; it is, however, nothing but beggarly poverty. A gipsy and an Indian differ in this respect, that an Indian does not steal; but I think rather because he is afraid than because he is honest. An Indian most gladly accepts of shirts, horse-covers, or anything of that kind that may serve to clothe his poor body.

They have an aversion to pantaloons and caps, because they are too close for them. The bareness of the head, however, exposes all weakly constitutions among them to violent and frequent headaches; and the exposure of the lower parts of the body causes fever and swellings, and a general condition of sickness. And,

although they do not change their mode of life, they are very much like ourselves: "*video meliora etc.*"

Whoever is born in these parts ordinarily lives a shorter time than the generality of men in other parts of the world. A woman of forty years is here considered aged. There are, indeed, some Indians who are old; but they are so uncertain about their age, that a man who, in his own estimation, numbers probably near a hundred years, may, possibly, be about fifty in the judgment of some one else. Nevertheless he is so despised and forsaken, that one may well believe him to be as old as he thinks; as for instance, Captain John's father, who, as I have been told, was left to die of hunger.

The Iroquois are more prudent than other savages, and are governed by certain rules and ordinances. Among them the maxim prevails: "A tiger at home is a hare in the field, and a lion in the field is a lamb at home." Their whole life is directly opposed to Christianity. It is spent in the chase and on the war-path; and these warlike expeditions extend so far from their own country that they cannot be matters of necessity, but must be incited by nothing but old unsatisfied revenge.

The Iroquois have a parliament of Sachems or Elders, at Onondago. What is in Europe called a king, is with them a tyrant, who carries the day in this parliament, because it is thought best not to let matters proceed from words to blows; and if a proper idea of our king is not given them, and the title alone is used, they regard him in the same light. I hear nothing among them of a King or Kings of the Six Nations; but of Sachems, Judges and Elders; I notice, however, at the same time, that in their state speeches they call the king of England, Sachem, so that these terms may amount to about the same thing.

The Delawares have a heriditary prince, who is called King in Philadelphia; and the Shawanese also call their chief King, but whether his office is hereditary or not, I do not know.

Their polity is like that of the Romans, at the time of the Consulate, except that they make war upon the adjoining regions without conquering them. They, however, resemble the Israelites in these respects, that their revenge descends from children to children's children, and that they erect pillars, or cast up mounds, over the graves of their heroes.

They are the most determined enemies of labor, and will sooner suffer the most pinching want than engage in work. If an Indian puts his hand to anything, he either is a child of God, or he has from association acquired the spirit of covetousness, the root of all evil, which, in this case, however, is not bent upon heaping up riches, but upon wearing fine clothes and drinking rum.

Our beloved brethern at Shekomeko have taken to cultivating the ground, are properly clad, keep their huts clean, and by no means allow rum or any strong drink to be brought into their town, either for use or abuse.

To-day being Sunday, we were anxious to pray the litany, but on account of the boisterous conduct of the Indians, we hardly knew how to proceed. I sent Conrad to the Sachem Shikellimy to inform him that we wished to speak with our God; and he had hardly returned when the drums and music and voices of the Indians were silent, so that not a sound was to be heard.

On the 30th of September, we set out upon our way. The Sachem showed us the ford across the Susquehanna, which is a most beautiful stream. It is much broader than the Delaware, and if it were not for the many smooth stones at the bottom, it would not be difficult to cross.

The regions through which we passed are very fertile, although entirely uncultivated and overgrown.

During the whole journey, I have not yet seen a snake, although the forest is said to be full of them, as also of bears and other wild animals. Especially along the Susquehanna are these reptiles said to abound most, lying in wait in the bushes, ready to spring at the throats of the passers by.

We spent two nights on the road. During the last night the most of our horses strayed off, probably some ten miles. There was a heavy fall of rain, and, since we could not move forward, Conrad rode on with the rest of the horses to Ostonwacken, and, in a short time, returned with the son of old Madame De Montour; the horses meanwhile coming back from another direction.

This man's face is like that of any other European; but all around it he had a broad ring of bear's grease and paint, after the Indian fashion. He wore a cinnamon colored coat of fine cloth, a black neck cloth, with silver spangles, a red damask vest, pantaloons, shoes, stockings and a hat; and both his ears were orna-

mented with brass and other wire twisted together like the handles of a little basket.

His name is Andreè; he received us cordially, and when I addressed him in French, he answered in English.

We now proceeded, our approach being heralded by salutes, which were repeated when we arrived at the huts of the Indians. Here we dismounted and entered the cabin of the old Madame.

Her husband had been a war chief, and had been killed in battle.

Upon seeing us she wept bitterly, and when I spoke of our affairs, and among other things remarked that we had named our town Bethlehem, she observed that the town in France, where Jesus and the holy family dwelt, was also named Bethlehem. I inferred from this that what is commonly reported of the French Missionaries is most probably true, namely, that they taught that Christ was a Frenchman and the English were his crucifiers; since this woman, born a Christian, did herself not know otherwise but that Bethlehem lay in France.

Without trying to clear up this misapprehension, I at once told her of our plans and intentions, and answered all her questions from the fullness of the heart, although in very few words, because I wished to keep myself very retired for a few days.

With Anna she soon became very intimate, and told her how tired she was of living among the Indians.

It proves a hindrance in our work, both among the heathen and among Christians, when my birth becomes known; for since they are far from looking upon matters in a spiritual light, they regard them in a worldly one. It is, therefore, not a good recommendation, and I am very careful to keep my rank a secret; but an evil-disposed world takes a pleasure in publishing it.

And now, dear brethren, I must again dispatch Conrad. The brethren at Shamokin are awaiting his return, as also the Sachem Shikellimy, who will be our leader among the wild Shawanese.

It seems Monsieur De Montour, who is acquainted with all the Indian languages, likewise, intends to accompany us.

Remember us and all our fellow travellers.*

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* The journal, of which the above are extracts, was begun at Shamokin and finished at Ostonwacken. Zinzendorf's second journey to the Indians extended from the 10th of August to the 30th of the same month, and his third, from September 24th to November 9th, all in the year 1742.

THE
CATECHISM OF THE BOHEMIAN BRETHREN.

Translated from the old German, with an Introduction.

By Edmund de Schweinitz.

In as much as it is not the object of the Moravian Historical Society to elucidate American Moravian History "to the exclusion of the general history of the Church," we here present an article relating to ancient days, when our Continent still lay in the shadow of barbarism, and had been known to the world for but a little more than a quarter of a century. It sets forth the earliest Catechism of the Brethren which has come down to us, and which, probably, is the oldest work of this kind in the possession of any evangelical church.

An history of the same, together with other introductory facts bearing upon this subject, will, in the first place, be proper.

The Bohemian Brethren devoted great attention to Catechisms, and made constant use of them when giving religious instruction, especially to the young. In their German Confession, published at Wittenberg, in 1573, they say: "In addition to the Holy Scriptures, we teach the Catechism, that is, the doctrines which the old Church and the holy Fathers held in common, and the oral instructions which they delivered, constituting the kernel of, and the key to, the entire Bible." . . . . . "This Catechism our preachers recognize as an established standard, and as a proper method and register for all their instructions, sermons and writings. Hence, with faithful care, they give all diligence to inculcate deeply in the hearts of Christians, and engraft wholly in the minds and lives of their hearers, the entire body of Truth contained in these first and fundamental principles of religion." . . . . "In the same way, they instruct little children, also, so that from their youth upward they may be practiced in the chief articles of the divine covenant, and learn to understand the true service of God. Therefore, too, special services

for the children are instituted." . . . . . "In particular, however, is the Catechism, with its first principles of true religion, diligently taught to young people that begin Christian life, before they are admitted to the Lord's Table, which serves to lead them to true repentance, as well as to the power and grace of faith."*

From the *Ratio Disciplinæ* we learn that the Deacons and Acolyths were specially charged with instructing the young in the Catechism;† and that there were separate meetings held for this purpose. Speaking of the services of the Lord's day, this document says: "In the summer season also, beginning at Easter, there is added a fifth meeting at noon; when the youth are assembled, and for their benefit catechetical instruction is given in as popular a manner as possible, and they are also individually questioned. However, the parents and others likewise attend, both that they may return thanks to God after having taken refreshment, and that they may be present at the instruction of their children and domestics."‡

We know of various Catechisms of the Bohemian Brethren. The first appeared in 1505, in the Bohemian tongue, and was entitled, *Detinské otázky*, or "Questions for Children." This, unfortunately, is no longer extant."§

Next was published the one which we give in the following pages. Then came a Catechism translated from the Bohemian into German, by John Gyrck, in 1554 and 1555, and dedicated to Duke Albert of Prussia, in whose domains many exiled Brethren were, at that time, living. It bears this title: *Catheeismus der rechtgläubigen Böhmischen Brüder, welche der Antichrist mit seinem gottlosen Anhang verfolget, und aus teuflischen Eingeben, Hass, Neid und Unwahrheit für Verführer, Piccarden und Waldenser u.s.w. schilt und lästert. Allen rechtschaffenen Gläubigen zum Trost und wahren Bericht verdeutscht durch Johannem Gyrck, Strienensem, Pfarrherrn zu Neidenburgh in Preussen.* This Catechism is reprinted in "Ehwalt's Alte und Neue Lehre der Böhmischen und Mährischen Brüder,"‖

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* Köcher's Glaubensbekenntnisse der Böhmischen Brüder, p. 170 and 171.

† Seifferth's Church Constitution, p. 110 and 111.

‡ Ibid, p. 135.

§ Gindely's Geschichte der Böhmischen Brüder, p. 122.

‖ Die Alte und Neue Lehre der Böhmischen und Mährischen Brüder von Johann Gottfried Ehwalt, Dantzig, 1756, p. 1—291.

which work contains, likewise, a Latin translation of the same, found by the author, in manuscript form, in the Library of Dantzig. In 1560, Gyrck published a second part of his Catechism, entitled: *Das ander Theil des Cathecismi, das ist Lehre und Bericht von der heiligen Tauf, Beicht, Vergebung (oder Auflösung) der Sünden, und dem Abendmahl des Herrn, desgleichen von der ewigen Seligkeit u.s.w. Gezogen aus gemeiner Lehr der rechtgläubigen Böhmischen Brüder. Für die jungen Christen durch Johanem Gyrck von Strelen. Gedruckt zu Königsberg in Preussen,* 1560. This is also reprinted in Ehwalt's work.*

In 1616, appeared the following: *Catechesis christiana, ad instituendam piam juventutem conscripta in qua summa doctrinæ Dei proponitur et explicatur. Ex Boëmico idiomate in latinum translata Anno* 1616. This work has a preface by the Bishops and Ministers of the Unitas Fratrum, and was, probably, adopted at the same Synod of Zerawitz which issued the *Ratio Disciplinæ.* The original Bohemian from which it was translated was published at Berlin, by Elsner, of whom more subsequsntly, in 1748. It commonly bore the title of the "Greater Catechism," in contradistinction to the "Shorter," which existed both in German and Polish. Ehwalt gives it entire in running foot notes under Gyrck's Catechism.†

Finally, after the expulsion of the Church from her original seats, John Amos Comenius published, while in exile at Amsterdam, in 1661, a Catechism which he called: *"Die uralte christliche catholische Religion, in kurze Frag und Antwort verfasset. Vor alle Christen-Menschen, Alt und Jung, secliglich zu gebrauchen. Gedruckt in Amsterdam im Jahr* 1661." It is dedicated as follows: *Allen frommen hin und her zerstreueten Schäflein Christi, sonderlich denen von F. G. G. K. K. S. S. und Z. wünsche Ich Gnad und Fried Gottes durch die Heiligung des Geistes und Besprengung des Bluts Christi.* That is, "To all the pious sheep of Christ, scattered here and there, particularly to those at Fulneck, Gersdorf, Gedersdorf, Klöten, Klandorf, Stechwalde, Seitendorf, and Zauchtenthal, grace and peace from God, through the sanctification of the Spirit and sprinkling of the blood of Christ." This Catechism, too, is

* Ehwalt's Alte und Neue Lehre, p. 291—352.
† Ibid p. 16—290.

reprinted by Ehwalt.* It was one of the means which Comenius employed to preserve the memory of his venerable Church, in view of her renewal; and, as is well known, refugees came to Herrnhut from all the villages which he mentions, and were instrumental in building up the present Unitas Fratrum.

Besides these Catechisms, all of which, with the exception of the first, are now before us, brief notices of several others occur. A short but very remarkable one came out at Bremen, in 1615, in Greek, Latin, Bohemian and German, printed in parallel columns, and entitled: *Summa Catechismi, in usum scholarum orthodoxarum Unitatis Fratrum in Bohemia et Moravia, graece, latine, bohemice, et germanice, Bremæ*, 1615. Next John Gottlieb Elsner, who was Pastor of the Bohemian Church at Berlin, about the middle of the last century, and who translated into German the History of Persecutions in Bohemia, mentions another small Catechism published in Polish and in German, without, however, adducing the title. This was, no doubt, the "Shorter Catechism," to which we have referred, and an extract from the "Greater." Elsner himself republished a German Catechism of the Bohemian Brethren, at Berlin, in 1748, which forms probably the same work in substance. The following additional Catechisms are mentioned by Köcher: *De præcipuis articulis religionis Christianæ quæstiones cum responsibus ex S. Sciptura per Weleslawina, Pragae*, 1591; *Christianæ juventutis instituendæ rudimenta an.* 1607; and *Triplex modus catechizandi a fratribus Bohemis institutus.*† Of these works, so far as our sources reach, nothing further is known.

From all this it appears, that the Brethren, independently of the Tetraglott which was edited at Bremen, possessed Catechisms in the Bohemian, German, Polish and Latin tongues. We doubt not that still other works of this kind lie concealed in the Libraries of the Austrian States, and hope they will be brought to light by Palacky or Gindely.

Returning to the Catechism which follows, we find that it was written by Bishop Luke of Prague, in 1521, in Bohemian, translated forthwith into German, as has been supposed, by John Horn, the subsequent Bishop, and published in 1522, simultaneously in

* Ehwalt's Alte und Neue Lehre, p. 441—516.

† Köcher's Catechetische Geschichte, Jena, 1768. p. 20—28.

both these languages. Zeschwitz, who has written a work specially devoted to a critical examination of it, and of the Waldensian Catechism ("Die Katechismen der Waldenser und Böhmischen Brüder," Erlangen, 1863), as well as to a comparison between the two, succeeded in discovering, in various Libraries, ten old copies, printed at different times, from 1522 to 1530. The most ancient of these is the copy in the Library at Dresden. From this, which he reprints, our translation is made, by the aid, however, of that which Ehwalt gives (p. 351 to 377), and which, as its title page tells us, was published nine years after the original first appeared, in order to present a faithful reproduction of the same, because alterations had been made in the other copies.

It was our Catechism to which Luther took exception, particularly to that point which forbids the adoration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. And when Luke sent a fraternal deputation to him, he begged for a further explanation of this point. It was given in a little work entitled, "Of the Triumphant Truth," translated for the Reformer from the Bohemian into Latin. Thereupon Luther published, in 1523, his work, "Vom Anbeten des Sacraments des heiligen Leichnams Jesu Christi, an die Brüder in Böhmen und Mähren, Waldenses genannt." To this Luke replied very sharply, upholding his position that there must be no adoration of the sacrament. But here the controversy stopped.

The Waldensian Catechism, which Zeschwitz also reprints, is, in its first part, almost identical with ours. An interesting question thus arises. To which of the two belongs priority of age?

Modern criticism has rendered notorious the falsifications of which the Waldenses have been guilty in their literature. Dieckhoff, who is the leader in these investigations, accordingly pronounces the Waldensian Catechism a plagiarism from that of the Brethren ("Die Waldenser im Mittelalter," Göttingen, 1851). Zeschwitz comes to the rescue, and, with many pages of labored proof, given in anything but a lucid style, seeks to establish the converse, at least in so far, that the Brethren's Catechism was written under the influence of the Waldensian, to which he assigns the year 1498, as its date. Palacky, whose authority is supreme on such a subject, in his most recent publication, "Ueber die Beziehungen und das Verhältniss der Waldenser zu den ehemaligen Secten in Böhmen," Prague, 1869, destroys Zeschwitz's

formidable arguments with a few strokes of his pen. He reaches, in substance, the following conclusions:

1. That the Bohemian Hussites were both the scholars and the teachers of the Waldenses, but more the latter than the former.

2. That the supposition of Zeschwitz, that Luke of Prague gained new and more enlightened views among the Waldenses of France and Italy, on the occasion of his visit to them in 1497, and promulgated the same among the Brethren, is without any foundation whatever.

3. That the data according to which Zeschwitz decides in favor of the priority of the Waldensian Catechism are quite insufficient, and do not justify such a decision.

4. That many questions and answers of the Catechism of the Brethren are verbatim the same as the corresponding ones in an old Bohemian Catechism, which he has recently discovered in the Imperial Library of Vienna, which was written prior to the year 1414, as he presumes, but does not positively affirm, by John Huss, and which he intends soon to publish in a Latin version.

Hence, it is very probable that this old Catechism underlies the one we have translated; that the latter is, therefore, a legitimate offspring of a work by the great forerunner and teacher of the Brethren; that Dieckhoff's surmise touching the plagiarism of the Waldenses is correct; and that the Catechism of the Bohemian Brethren is the oldest which any evangelical church can claim.

A few words are necessary with regard to our translation. The Catechism is written in the old German of the beginning of the fifteenth century. Many parts of it are exceedingly obscure, and made still more so either by faulty punctuation, or the entire want of the same. We have endeavored to render it as literally as possible. Whenever this could not be done, we have given a free translation. Words inclosed in brackets are occasionally inserted in order to make the meaning clearer. Those references to the Bible which we have put in foot-notes are not in the original, nor are the texts which occur in any way designated as Scriptural language.

Our sincere thanks are due to the Rev. Lewis F. Kampman, of Bethlehem, for the aid which he gave us in the critical examination of some of the obscurest passages, and to Mr. William G.

Malin, of Philadelphia, for the loan of several of the very rare and valuable works which we have cited in this Introduction.

EIN CHRISTLICHE
UNTTERWEYSUNG DER
KLAYNEN KINDER JM GELAU-
BEN, DURCH EIN WEYSZ
EINER FRAG.
M. D. XXIJ.

OR:

CHRISTIAN INSTRUCTION IN THE FAITH,

FOR LITTLE CHILDREN,

IN THE FORM OF QUESTIONS.

1522.

1. *What art thou?*

A rational creature of God, and a mortal.

2. *Why did God create thee?*

That I should know and love him, and, having the love of God, that I should be saved.

3. *Upon what does thy salvation depend?*

Upon three divine graces.

4. *What are these?*

Faith, love and hope.

5. *Prove that.*

St. Paul says: "And now abideth faith, hope, and charity, but the greatest of these is charity."*

6. *What is the first ground of thy salvation?*

Faith.

7. *Prove that.*

St. Paul says to the Jews: "Without faith it is impossible to please God, for he that cometh to God must belive that He is, and that He is a rewarder of them that diligently seek Him."†

8. *What is faith?*

St. Paul says: "Faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen."‡

9. *Of what faith art thou?*

Of the universal Christian.

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* 1 Cor. xiii. 13. † Heb. xi. 6. ‡ Heb. xi. 1.

10. *What faith is that?*

"I believe in God the Father, Almighty Maker of heaven and earth. And in Jesus Christ, His only Son, Our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried; He descended into hell; the third day He rose again from the dead. He ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost; the Holy Catholic Church; the communion of saints; the forgiveness of sins; the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting. Amen."

11. *Are there more kinds of faith than one?*

There are, namely, a living and a dead faith.

12. *What is dead faith?*

It is to believe that there is a God, and that He has revealed himself through His Word, but not to believe in God.*

13. *What is living faith?*

It is to believe in God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

14. *What is meant by believing in God the Lord?*

To know God, to be in unison with His Word, to love Him above all, to accept His promises, to be a doer of His Word, and to unite with His faithful ones.

15. *What is the evidence that a man believes in God?*

That he knows and fulfils His commandments.

16. *Dost thou know the commandments of God?*

I do.

17. *What are they?*

God spake through Moses to the children of Israel: "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord."†

I. "Thou shalt have no other gods before me."‡

II. "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, nor any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth. Thou shalt not bow down to them, nor serve them; for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me, and showing mercy unto thousands of them that love me, and keep my commandments."

"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might; and thy neighbor as thyself."§

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* This answer is not translated literally, of which the genius of our language does not admit, but is rather a paraphrase of the original. It is based upon those three forms of definition touching faith which were universal among the Brethren, and which they received from John Huss, who borrowed them from the Scholastics, namely, *credere de Deo, credere Deo, credere in Deum.* The first relates to the truth of God's existence; the second to the truth of His revelation through His Word; and the third to the meaning and intent of this revelation, in so far as men appropriate to themselves what He gives, and consecrate themselves to Him in heart and life.

† Deut. vi. 4. ‡ Ex. xx. 3–17. § Deut. vi. 5, Matt. xxii. 37 and 39.

III. "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain; for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh His name in vain."

IV. "Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labor, and do all thy work; but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God: In it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thy cattle, nor the stranger that is within thy gates. For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day; wherefore, the Lord blessed the seventh day, and hallowed it."

V. "Honor thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee."

"And he that curseth his father, or his mother, shall surely be put to death."*

VI. "Thou shalt not kill."

VII. "Thou shalt not commit adultery."

VIII. "Thou shalt not steal."

IX. "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor."

X. "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbor's."

18. *On what do these commandments hang?*

On loving God the Lord above all things.

19. *How is it known whether a man loves God?*

In that he loves his neighbor.

20. *What is love to our neighbor?*

It is to do to him as to ourselves, and not to wish him what we do not wish ourselves.

21. *In what do the commandments of God end?*

In love.

21. *What is love?*

St. John says: "God is love; and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him."†

23. *What is the foundation of love?*

The Lord Jesus Christ, even as St. Paul says: "For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ."‡

24. *What does St. Paul mean by this saying?*

Faith in Christ.

25. *What is faith in Christ?*

It is to accept His promises, to know Him, to be in communion with Him, and, loving Him, to be one body with Him and His members.

26. *By what is it known whether a man believes in Christ?*

By his loving Him; and a man does love Him, if he keeps His

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* Ex. xxi. 17. † 1 John iv. 16. ‡ 1 Cor. iii. 11.

commandments, even as He says himself: "If ye love me, keep my commandments."* "He that loveth me not keepeth not my sayings."†

23. *How many commandments of Christ are there sufficient to make our righteousness exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees?*

Six. The first, not to be angry with one's brother; the second, not to look on a woman to lust after her; the third, not to put away one's wife saving for the cause of fornication; the fourth, not to swear at all; the fifth, not to requite evil with evil; the sixth, to love one's enemies, and to do good to them that hate us.

28. *Which is the greatest commandment of Christ?*

To believe in Him.

29. *Prove that.*

Christ says: "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His blood, ye have no life in you;"‡ that is, "He that believeth not in me (the Son) shall not see life, for he that believeth in me (on the Son) hath everlasting life."§

30. *What has Christ promised to those who love Him and keep His word?*

Salvation.

31. *In how many Beatitudes is salvation set forth?*

In eight Beatitudes. The first,‖ "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for their's is the kingdom of heaven."

The second, "Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth."

The third, "Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted."

The fourth, "Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled."

The fifth, "Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy."

The sixth, "Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God."

The seventh, "Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God."

The eighth, "Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for their's is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad: for great is your reward in heaven."

32. *What is eternal life?*

It is to know and enjoy the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom He hath sent.

33. *How many degrees has eternal life?*

Two. The first is revealed here, by the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the communion with Him, to which believers attain, in the Spirit, through faith. The other is revealed in everlasting glory. Of the first, the Lord Jesus Christ says: "This is life eternal, that they

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* John xiv. 15. † John xiv. 24. ‡ John vi. 53. § John iii. 36.

‖ Matt. v. 3–12. The second and third Beatitudes are transposed in the Catechism.

might know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom Thou hast sent."*

34. *How shall a man obtain this truth?*

Through faith, through love and hope, given by the Holy Ghost.

35. *Dost thou believe in the Holy Ghost?*

I do.

36. *What is the Holy Ghost?*

God the Lord, sent by the Father and the Son.

37. *What is God the Father?*

God the Lord having a Son coequal in the Godhead.

38. *What is the Son?*

God the Lord having an eternal Father.

39. *Then thou hast three Gods?*

I have not three Gods.

40. *But thou hast named three.*

I have named three according to their persons; but in so far as the Godhead is concerned, I believe that there is but one God, who is worthy of praise and the highest honors.

41, *How dost thou honor God?*

With the heart, with the mouth, and with works.

42. *How dost thou honor Him with the heart?*

With faith, with love and hope, and with good affections.

43. *How dost thou honor Him with the mouth?*

By confessing and calling upon His name, (which name includes) omnipotence, wisdom and goodness: by professing His truth; by desiring help and grace from Him; by praising Him, and praying to Him alone.

44. *How dost thou honor Him with works?*

By keeping His commandments, by fasting, by keeping holy days, by falling upon my knees in prayer, by giving alms, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, who sits at the right hand of God, and by other acts of reverence due to Him.

45. *How dost thou call this same one only God, whom thou thus honorest?*

My gracious Father.

46. *How dost thou pray to Him?*

As the Lord teaches, when He says:† "After this manner therefore pray ye:

"Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. Amen."

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* John xviii. 3. † Matt. vi. 9–13.

47. *Dost thou honor any other being, as thou honorest God the Lord?*

I do not.

48. *Why not?*

Because God has forbidden it, when He said: "Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them."* "Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and serve Him alone."†

49. *In what do men generally err in the world?*

In three things: in idolatry, in false "will-worship"‡ and vain hope, in deadly lusts. These three things comprise all their ways of error.

50. *What is idolatry?*

It is to transfer, internally or externally, that honor and worship, which alone belong to God the Lord, to a visible or invisible creature, rational or irrational, spiritual or carnal: internally, with things self-depending and fundamental, that is, with faith, love, hope, and spiritual affections, such as fear, zeal, and with the conscience, &c.: externally, with the mouth, or with works, in the hope of gaining some spiritual or carnal good.

51. *Dost thou believe in the Virgin Mary, or any other saints?*

I do not.

52. *Why not?*

Because they are neither God, nor Creator, nor Redeemer, nor Saviour, but creatures bought and blessed. But I have a belief concerning them.

53. *What dost thou believe concerning the Virgin Mary?*

That she was highly favored, blessed of God among women—full of grace and blessed was the fruit of her womb; that she was pure before she bare, when she bore, and after bearing, a humble handmaid of the Lord, and a blessed one, on account of her humble faith well-pleasing to God, a careful and faithful mother of the Lord Jesus; that she assuredly possesses an inheritance in eternal happiness; and that she enjoyed all these things, by the grace of God, and through an interest in the sufferings of Jesus Christ, in and through whom God did great things for her, and received her soul into its eternal rest.

54. *What dost thou hold concerning the other saints?*

That they are chosen, by the grace of God, to be partakers of salvation through the Lord Jesus Christ, and that, by the sending of the Holy Ghost, they came to be saints beloved in Christ, cleansed by His blood; that living here by faith, and loving God above all things, and their neighbors, honoring God and serving Him, some died a common death, some left the earth oppressed by men, enduring martyrdom for the Word's sake, yea suffering death at the hands of idolators, false prophets, and lovers of the world, because of the true honor they gave God, and the living hope they had in Christ.

55. *Is it proper to honor the Virgin Mary, or the other saints?*

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* Ex. xx. 5. † Deut. vi. 13. ‡ Col. ii. 23.

It is proper to honor them with that honor which is their due.

56. *What is the honor which is their due?*

That we love them with a proper love, and that, by obeying and following them in the good which they accomplished, we praise God for them.

57, *In how far are we to obey them?*

In so far as their admonitions are concerned, in so far as is written in the law, and in so far, especially, as the Virgin Mary says: "Whatsoever He saith unto you, do it."*

58. *In how far are we to follow them?*

In their virtuous lives, by which they followed Christ, with a living faith and real love, striving for the hope of eternal life, and, while striving, faithful unto death, forsaking the world and its errors, together with all vanity.

59. *With what honors is it not proper to honor them?*

With those mentioned above, which belong alone to God and the Lamb. Hence it is not proper to worship them, to desire of them grace, help and intercessions, to seek other good gifts of them, or to pray to them to be preserved from evil: in none of these things must we trust in them. Nor is it proper to call the Virgin Mary our only hope, or a mediatrix, or a most gracious mother, or to pray to her with sighs. Consequently, it is not proper to show them outward honors, such as celebrating saints' days, bringing offerings, supplicating or giving alms in their name, fasting, swearing, or vowing by them, going on pilgrimages to their shrines, or building churches to their memory.

60. *But is it proper to bow down before and worship the image of the Lord Christ, or of the saints?*

It is not proper, since God the Lord says: "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, nor any likeness of anything; thou shalt not bow down to them, nor serve them."† "I am the Lord."‡

61. *How, then, are we to honor the Lord Jesus Christ in the sacrament of His body and blood?*

I say that we are to adore Him as He is, in His self-depending and natural being, naturally and personally in heaven at the right hand of the glory of His Father, according to the confession of our common Christian faith, and the testimony of the Holy Scriptures, whence He will not descend to this world until the last judgment. Therefore it is not proper to adore Him (in the sacrament) in any other way, which He has, moreover, expressly and frequently forbidden, saying: "If any man shall say unto you, Lo, here is Christ, or there; believe it not. For there shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall shew great signs and wonders; insomuch that, if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect. Behold, I have told you before. Wherefore if they shall say unto you, Behold he is in the desert; go not forth: behold he is in the secret chambers—or in the caves of the rocks—believe it not. For as the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth

* John ii. 5. † Ex. xx. 4 and 5. ‡ Lev. xviii. 5.

even unto the west; so shall also the coming of the Son of Man be,"* who now is in glory. Ad. Philippen.

62. *What is it proper to do when receiving the body and blood of Christ?*

First of all, it is proper to believe, that, whenever the sacrament, in accordance with the meaning and Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ and His Holy Church, is consecrated, in a regular way, by faithful priests, with the prayer and the words of the Lord, there is testified and proclaimed, that the consecrated bread is the body of our Lord, which should be betrayed and given for us, and the consecrated cup the blood of the Lord, which should be shed for us and for many; and that this takes place through the words which point to the bread and wine, namely, "This is my body, &c." Hence we must, at once, without any doubting, in simplicity, believe the words of Christ, that the bread is the body of Christ, who should be betrayed, and the wine the blood of Christ, which should be shed for the redemption of sins: further, that this takes place with a necessary, sacramental and testamentary substance, for the service and use of the spiritual being, which bread, proclaimed to be His body, and which cup, proclaimed to be His blood, Christ commands us to take, to eat, and to drink, and thus to have in a worthy remembrance His betrayal, His sufferings, and the shedding of His blood, yea and to show His death.

(In the second place, this sacrament) thereby becomes a preparation of the spiritual meat and drink, conditioned by a common participation in the same; so that, by this remembrance (of Him), our fellowship with the Lord Jesus Christ is renewed, in a peaceful conscience and hope; and, together with all believers, we are strengthened and made steadfast for the tribulations of the Christian way, awakened and incited to render praise to the Lord Jesus Christ, who is at the right hand of the Majesty, to whom belong divine honors in the unity of the Holy Trinity.

But, (in the third place, we must not forget), that the proper honor, above all things used in ministrations, belongs to the Lord Jesus (as He abides) in His believing members, who are a spiritual body and holy temple, in which, with His grace and truth, He spiritually is higher (than this sacrament itself,) and more truly revealed (than the host reveals Him); (whence follows that we should honor Him) by obedience, love, and works of mercy, spiritual or bodily, even as He says: "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethern, ye have done it unto me.†" For, through the Word which He sends, we are to receive Him in obedience, abide in Him by faith, and enjoy him in the sacrament, in the fellowship of the New Covenant.‡

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* Matt. xxiv. 23–27. † Matt. xxv. 40.

‡ Question 61 is omitted in the Dresden copy of the Catechism, as reprinted by Zeschwitz, who gives it in a note. It is found, however, in all the other copies, and forms a part of the body of the Catechism in Ehwalt. This answer is the one with which Luther was particularly dissatisfied.

The Bohemian Brethren have been most unjustly accused of often changing their doctrinal views with regard to the Lord's Supper, and of sometimes being

63. *How do men err in a false service of God?*

In that they do not know His true service.

64. *What is the service of God?*

A spiritual "brotherhood,"* or a spiritual "virginity,"† or a spiritual "priesthood."‡

65. *What is the true service of God?*

To serve him in the right and fundamental truth of faith, love and hope, in the fellowship of the New Covenant, with works, by following the Lord Jesus Christ.

66. *What are a false brotherhood, virginity and priesthood?*

Those which are founded upon the sacraments only, and upon old usage, and upon the inventions and decretals of men, which are, therefore, a choice of man's own will, and not grounded upon fundamental truth, especially when that will errs or is deceived.

67. *How do men err in a vain hope?*

In that they do not know the true hope, where, and in whom, it is, and in what way it is properly given, (even) the hope of grace and help, yea the hope of eternal glory.

68. *Where and in whom is true hope?*

In God essentially, in Christ meritoriously, and in the Holy Ghost and His gifts which render us worthy of a participation (in grace); in faith fundamentally; in justification by faith truly; in works confirmingly; in the Church and its ministrations administratively; in the Word of God instructively; in the sacraments sacramentally, as a testimony and a testament.

69. *In what does true hope consist?*

In the promise or "oath," and in the testament of God.§

70. *By what is that hope given which is a surety of the present grace of God the Father, and of a communion with the Lord Jesus Christ, in His righteousness, which he has wrought out unto eternal glory?*

By the promise and fellowship, in faith, of the New Covenant, in a real preservation and keeping unto the end.

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almost, or quite Romish, again Lutheran, and again Reformed, in their exposition of this dogma.

The truth is that they obtained their doctrine of the Lord's Supper from the Taborites, who emphatically denied transubstantiation and believed merely in the spiritual presence of Christ. *This spiritual presence the Brethren taught from the beginning to the end of their Unity*, which could readily be proven if the space allowed to which we are restricted. In defining the doctrine, however, they were not always clear, and, in so far as their terminology is concerned, may have given cause for the above accusation. But it should never be forgotten, that in this case, as in other doctrinal questions, the great aims which they had in view were, first, to avoid the controversies going on among the Reformers, second, to fraternize with all evangelical Christians, and, third, to be more faithful in holy living than in nice theological definitions. Many writers misunderstand these aims, and hence misjudge the Brethren. Most important testimony concerning their views of the Lord's Supper is given by Ginley in his *Dogmatische Ansichten der Böhmisch-Mährischen Brüder*, p. 380—390.

* 1 Peter ii. 17. † Ezekiel xxiii. 8. ‡ 1 Peter ii. 5. § Heb. iii. 17.

71. *Upon what other things do men, who have not this promise, ground their hope?*

Some, indiscreetly, on the grace of God, without a reformation of their evil lives; some on dead faith, without true love, wanting which nothing else avails; some on future repentance and the reception of the sacrament in the last hour; some on the outward services of the Church and frequent participation in the sacrament; some on fasting, praying, and the giving of alms, without true faith and real repentance; some on Christian morals, or the confession of faith with the mouth, and obedience to the Pope and the Romish Church, without obeying the Word of God; some on often hearing or reading the Word, as men with the wisdom of the wise, and the understanding of the prudent; some on the aid of the saints and their intercessions, on pilgrimages, on counting their rosaries with prayers to the Virgin Mary, or on other self-made prayers; some on purification, on the falsely reputed third hell and purgatory; some on endowing churches and their ministers with manifold ornaments and gifts, or on the mass and what belongs to it; some on the monks, and their pernicious, false and hypocritical worship, by giving to them goods and possessions; some on works of mercy, without fulfilling the commandments of God; some on divers commandments, without such reformation of the heart as will lead them to know God, in reality, and Jesus Christ in His grace and truth, and without a recognition of Christ, and an apprehension of the righteousness which flows from faith through the renewing of the Holy Ghost; some on good works, without first obtaining grace in the communion of the faith. Thus there are innumerable false hopes, and there is a false service of God which builds up false hopes: be it by trusting in, or receiving the words of, false prophets, or by imitating their works; be it by improper love to them, out of the passion of men's hearts, even to the opposing of the righteousness of God and His followers, according as Christ says, "The time cometh, that whosoever killeth you will think he doeth God service,"*—or out of such fervency and heat that men enter their orders and take upon themselves their vows. False hopes, furthermore, show themselves in that men honor the dead and their remains, or the living, giving reverence and worship to their works, and putting their trust in these, as, for instance, in papal letters and bulls, believing that what is falsely promised therein will come to pass.

72. *How do men err through mortal affections?*

In that they do not attain to the true affections of faith and love, through the gift of God, and do not receive them through the Word of God; or, in that, while professing faith and serving the Church, they do what St. John describes, when he says: "All that is in the world is the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life."†

73. *In what do such affections show themselves?*

In the seven mortal sins, which are: Pride, covetousness, lasciviousness, envy, gluttony, anger, slothfulness.

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* John xvi. 2. † 1 John ii. 16.

74. *How shall a man escape from these errors?*

First, by fleeing from such as occasion these errors, and such are the evil servants of an evil mind and thoughts, some of them being, also, evil in their lives, against whom Christ warns us, when He says: "Beware of false prophets."* Second, by following faithful stewards, who, in the proper meaning, and with the right comprehension of their doctrines, as also in their lives, serve the Truth, and seek their position (as stewards) in that service alone, of whom St. Paul says: "Mark them which walk so as ye have us for an example."† Third, by fleeing the cause of idolatry, that is, mortal affections and the fellowship of those who follow such things, as God says by the prophet and St. John in the Revelation: "Come out of her, my people, that ye receive not her plagues."‡ Fourth, by entering into communion with those who faithfully and truly promote the honor of God, concerning whom David says: "With the pure Thou wilt show thyself pure."‖

75. *How shall a man enter this unity of believers?*

By submission, obedience and subjection (to the rule of faith); by circumspectly receiving doctrine, reproof, warning, and correction; and by diligently keeping the commandments of God, and observing "good manners,"§ which are profitable for the Truth.

76. *What is necessary to this end?*

That which the Scripture saith: "My son, if thou come to serve the Lord, prepare thy soul for temptation. Set thy heart aright, and constantly endure. Whatsoever is brought upon thee, take cheerfully. And be patient:"¶ that thy life may grow, in the last days, unto eternal life, in the resurrection of the just. But temptations come through the devil, through the world which inspires the mind with sinful things, through (other) evil causes to the offence of the body, and through destroying lusts. Nevertheless he that overcometh and endureth shall be saved.

Amen.
Praise be to God.

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* Matt. vii. 15. † Philip. iii. 17. ‡ Rev. xviii. 4. ‖ Psm. xviii. 26.
§ 1 Cor. xv. 33. ¶ Ecclesiasticus, or Jesus Sirach, ii. 1—4.

THE SECOND "SEA CONGREGATION," 1743.

BY JOHN C. BRICKENSTEIN.

The success of the first "Sea Congregation" in 1742, had proved that it was practicable not only to import from Europe colonists, without exposing them to the hardships of common emigrant transports, at that time much more severe than at the present day, but also to impart to the passage across the ocean something of the character of a succession of religious holidays, spent partly in devotional exercises according to their own fashion, partly in fraternal intercourse with old and new friends.

The speedy acquisition of additional laborers and colonists, being a matter of importance, Zinzendorf, while still in America, lost no time in planning with his friends a second expedition for the next following year, 1743. The first step in the execution of the project was to engage the services of Captain Nicholas Garrison, of Staten Island, a man equally distinguished by seamanship and piety.

Capt. Garrison had followed the sea for about twenty years, chiefly in the West India trade. His first acquaintance with the Brethren dates from October, 1736, when Spangenberg, on returning from his visitation in St. Thomas, took passage on board his vessel in St. Eustace. An intimate brotherly friendship was soon formed between the two pious men, and kept up partly by correspondence, and partly by repeated personal meetings. There is still extant a letter of Capt. Garrison's in the biography of Zinzendorf by Spangenberg. The Captain had also made the acquaintance of Count Zinzendorf in 1739, when he met him in St. Thomas. Their short personal intercourse seems to have left a favorable and lasting impression on both of them, for no sooner had Zinzendorf arrived at New York, in November, 1741, than he paid a visit to his friend on Staten Island; and now again, on his way back to New York, he called upon him at his residence,

January 2d (o. s. 13th), 1743. The object of this visit, as above mentioned, was to engage Capt. Garrison* to be both Captain, and chief Elder of the second Sea Congregation, which was to be fitted out in the course of this year. The Captain, though he had intended to quit the sea altogether, accepted the call joyfully, as he himself relates in his letter to Spangenberg. Within seven days he was ready for the voyage to Europe. His daughter Susan, fifteen years of age, accompanied him. They formed part of the suite of Zinzendorf,* and sailed with him from New York, January 9th, 1743, on board the ship "Jacob." On the 17th of February, they arrived in England.

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* Garrison, probably after having taken back to England the ship of the second Sea Congregation, the "Little Strength," returned to America, October 25th, 1744, in company with Spangenberg, on board the ship "Jacob," Capt. Ketteltas, probably the same in which he had sailed with Zinzendorf. In 1748 he arrived again at New York on board a ship of Capt. Schimmer as leader of a company of twenty single brethren, five of whom were sailors, and destined to form part of the crew of the ship "Irene." This vessel was then being built at New York, on account of, and for the exclusive use of the Church. As soon as she was finished—which was in the same year, Capt. Garrison took command of her, and sailed to Europe, whence he returned the following year (1749, May 12) with a large company of brethren and sisters (130) under the guidance of John Nitschman. Among his passengers were the remnant of a delegation of Greenlanders (three out of five) with the Missionary Matthew Stach, and Christian David. With these, he proceeded to Greenland, where he had been two years before, carrying materials for a dwelling-house, bringing at the same time a supply of timber for a new church. After having continued for some years in command of the "Irene," we find him in 1756 in Surinam, selecting two tracts of land for the Brethren on the Corentyn and Saramacca. During this time his younger sons John, Benjamin, and Lambert were educated at Bethlehem. After having spent several years at Nisky, in Germany, he retired to Bethlehem and died there 1781. He left an autobiography. One of the streets of Bethlehem is named after him.

* Copy of a paper in the Bethlehem Archives. The company consisted of: members of the Church,

1. Brother Louis (Zinzendorf.)
2. His daughter Benigna.
3. Anna Nitschman.
4. Rosina Nitschman. (Wife of Bishop David N.)
5. Magdalen femde (?) (Afterwards wife of John Paul Weiss.)
6. Marg. Antess. (Afterwards wife of Latrobe.)
7. Susanna Garrison, (filia.)
8. Joseph Müller.
9. Jacob Müller, (painter.)
10. George Neisser.
11. George Vieruhr.

On this journey to England, Captain Garrison—as he himself writes in his letter to Spangenberg—had an opportunity to witness the cheerful calmness and confidence in God, which he had noticed in Spangenberg, in 1736, during a fearful gale of wind off New York Bay, now displayed by Zinzendorf, when a tremendous gale from the south threatened to wreck the ship on the rocks of the Scilly Islands, near the coast of England. He mentions also that remarkable prediction of Zinzendorf's, who, much against all appearances, declared that the ship would certainly be saved, and that the gale would subside at the end of two hours,—a prediction, which was fulfilled to the letter and minute. Garrison having become a member of the Church, and having returned to London from a visit to Marienborn, preparations were commenced to procure means of transportation for the second Sea Congregation. A suitable ship, called "The Little Strength," was procured, and the services of Capt. Gladman, the pious commander of the first expedition, were engaged, who from motives of patriotism for the Church, consented to serve under Capt. Garrison. In engaging a crew, care was taken to select, if possible, such persons who should be, at the same time, members of the floating church. They succeeded in engaging eleven sailors, (besides Nicolas Garrison, Jr., seventeen years of age, who had arrived in England from the West Indies, and two boys), who were all, with the exception of two, in connection with the Church.

Whilst these preparations were going on in England, the Brethren in Germany were active in calling, instructing, and fitting out colonists. The same principles which had been adopted a few years before in selecting a second colony for Pilgerruh in Holstein,

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12. Dav. Wahnert.
13. Mar. Elis. Wahnert, (his wife.)
14. Gottlieb Haberecht.
15. Andreas Frey.
16. Veronica Frey.
17. Andreas, the Moor.
18. Maria, his wife.
19. Nic. Garrison, Capt.
20. 21. Not mentioned, one of whom was probably Nic. Garrison, Jr.

Besides these there were some friends not members of the Church:
Isai Leshy, of Ephrata, Lancaster Co.
James Benezet, son of Stephen Benezet, of Philadelphia.
William Hall, of Brunswick.

were acted upon on this occasion. It was laid down as a general rule that colonists should be persons in the best years of life, married, but having as yet no children. Then, as the object of the present expedition was to procure colonists for both Bethlehem and Nazareth, and especially for the latter, and as the former settlement was to be predominantly commercial and manufacturing, the other almost exclusively agricultural, especial regard was to be had to the fitness of colonists for these two different lines of life. All pursuits, however, were to be subordinate to labor in the vineyard of the Lord, as opportunities should offer in the hearts of either Christians or heathen.* Marienborn and Herrnhaag undertook to furnish all the colonists for Nazareth; Herrnhut supplied the greater part of the rest.

Measures were so far advanced at Marienborn and Herrnhaag, that on the 27th of May, thirty young single men were married in the chapel of Marienborn to as many young women. Divided into five classes, and standing in five rows, they were, at one and the same time, united in the bonds of holy wedlock, and consecrated as the future congregation of Nazareth. Subsequently, three more couples were added to their number. The anniversary of this peculiar wedding occasion was for many years celebrated at Nazareth; those of the company, who in the course of time had removed to other places, resorting thither to join in the commemoration of the day. There are still extant among the old papers interesting pieces in rhyme which were composed for these occasions by Spangenberg and others.

On Sunday, June 28th, the Nazareth colonists were dismissed by the communicant members of the congregation in a love-feast, at which Zinzendorf himself presided. The solemnity was made still more impressive by the addition of other religious exercises.*

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* For Zinzendorf's views of Pennsylvania colonization, see the *Büdingische Sammlung*, vol. iii., p. 188.

* Part of these consisted in the consecration of forty three persons, to be members of the society of "witnesses," (*Zeugenschaft.*) Among these were Christian Renatus, Zinzendorf's son, Lewis de Schrautenbach, and of the American colonists the following nineteen: David Wahnert and wife, (who had been with the First Sea Congregation, and had returned to be one of the Elders of the Second), Hœpfner and wife, Hirte and wife, Schaaf and wife, Hessler and wife, Kremser and wife, Mat. Weiss and wife, Jno. Heinrich Bicfel, Elizabeth Wagner, and the single Brethren Oerter, Harding and Dœling.

See Appendix to Geo. Neisser's journal.

The sixty-six Nazareth colonists, joined as far as Bethlehem, by three married couples, and three single Brethren, (total 75,) and divided into several companies, left Herrnhaag in the course of the next following days. Brother Samuel Krause gave them his company, and acted as leader-in-chief as far as Heerendyk, in which Dutch Moravian settlement they were to await the arrival of the colonists from Herrnhut.

The Herrnhut division was somewhat late in starting, besides having a much longer journey to perform. They left Herrnhut a month or so after the Marienborn division had set out on their journey; travelling on foot, accompanied by a wagon, until they could get conveyance by water. On the evening of September 1st, they arrived at Herrnhaag, reported next morning to the authorities at Marienborn, (the residence of the Moravian Bishops at that time) and were at once dispatched to proceed on their journey the very same day; contrary to the expectation of some of them, who had hoped to see a little more of Herrnhaag, Marienborn, &c. A day's march put an end to their slow mode of travelling on land. Arrived at Hanau they found themselves near the banks of the Maine. Either there, or at Frankfort, they stepped on board a boat to float down the rivers Maine and Rhine to Holland, and never to move much on land again until they had reached New York. In the business of engaging their passage to Holland, and embarking on board a boat, they had the assistance of Brother Eckberg, of the Ronneburg, who had escorted them for this purpose as far as Frankfort. There was another company temporarily connected with them, consisting of the Rev. Benjamin Ingham, his wife, and Brother Hasse, of London, and Brother George Neisser, from Silesia. These had travelled at the same time, but by themselves, from Herrnhut to Marienborn.* Here they tarried a day or two longer than the larger company, but travelling faster, though by water all the way from Hanau, passed them whilst on their passage on the Rhine. At Cologne, however, they stopped, and joined the

* On the 3d of September, after evening prayers, Benjamin Ingham gave a love-feast to all the members of the Theological Seminary at Marienborn It was a blessed time to all present, spent principally in "giving verses" to Brother Ingham on the subject of his present journey, and of his field of action in England. The meeting lasted till midnight. At two o'clock in the morning, (September 4th,) Brother Ingham and his company proceeded on their journey.

larger company on board another boat, which was engaged at this place. The smaller company had left Marienborn, September 4th, and reached Cologne on the 6th. The passage of the larger company, owing to more frequent and longer detentions, lasted two and one-half days longer. On September 8th, both parties proceeded on their voyage together. As to the members of this smaller party, the Brethren Ingham and Hasse are well and very favorably known in the history of our English church, and George Neisser,* was secretary to Count Zinzendorf, residing at that time in Silesia, at Burau (or Gnadeck), an estate of Count Balthazar Promnitz, and was to accompany the Sea Congregation as far as a two months' leave of absence would permit. He it is, who has given an account of the expedition for the time he was present with it.

In floating down the Rhine the Brethren would take turns at the oars, four at a time, for half an hour, the whole company joining in singing hymns. By these means the speed of their barge was considerably increased.† After entering the Meuse, they should, according to appointment, have turned off to join the Marienborn division at Heerendyk; but it was judged best to send off a few only of their number with the news of their approach to Rotterdam, and proceed in a body to the place of embarking.

At Rotterdam, (September 12th,) they found Capt. Garrison‡ anxiously waiting for his passengers, and everything ready to receive them at once on board "The Little Strength." About the

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* George Neisser was a young man of education, (probably received in the Seminary of the Church,) and had been in America with Zinzendorf in 1742. His name does not occur in any of the catalogues of arrivals seen by us, but among the departures. In the *Büding-Sammlungen*, vol. ii., p. 888, is an extract from a very sharp reply to the calumnies of Rev. John Philip Bœhm, Reformed Pastor at Philadelphia, published by Geo. Neisser, of Sehlen, in Moravia, "Schoolmaster at Bethlehem."

† They now generally continued their journey during the night; whilst, in its earlier stages, on the winding river Maine, &c., they used to spend the night on shore.

‡ In his biography Capt. Garrison says that it had long been a wish of his heart to sail in a vessel, the property of the Church, and manned and occupied exclusively by members of the Church; a wish the realization of which he scarcely dared to hope for. Now, however, on board the "Little Strength," it was actually realized. "Yet," continues he, "this very journey has cost me many tears afterwards, because I had to reproach myself for not having shown that fidelity to my trust, that I ought to have shown."

same hour of the day a number of Marienborn Brethren made their appearance. They had left Heerendyk, immediately upon receiving word of the approach of the Herrnhut Brethren, and reached Rotterdam just in time to join them in going on board ship, without entering a house in town. The following day was spent in stowing away baggage, and getting things in readiness for the reception of the other passengers. Sister Spangenberg was on board, and very active in lending prompt and efficient assistance, especially to the sisters, in having everything put to the right place. All arrangements being completed, great was the satisfaction in welcoming on board the same evening, September 3d, all the rest of the passengers, who had been waiting at Heerendyk, and conducting them to the quarters prepared for them.

Brother Knolton, in company with Capt. Gladman's wife, now hastened to take the regular Helvoetsluis and Harwich packet-boat, to return to England, and dispatch the English division to Cowes.

Whilst the ship was delayed yet a short time at Rotterdam, a number of friends and brethren from Amsterdam* and Heerendyk came on board to get a sight of this remarkable expedition, express the interest they felt in it, and take leave of the passengers. Brother Hasse had taken up his quarters on board altogether for a few days, and Brother Ingham, who with his wife occupied lodgings in town, paid daily visits to the ship. He also made arrangements that a general farewell lovefeast was spread on the deck, which had by means of canvas awnings been converted into a little chapel, the Sisters taking their seats on the right hand side, and the Brethren on the left.†

On the 16th of September, anchor was weighed, and the ship

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* A Brother Decknadel, of Amsterdam, is mentioned, who with his wife and two sons visited the ship. They were delighted with everything they saw and heard, and evidenced their affection and kindness in various ways. When they discovered an article wanting here or there, which might be useful during the journey, they at once went to town to procure it.

† This lovefeast took place on a Saturday afternoon, and was considered the first Sabbath lovefeast of the Sea Congregation. These Sabbath lovefeasts were afterwards regularly continued every Saturday afternoon. They had been introduced long before by Zinzendorf in his house with the family of Brethren and Sisters, who happened to reside with him (*Pilgergemeine, Jüngerhaus.*) The materials were of the plainest kind, but on these occasions he made his domestics take seats, and requested other Brethren and Sisters to serve the tea and cakes.

dropped down the river. The passage from Rotterdam to Helvoetsluis was slow and tedious, consuming not less than six days, on account of adverse winds, or calms. This had, however, the advantage that the passengers could accustom themselves to their new quarters, before the time of seasickness was upon them, and that they could hold their religious services on deck undisturbed and at leisure. Particular mention is made of a fine calm evening, when the singing was protracted beyond the usual time. The inhabitants of a Dutch village near which the ship was riding at anchor, hearing it, collected on the bank, and stood listening with great devotion to the last sound. Next morning they expressed themselves very kindly towards a party who visited the shore, declaring that never in their lives had they heard such beautiful strains of music. This formed a pleasing contrast to the conduct of the crew on a schuyte that passed by, who took pleasure in annoying the Brethren by noise and shouts, as also to the experience of the Herrnhut division not long before in the town of Gotha, who had stopped at a hotel, called the "Moor" (the same in which three years before a General Synod of the Church had met), and, when seated at table, were asking the Lord's blessing on their meal by singing some verses, as was their custom, were hushed into silence by a mob that had collected in front of the house, and commenced to hurl stones through the windows.

At last, on the 23d of September, towards noon, the town of Helvoetsluis hove in sight. Here they expected to find Brother Spangenberg, and receive him on board as temporary companion, in the same manner as they already had amongst them Sister Spangenberg, and Brother George Neisser. Brother Spangenberg had been actively engaged at London in assisting with the preparations for the expedition, and had carried on an extensive correspondence in reference to it; but there were still some important subjects, on which he wished to have oral communication with Zinzendorf. In consequence he had crossed over to Holland, the second time in the course of this year, and from Holland travelled all the way to Silesia on foot and alone. When his conferences with Zinzendorf had come to a close, he returned from Gnadeck to Holland, and had now been four days at Helvoetsluis, waiting for the arrival of the "Little Strength." He was standing on shore when the ship approached, recognised it immediately, and hailed it.

Capt. Garrison at once manned a boat, took the tiller himself, and brought Brother Spangenberg on board.

It was 4 o'clock P. M., when the ship fairly entered the North Sea, and the wind being favorable, the coast of England was sighted next morning, (Sept. 24th) at eight o'clock. The night had, of course, been an unpleasant one to most of the passengers. The Sisters seemed to be most severely affected by seasickness. They had, however, a precious comforter in Sister Wahnert, who like Martha, was bustling about among them, bringing assistance and relief where required, and like Mary would then sit down with them, and sing soothing and comforting hymns. In the course of the day, as they sailed along the coast of England, and the sea became smoother, most of the sick recovered somewhat, and on the following day, (Sept. 25th), when Cowes was reached (at 4 o'clock P. M.) all the sick had recovered.

Here the Congregation was agreeably surprised to find the English Brethren and Sisters, who were to join the expedition, waiting their arrival and ready to come on board. They had arrived at Cowes the day before, accompanied by the following friends from London, the Brethren Wenzel Neisser, Knolton, Holland, Reinke, Broske and Sister Highland. All the Brethren and Sisters, the passengers as well as temporary companions, were at once received on board, and hasty arrangements made for the night. The London friends, however, did not retire after evening service, but having discovered that some fresh provisions (milk, &c.) which could not be procured in town, would be quite acceptable on board, had the kindness to roam about the Isle of Wight to a late hour in search of them.

The following day, September 26th, was spent in shipping the baggage of the English Brethren, clearing the ship at the custom-house, taking on board some more fresh provisions and ballast, and making final arrangements for the long voyage. In the evening the London friends took leave, expressing their kindest interest and affection in English and German addresses. Brother and Sister Spangenberg and George Neisser continued on board a few days longer. The former had been engaged, ever since he had joined the company, in confidential conversation with each individual, hearing them out upon every subject, and exercising a beneficial influence on them in private and in public by words of

exhortation, instruction, advice and encouragement, delivered in his usual affectionate and brotherly manner. In one of his last addresses he took occasion to remind those Brethren who expected to engage principally in secular affairs, that they also had a very important, though indirect spiritual office in the Missionary cause, even whilst staying at home. "For," said he, "one of the greatest obstacles the Missionaries have to contend with is the worse than heathenish conduct of so many white men, who are called Christians. When the Indians shall perceive that the Missionaries have at home whole settlements of Brethren, whose walk and conversation is the same as theirs, they will have more confidence in the words of the Missionaries, and the latter will feel themselves supported by a powerful influence." Before leaving the ship Spangenberg called a meeting of the whole company, and declared that he had instructions to take back with him any person who, on account of sickness, or for any other reason, might have changed his or her mind, and would prefer returning home. But not a single individual wished to avail himself of this offer. Sister Opitz, who had been sick all the time, declared when Sister Wahnert communicated to her Brother Spangenberg's offer, that she was convinced this journey belonged to the career decreed to her by the Lord, even if it should lead to a grave in the ocean. At the same time Spangenberg called for suggestions from any of the company, how the convenience or comfort of the passengers might be promoted by alterations in the arrangements or management on board. This proposition led to some improvements that were at once introduced.

The ship had left Cowes, September 27th, but owing to adverse winds and calms, five days passed before she approached the mouth of the British channel. October 1st, the wind became favorable, and on the next day in the morning a fishing smack was hailed, and came alongside. Brother and Sister Spangenberg and Brother Neisser now took a most affectionate farewell in morning prayers, and afterwards personally with tears, and with many kisses, and stepped into the boat which was bound for Plymouth. The "Little Strength," under a press of canvas, the favorable wind increasing, sped her way towards the ocean, and lost sight of land before night. This was October 2d, when the voyage proper of the Sea Congregation commenced; it lasted till November 26th, when they cast enchor in New York Bay near Staten Island.

The Sea Congregation consisted of:

Passengers,	117
Seafaring men in connexion with the Congregation,	13
Total,	130
Two seafaring men and a boy not in connection with it,	3
Total of souls on board the "Little Strength,"	133

The quarters of the Sisters were on the middle deck and those of the Brethren on the lower deck. For the Sisters state-rooms had been prepared, and the wide space between the two ranges of state-rooms, was furnished with benches and seats, affording them the comforts of a house, as nearly as was possible on board ship. The Brethren on the lower deck swung their hammocks along the sides of the ship. The distribution of the passengers was so arranged, that each of the three divisions, the Marienborn, Herrnhut and English divisions, had quarters together, the last named division being nearest to the cabin, which was considered the most comfortable location. Each division being subdivided into classes, or bands, of five or six individuals, headed by leaders, these again were placed near to one another and formed a mess-company for meals. Capt. Garrison invited himself to the different messes of the Brethren at his option, or had "tabulam ambulatoriam," as the journal of Brother Neisser calls it. One member of each class or mess, both male and female, acted as its servitor, having the care not only of the table, but of order and cleanliness in general within its premises. The appointment of head cook was bestowed on Brother Matthew Reuz, a man of excellent education, who, a few years afterwards (1746) became pastor of the Church at Philadelphia. He was the fittest man for that office, so the journal says, because of all persons he was less likely to loose the equilibrium of his mind through the many distractions attending that business. He had three assistants, the Brethren Opiz, Christ and Grabs. The care of the ship's stores, and of serving them out, was entrusted to the Brethren Wagner and Fisher.* There was an

* According to Neisser's journal, Brother Cook, a sailor, or second mate, was the third person on this committee, but Brother Hœpefner does not mention him. Brother Cook afterwards joined the Brethren on their journey from New York to Bethlehem.

abundant supply of provisions on board, and likewise a sufficient quantity of delicacies for the sick. The duty of attending to the sick fell to the Brethren Wahnert and Schaaf, on the side of the brethren, and of Sisters Wahnert and Hirte, on the side of the sisters. The night was divided into two watches, from 10 P. M. to 2 A. M., and from 2 A. M. to 6 A. M. At first only one brother was assigned for each watch, fourteen brethren in all being appointed for this duty, two for each night in the week. Brother George Neisser kept the first, and Spangenberg the second watch. But before Spangenberg left the ship it was found expedient to double the number, and have two brethren for each watch. Amongst the duties of the watchmen was the care of the light, which was kept burning all night on both decks, and to go to the assistance of the sailors, when needed. The hours were struck on the ship's bell by a brother appointed for the purpose.

The order of the day, according to the journal, was as follows: "At 6 o'clock A. M., one brother of the retiring night watch rings or strikes a bell for rising; at 7 o'clock another bell calls to morning prayer; at 8 o'clock breakfast. In the course of the forenoon, those German Brethren, who wish to study English, have English school.* Brother Greening is their instructor, Brother Döhling the most proficient scholar. In the same way, some of the English Brethren study German; Brother Döhling being instructor. Those who are not engaged in this or any other matter, have an opportunity given them to take up some useful occupation, since experience teaches that nothing is so hurtful to the mind as complete idleness, on sea even more so than on land. At noon, dinner. In the afternoon some sisters are instructed in English, and there are class-meetings, those of the sisters being held in their state-rooms. After 6 P. M., supper; 7 P. M., evening prayer in German. After this, English evening prayer in the cabin, which holds from thirty to forty persons. This is attended also by the Germans, who study English, and part of the crew. German meetings are kept on the middle and lower decks at the same time. The sisters sit on the benches, each before her state-room; the brethren each near his hammock, whilst the Liturgus takes his stand near, or on, the

* We have no information concerning the text-books they made use of, except that a number of English hymn books were distributed among them.

stairs which connect the two decks, thus becoming audible and in part visible to both. Lovefeasts, both regular Sabbath lovefeasts, and occasional ones on birthdays, &c., are celebrated on deck, if wind and weather permit; if not they are postponed. They are mostly prepared from the ship's stores, and are distinguished from other meals chiefly by the social manner of enjoying them, and the religious feature they bear; singing, short addresses, reading of missionary and other reports, and religious conversation forming part of the entertainment."

Capt. Garrison was chief elder of the floating church, assisted by a conference of seven members, five brethren and two sisters, namely, Brother Wahnert and wife, Brother Wagner and wife, and the Brethren Brandmüller, Hœpfner, and Erhardt, the ship's mate. Their regular business meetings were in the course of the morning, but they also met in the evenings in Capt. Garrison's cabin, some time after the other evening services, for a private evening prayer, to which the Brethren of the evenings nightwatch were admitted. The services in the English language were conducted almost exclusively by Capt. Garrison, who spoke German also occasionally. The Brethren Wahnert, Brandmüller, Hœpfner and Döhling were appointed to take turns in leading the German meetings. In addition to the conference, a sanitary committee was appointed, consisting of Capt. Garrison and the two Doctors, Otto and Greening.

So far George Neisser's diary.

The account of the ship's passage across the Atlantic is from the pen of Brother Höpfner, assisted by others.

According to the custom of the times, the ship made what is called a "southern passage," yet did not go so far south as to touch at the Island of Madeira, as the ship "Catharine," with the First Sea Congregation had done the year before. The first part of the passage was pleasant and rapid. Several times the favorable wind increased into as favorable a gale, and caused among the passengers another, but final attack of seasickness. Brother Spangenberg, whilst yet on board, had composed several verses on the subject of this expedition, commending it to the mercy of the Lord ("Lord Jesus take this child, and rock it through the waves," &c.) in which among other things he makes allusion to the different nationalities of which the company was composed, forming not a Babel, but a

and of Brothers, brought together by the call of the Lord, and animated as one, by His spirit. A pleasing exhibition of this fact took place, when on fine days the company spent most of their time on deck, and individuals of fourteen nationalities might be seen engaged in conversation principally on the one subject uppermost in all minds, namely, natives of England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, Holland, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Wendish Lusatia, Bohemia, Poland, France,* Italy. Nor was their harmony ever disturbed. There was that in the circumstances of their situation, which tended to exalt them above the realities of life into a higher, more spiritual sphere of existence. Floating, as they did amidst the dangers of the sea, most of them for the first time in their lives, their utter dependence on unseen Divine power was brought home to them more strikingly and frequently, than when on shore. Then there was the constant remembrance of their friends at home, and of the blessed times they had enjoyed among them; and the conviction that they were constantly and affectionately remembered by these friends, brought about something like a meeting of kindred spirits, independent of any distance measured by miles.

The monotony of ship life was interrupted by the Azores, or Western Islands, heaving in sight, five days after the coast of England had disappeared; by attacks of indisposition attended by fainting fits, which befell a Sister and a Brother, but proved to be of no serious nature; and, on the 16th of October, by the startling discovery that the fresh water casks were leaking badly. A conference was immediately called to deliberate on this alarming intelligence. On examination it was found that the water had leaked out of not less than twenty-three casks. Thereupon a sufficient force of strong arms were set in motion, to remove the superincumbent weight from the casks, to bring up stouter casks and barrels and fill into them what remained of their supply of water. This was henceforth served to the company under new regulations, and with greater economy. Owing to these precautions, nothing like a distressing want of fresh water was experienced to the end of the

* In this enumeration of the journal Switzerland is omitted; Brother Brandmüller, and Brother Matthew Weiss, and Sister Schrop being from Basel, in Switzerland.

voyage; but the Brethren felt and expressed the deepest gratitude to Him, who watched over them, for causing the discovery to be made in time to prevent a more serious calamity.

Towards the end of the month the ship met with a succession of violent storms, which was interrupted by a few days of calm or favorable wind, culminating, on November 1st, in a furious thunderstorm, succeeded by a hurricane of six hours duration. "It was," the journal says, "as if the prince of darkness were spending his last resources to prevent our passage to America." The sailor Brethren, whilst standing on the yards to secure the sails, were all but dipped into the foaming ocean. The ship on this, as on some other occasions, was under bare poles, the rudder fastened with ropes; no person could stand on deck without grasping hold of some strong support. Cooking was out of the question; the hatches were closed and secured; the quarters on the middle and lower decks were shrouded in midnight darkness, and lights were kept burning all day. During the regular and irregular tossing and rocking of the ship, it often seemed as if she was on the point of turning over completely, when those who were standing or sitting on one side of the deck found themselves next moment sprawling at the feet of those on the other side, to be transferred in company with them back to their former position. Yet no one was hurt, no one sick even, no one frightened. "Wind and waves might play with the frail bark, wind and waves could not play with their hearts"—for they knew that wind and waves could not carry them beyond the reach of their Saviour. Whilst the waves were thumping and washing the deck, and during the roaring and hissing of thunder, tempest and ocean, the different class or mess companies were sitting together in semi-darkness, engaged for the most part in singing. A temporary lull in the tempest would enable all to chime in with the singers. Towards nightfall the fury of the elements seemed to have spent itself, the tempest gave way to a gentle and favorable wind that continued all the next day, and permitted the Brethren to return once more to their regular routine of life; whilst the ship, which during the late storms had not suffered the least injury, resumed its prescribed course. The same heavenly protection was extended to the "Little Strength" during the numerous storms, gales and squalls, she had yet to undergo before reaching the journey's end.

November 18th, before daylight, a violent thunder storm overook the floating church, succeeded not by a gale of wind, as had een apprehended, and prepared for, but by a copious shower of ain, which enabled the Brethren to collect water sufficient to relenish three of the empty casks.

November 20th, soundings were obtained at the depth of forty-ive fathoms, but anxious as the Brethren were to reach land, beause the supply of water could not last much longer, they had yet o learn some more lessons of patience and resignation. That same lay an adverse wind began to blow, and continued the two following days, often amounting in violence to a gale. After some time spent in tacking about, an attempt was made to reach Newport, when the wind changed its direction a little, and blew right in their teeth. It was now attempted to make the Capes of the Delaware, but again the wind veered round and made this impossible.

November 23d and 24th. Alternate calms and feeble winds.

November 25th. By means of soundings, the Captain ascertained that he was approaching shore, but no land was visible through the haze and mist. Before night the lead gave a depth of only eleven fathoms, and just then the east wind began to set in stronger and stronger, threatening to drive the ship upon the shoals of an invisible lee-shore, at no great distance. To gain an offing in the teeth of the wind was impossible. Here then was a problem to be solved in the hours of a dark and stormy night. Not to lose a hair's-breadth of ground in sailing close to the wind, to take constant soundings, and as constant tacking about, without missing a moment's time, all this put the seamanship of the two Captains, and the nautical drill and physical resources of the sailors, to a severer test than any they had yet had to undergo. Eight of the passengers were regular assistants to their sailor brethren, and as many more as might be required were ready, at any moment, to obey the summons of the Captain, but the greatest assistance was afforded by Him, whose invisible hand guided and protected His little floating church. He sent relief about midnight, when the wind not only abated, but changed its direction; sufficiently so for the ship to pass out seaward, and find itself within an hour's time beyond soundings.

Next morning, November 26th, the last day of the voyage, the ship's head was again turned shorewards. It was a cold, foggy

morning. No land was to be seen, even when the ship had proceeded to within eight fathoms soundings, when all at once, at 10 A. M., the curtain of mist was lifted, and America was welcomed with heartfelt joy. But no sooner had the Captain ascertained the exact position of the vessel, when the curtain dropped again; and again had the ship to be turned about and steered seaward. This, however, was the last disappointment and trial of patience; it lasted only half an hour, when the mist rose, was dissolved and disappeared altogether. In a few hours the ship entered New York Bay, and before night the anchor was dropped near the shore of Staten Island, in front of Capt. Garrison's house. Capt. Garrison went at once to see his family,* taking with him his son Nicolas, and Sister Wahnert.

The Brethren humbly offered up their thanks to the Lord, for the numberless mercies He had bestowed upon them during their passage; praying Him to continue with them, and in the same manner as their ship had been a floating church, to make a sanctuary of any place of abode where their lot might be cast, be it house or hut.

Next morning, November 27th, Captain Garrison and Sister Wahnert returned on board. They were soon followed by Brother and Sister Almers, of Bethlehem. Great was the joy of seeing once more the face of old friends, but Brother Almers did not tarry long. He took the letters for Bethlehem and hastened back to bring the news of the arrival of the "Little Strength." Brother Gambold, of Philadelphia, also came on board to greet the Brethren. He had been sent to receive them on their arrival, and had been waiting for them eight days. In the course of the morning the ship weighed anchor, proceeded to New York, and arrived there about noon. Before long Brother Noble came on board to bid welcome to the floating church, and in the afternoon the Elders met in his house in town to deliberate on the best plan of transporting the ship's company and baggage to Bethlehem. It was resolved that such of the Brethren and Sisters as were able to make the journey on foot, should travel in two divisions; the rest, and the baggage should be transported to New Brunswick on board

* Of Capt. Garrison's family, we find a few years subsequently, three sons residing at Bethlehem, viz., John, Lambert and Benjamin.

some small craft, and thence by wagon to Bethlehem. The ship, as soon as it should have been cleared at the custom-house, was to return to her anchorage near Staten Island and Capt. Garrison's house. This was expected to take place in the course of the following morning. The first lovefeast in this country was celebrated this evening, consisting, as to materials, of American bread and American apples. Here Brother Hœpfner closes his journal. From the Bethlehem diaries it may be concluded that the Brethren remained a few days longer on board ship; for they did not begin to arrive at Bethlehem before December 5th. On that day the first division* of sixty-four persons, reached Bethlehem. Next day followed the second, of thirty-eight persons. December 7th, the rest arrived, including old Mother Banister, (Brother Payne's mother) and the greater part of the English company.

* John Cook, one of the sailor brethren, joined the first division, in order to see Bethlehem. Another one, Gervis Roebuck, found his way to Bethlehem in 1745, in company with Brother Peter Knolton and wife.

THE CHAPEL
AND ITS
CONTIGUOUS BUILDINGS ON CHURCH STREET, AT BETHLEHEM.

By Edmund de Schweinitz.

There are no old Moravian edifices historically more interesting in all America than the Row which begins on Church street, at Bethlehem, next above the large Moravian Church, and extends to the eastern end of the Sisters' House. We propose, in this article, to give a brief account of the same, based upon documents in the Bethlehem Archives, and upon personal recollections given us by aged inhabitants of the town.

Early in the year 1741, a little company of Moravian immigrants—namely, David and Anna Zeisberger, and their son David (afterwards the distinguished Missionary among the Indians), Mathias Seybold, Martin Mack, George Neisser, John Bœhmer, Christian Frœlich, Hannah Hummel, Benjamin Summers and his son James—under the superintendence of Bishop Nitschman, and of his uncle, Father Nitschman, as Master-Workman,* took possession of the first house of Bethlehem. It was a small log building, back of the Eagle Hotel, and was removed a number of years ago, to make way for a stable. About six months later, on the 28th of September, was laid the corner-stone for the second house. It was completed in 1742, and received the name of *Gemein-Haus*, or "Congregation House." This structure still stands, at the northeast corner of Church Street and Cedar Alley. It originally extended from the Alley to its present eastern door.

On the second floor of this house was the first church of Beth-

* Father Nitschman is generally called the Founder of Bethlehem. But this title is a misnomer. He was merely the Master-Workman in building the first and second houses. Bishop Nitschman, his nephew, was the real Founder. He was sent over from Europe expressly in order to found the town.

lehem, consisting of a chapel—styled *Der Saal*, afterward *Der Kleine Saal*,—whose low ceiling was supported by four wooden pillars, which are yet to be seen in the partition walls of the four rooms into which, at a later day, it was divided. Two of these rooms are now occupied by the Rev. Peter Ricksecker, and two by Mrs. Rose. In January or February of 1742, this Chapel was used for the first time, having been dedicated by Count Zinzendorf, who often preached in it.* The Count had a private apartment on the same floor, at the West end, Mrs. Hillman's present room.

For nine years, from 1742 to 1751, the Brethren worshipped in this place. Here, too, representatives of the heathen nations to which they preached the glorious Gospel of the blessed God were received. In May of 1749, three converted Greenlanders, on a visit to the British Colonies, who had been baptized in their native country by Moravian Missionaries, here had an interview with converted Indians, from Gnadenhütten, on the Mahony, in the present Carbon County, Pennsylvania, who had been also baptized by Moravians. Again, in July of 1752, and March of 1753, two great councils were here held, between the Moravians and deputations of Nanticokes and Shawanese from the Wyoming Valley. This chapel is, however, particularly interesting, on account of the many Indians who were baptized into the death of Jesus, within its hallowed walls. We certainly know of no less than ninety-three who here received this sacrament, and who came from the Mohican, Delaware, Wampanoag, French Mohawk, Hoogland and Sopus Nations.† The first of these baptisms took place on the 16th of September, 1742, when David, a Mohican, the son of Abraham—who was the first Moravian convert from the North American Indians—was baptized by Count Zinzendorf, and Joshua, another Mohican, by Gottlob Büttner. A few days after, these two converts accompanied the Count on his second and very perilous tour through the Indian Country. The next baptism of note was that of the first Delaware converts, Gottlieb, and Mary, his wife, from Wamphallowbank, on the Susquehanna, in the present

* Count Zinzendorf was on a visit to America from November, 1741, to the beginning of 1743.

† The information which we give in this article, respecting Indian Baptisms, is based upon the official Register of Indian Baptisms, preserved in the Bethlehem Archives.

Bradford County. Being of a distinguished family, and of the noble Tribe of the Turtle, their profession of Christianity caused intense excitement among the Delawares, and thirty warriors marched to Bethlehem, in order to carry them back by force to the hunting grounds and religion of their fathers. But the persuasions of the couple, and the kindness of the Moravians, changed these angry savages into friends.

In August, 1742, the Brethren prepared to enlarge the *Gemein-Haus*, and on the 19th of September the corner-stone for the eastern end was laid. This addition embraced the rooms now occupied by Mrs. Lehman, and the new Vestry Room attached to the renovated chapel. It was completed in August, 1743.

That stone edifice which forms the Western end of the main building of the present "Sisters' House," was next put up. It was to be a "Brethren's House." Count Zinzendorf himself selected its site, on the 7th of July, 1742. On the 13th, it was staked off, on the 8th of August the corner-stone was laid; and on the 6th of December, of the same year, the young men, or "Single Brethren," of the settlement for the first time made it their home. They occupied it until November 16, 1748, when they moved into a new house, which is now the old part of the Female Boarding School; their places being taken by the young women, or "Single Sisters," who had been living at Nazareth. Thus this building became the earliest Moravian "Sisters' House" in America.

The fourth part of the Row comprised the middle of the central building with the bell-turret. The lines which mark its original dimensions can be distinctly traced in the masonry. It had a door and two windows on the first, and three windows on the second story, fronting the green. On the 24th of August, 1745, it was staked off, and occupied in October of the following year. The lower floor contained a kitchen for the married couples of the settlement, and the "Single Brethren," together with a dining room for the former, who all took their meals at a common table; the upper floor was devoted to family rooms. On the 9th of June, 1746, the bell-turret was finished. The gilded device surmounting it—a Lamb with a Banner*—was suggested by Bishop Cammerhoff. The base of the turret showed the face of a brass clock,

* This is still the device of the official episcopal seal of the Moravian Church.

manufactured by Augustin Neisser, of Germantown, and in the turret hung three bells, cast by Samuel Powell, one of which struck the hours, and the other two the quarters. In 1748, the central building was enlarged, at its Eastern end, by the addition of that part now occupied, on the first floor, by Mrs. Führer, and on the second, by Mrs. John Rice; and in 1749, at its Western end, by the addition of a third part—the sixth house of the Row—at present inhabited by Mr. Jacob Stolzenbach, on the first story, and Mrs. Hofman, on the second.

Hence, at the close of 1750, the Row consisted, first of the log *Gemein-Haus*, where lived the clergy of Bethlehem; second, of the central stone building with the turret, the residence of families; and, third, of the corner "Sisters' House."

In February, 1751, the town having now a population of over two hundred souls, was discussed the project of filling up the Row both to the East and to the West. It met with favor, and the settlers resolved to erect, on the Eastern side, a wing to the "Sisters' House," and, on the Western, a large place of worship. The latter was undertaken first. At that time the colony at Bethlehem was under the direction of Bishop John Nitschman,* assisted by the youthful Bishop Cammerhoff, who died a few months after.

Timber having been floated down the Lehigh River from Gnadenhütten—where the Moravians had a saw-mill—and the ground having been broken on the 5th of April, the work proceeded with extraordinary dispatch. On the first floor a large room, laid with square tiles, was constructed as a new dining-hall for the married couples; on the second floor was to be the chapel. By the middle of May the building was under roof. The roof was covered with tiles, and large buttresses were masoned up outside in order to render the whole structure more secure; after a time, however, the tiles being deemed too heavy, shingles were substituted (1753).

* Born, 1703, at Schönau, in Moravia. He was consecrated a Bishop in 1741 In 1749 he came to America as Bishop Spanbenberg's successor, and remained until 1751, when he went to England, where he resided six years. In 1760 he was appointed Superintendent of the Moravian Church in Holland. There he continued until his death, May 6, 1772. His first wife, Julianna Nitschmann was one of the eighteen young women at Herrnhut who formed that covenant out of which grew the class or choir of "Single Sisters." She died at Bethlehem, February 22, 1751, and was buried in the exact centre of the Burial, Ground, in the middle path.

On the 9th of July this second church of Bethlehem stood finished. It was, therefore, built in three months and four days.

The dedication took place the day after its completion, Saturday, the 10th of July, 1751, and was conducted by Bishop John Nitschman. A number of Moravians from Nazareth, Maguntsche—now Emmaus—Christian's Spring and Friedensthal, had arrived to be present at the solemnities. In the forenoon, at 11 o'clock, the children had their last Saturday Lovefeast in the old Chapel*—at that time there were Lovefeasts every Saturday for them and for the adult membership—and were catechized in the presence of many guests. Soon after, the dedicatory service was held in the new Chapel. It was altogether of a liturgical character, and opened with the hymn: "Christi Blut und Gerechtigkeit—Sei dieses Hauses Herrlichkeit." A lengthy ode followed, composed for the occasion by the Bishop, and sung by the whole congregation. The *Te Agnum*—a liturgical service of that day—was chanted in conclusion, kneeling. In the afternoon, at one o'clock, a general Lovefeast was celebrated, on which occasion the choir performed a Cantana with great and solemnizing power, and Bishop Nitschman delivered an address on the Old Testament Text for that day: "And Sharon shall be a fold of flocks." (Is. lxv. 10.)

The Bishop said amongst the rest:

We who live in the blessed times to which the prophet refers, have a right to apply the promise of our text with special directness to ourselves. It concerns us in particular. For the Lamb of God in whom we believe is worth more to us than all the world. His sufferings and His merits, His whole passion even to His death, are our constant theme. In time and eternity we know nothing dearer and more blessed than the Saviour with His wounds. He is, among us, the beginning, the middle, the end. To the doctrine of the Cross will we hold as long as we live. When we speak to undying souls, we speak of this; when our churches are open, our churches resound with this. Whoever attempts to attack us in this point, attempts our life; but we stand fast like a wall and resist him.

Therefore, in this new sanctuary also, our mouths from out the abundance of our hearts, shall proclaim Christ Jesus and Him Crucified. Is there any one who would give a different keynote

* This Chapel, thereafter known as *der kleine Saal*, continued, in subsequent years, to be used for occasional services, until one-half of it was partitioned off into two dwelling-rooms. Of the use to which the remaining half was then put, this article treats in a subsequent part.

to our discourses, who would lead us past and away from the Cross, let him be banished! We have built this house, this habitation of the Lord of Hosts, in order that Jesus, our Saviour, may here be among us; in order that He may here, in His dyed garments, bathed in His own blood, which is for us the blood of atonement, go from seat to seat, and pardon, bless, sanctify believing sinners. Every corner of this sanctuary shall be sprinkled with blood, every part of it shall be filled with the mighty rushing wind of the Spirit.*

The great theme among the Moravians of that day, and which remains their prominent doctrine, is beautifully and forcibly unfolded in this extract.

The last service was held in the evening, when (probably) Rev. Christopher Pyrlæus,† of Maguntsche, spoke on two texts combined, namely, "He that shutteth, and no man openeth," (Rev. iii. 7.) and "Knock and it shall be opened unto you," (Matt. vii. 8). The Chapel was provided with an organ, which was used at all these services. At a later time, its walls were adorned with paintings, by Haidt, the Moravian artist, representing incidents in the life of Christ. After it had been abandoned, these paintings were, most unhappily, sold to strangers.

In the year following the dedication, the building opposite to the Chapel, consequently the eighth part of the Row, was completed, as a wing of the "Sisters' House," containing among the rest, a large sleeping-hall. This wing was occupied for the first time on the 10th of May (1752,) and the occasion was festively signalized by a shad-dinner to which one hundred blooming "Single Sisters," and "Great Girls" sat down. Therefore, in 1752, the Row, beginning at its Western end, included, first, the *Gemein-Haus*, the residence of the Ministers and Missionaries, second, the Chapel, third, the Central Building, used as a School for the Children, and fourth, the "Sisters' House" to the end of the original corner building. Thus it remained for twenty-one years, and then, in

* Extracted, in a free translation, from the Bethlehem Diary of July 10, 1751, a MS. in the Bethlehem Archives.

† He was born in Swabia in 1713, studied at the University of Leipzig, joined the Moravians, came to America in 1742, preached for the Lutherans of Philadelphia, as Count Zinzendorf's adjunctus, lived among the Mohawks and learned their language, which he afterward taught to a class of candidates for missionary service, and became a very active minister of the Moravians in this country. He died May 28th, 1785, at Herrnhut. He was an ancestor of Mrs. Henry Luckenbach, of Bethlehem.

1773, the last, or ninth, part of the Row was erected, namely the Eastern addition to the "Sisters' House," that long stone structure which fronts Church Street. Hence it appears, that the Row as we now see it, was built at nine different times, during a period of thirty-two years.

We return to the history of the Chapel. For nearly fifty-five years, from the 10th of July, 1751, to the 18th of May, 1806, it constituted the Bethlehem Church. Within its walls, too, wild Indians confessed the Saviour and were baptized. Thirty-six such baptisms are recorded after its dedication, but some of these probably took place in the old Chapel. The first adult Indians baptized in the new, were a Delaware family, consisting of husband and wife—Tobias and Anna Maria—and one child, Gertrude. This was in the evening of Sunday, the 27th of February, 1752. In the midst of an overflowing congregation baptism was administered to Tobias by Martin Mack,* to Anna Maria by Bishop Hehl,† and to Gertrude by the Missionary Graff. Tobias had twelve male, and Anna Maria twelve female, members of the Bethlehem congregation as sponsors. Another notable baptism was that of Elizabeth, wife of Paxnous, of Wyoming, a celebrated Delaware chief. It took place in her husband's presence, with unusual solemnity, Bishop Spangenberg officiating, on the 17th of February, 1755, but a few months before the breaking out of that terrible Indian War in the course of which the Missionaries on the Mahoney were massacred.

The last Indian baptism in the Chapel, in old times, occurred on the 6th of January, 1763, when Bishop Peter Böhler baptized a young Delaware girl named Salome. In modern times, however, after the lapse of one hundred and four years, such an occasion again presented itself, on the 28th of February, 1867, when the writer of this article baptized three grandchildren of the late Hon. John Ross, Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation. They were, at that time, living at Bethlehem, but have now gone back to their own people.

In the ordinary ministrations of the sanctuary a number of

* One of the first settlers at Bethlehem, afterward a distinguished Missionary among the Indians, finally a Missionary Bishop in the W. I., where he died.

† For many years the Superintendent of a circuit of Moravian churches of which Litiz, Pa., was the centre.

clergymen at various times, officiated in this Chapel, of whom the most prominent were John Nitschman, Christopher Pyrlæus, Augustus Spangenberg, Nathaniel Seidel, Matthew Hehl, John Ettwein, Andrew Huebener, John F. Frueauff, Jeremiah Denke, Augustus Klingsohr, Jacob Van Vleck, George H. Loskiel, Christian F. Schaaf, and Andrew Benade. Here also, during the period of his second protracted visitation in America, from 1784 to 1787, often preached the venerable Bishop John de Watteville.*

Among the many visitors from different parts of the country who were attracted to Bethlehem, and who often worshipped with the Brethren in this sanctuary, we find some of the most distinguished characters of the American Revolution. Here George Washington, Horatio Gates, the Marquis La Fayette, and other Generals heard that Gospel which proclaims a crucified Saviour; here John Hancock, Samuel Adams, James Duane, Richard Henry Lee, William Duer, Henry Laurens, Benjamin Harrison, John Adams, Henry Marchant, William Williams, and other members of the Continental Congress, listened to the words of salvation as they fell from the lips of John Ettwein.

On the 25th of June, 1792, the semi-centenary of the Bethlehem congregation was observed with many solemnities. On that occasion an historical paper was read, setting forth, amongst the rest, that in the past fifty years, since the founding of Bethlehem, 150 white adults and 215 Indians and Negroes had been baptized in the two chapels, and 134 persons ordained to the holy Ministry, namely 5 Bishops, 27 Priests, and 102 Deacons.*

We are enabled to present an interior view of the Chapel and its adjacent buildings, four years later, as the same was described to us by the only survivor of the inmates of the *Gemein-Haus* in the last

* He was accompanied on this visitation by his wife, the Countess Benigna, Zinzendorf's eldest daughter, who, forty-two years before, had been in America with her father, and who now again took up her abode in that *Gemein-Haus* at the dedication of which she had been present, where she afterward lodged, and in which her oldest daughter was now domiciliated as the wife of John Christian Alexander de Schweinitz.

* These facts are obtained from memoranda written by the late Rev. John F. Frueauff at the time of the semi-centenary celebration. The memoranda say, further, that in the first half century of the existence of Bethlehem, 614 children were born; 625 persons were buried on the Church Ground; 800 Moravians immigrated to Bethlehem from Europe; and of the 80 persons who formed the first congregation, 7 were still living in 1792.

century. Mrs. Barbara Boehler, who died in 1865, as a matron of eighty-nine years, came to live in the *Gemein-Haus* in 1796, as housekeeper in the family of John Christian Alexander de Schweinitz, and thus learned to know the structure thoroughly. At that time it was inhabited by six clergymen and their families. Jacob Van Vleck, Principal of the Female Boarding School, occupied the first floor of the West end, Mrs. Lydia Rice's present rooms, and Jeremiah Denke, the *Gemeinhelfer*, or principal Pastor, the second floor of the same end, now held by Mrs. Hillman. Augustus Klingsohr, the Minister of the Congregation, had the two front rooms of the second story of the middle part; the two rooms back of these, looking out on the yard, were one apartment called *Das Sälchen*—a part of the first Chapel—and devoted to betrothals and various private religious meetings. These are now the rooms of Rev. Peter Ricksecker, and of Mrs. Rose. Returning to the first floor by the Western staircase, we find where Mrs. Herbst lives, the apartment of John Jungman, who had been a faithful Missionary among the Indians, and was spending the evening of his life in retirement; and in the two front rooms—Mr. Anton's and Mr. Transue's—as well as in the two rooms at the Eastern end (Mrs. Lehman's), the dwelling of John Christian Alexander de Schweinitz, the first Administrator of the American Property of the Unitas Fratrum.† His office was Mr. Anton's present room. The apartment on the first floor, back of the Eastern stair-case, formed the Vestry Room, where the clergy assembled before public service, and whence they moved in procession to the *Arbeiter-Bank* in the Chapel. On the second floor of the East end, the present new Vestry Room and the one adjoining, in the South-east corner (Mrs. Lehman's), were Bishop Ettwein's, who was President of the Provincial Conference. The hall-room, with an inside window toward the former Chapel-door—now the recess of the pulpit—was the robing-room for the clergy, where they put on their surplices on sacramental occasions. On the garret of the East end were the Archives of the Church.

Entering the Chapel itself, we see the Minister's table, covered with black cloth, on a low platform, about the middle of the Western

* From 1770, when he came to America and when this office was created, to 1867, when it ceased, there were five Administrators, namely, John Christian Alexander de Schweinitz, John Gebhard Cunow, Lewis David de Schweinitz, son of the first, Philip H. Goepp, and Eugene A. Frueauff, grandson of the first.

wall. To the South of it, along the wall, sat the clergy, according to their official rank, on the so-called *Arbeiter-Bank* (clerical Bench)' and at the North of it, their wives and the female Superintendents of the "Sisters' House," on a similar bench. Facing the male *Arbeiter-Bank*, and therefore looking to the West, was the male membership of the congregation, and facing the female *Bank*, the female membership, the children in front on each side, according to their sex. Between the former side-door—closed up since the renovation—and the northern wall, running from east to west as the pews do now, were benches for the pupils of the Female Boarding School. The same side door was the entrance exclusively for females, who came from the green through the middle door of the central building and passed up a hall which is now converted into a room. Males, as also the clergy and their wives, entered the Chapel by the large door from the *Gemein-Haus*. On a narrow gallery above the present pulpit, was the organ, and the place for the church-musicians and singers. Between the several windows, around the entire Chapel, hung, in black frames, the paintings of Haidt above referred to, and setting forth the life of the Saviour, from His birth to His burial.

The central building was given up to the uses of the Female Boarding School,* and the rest of the Row was the "Sisters' House," as now.

Such is an interior view of the Chapel and of the other buildings sixty-nine years ago.

In 1803, when Bethlehem had a population of 580 souls, the third church was begun, the wonder of the whole neighborhood. Three years later, in 1806, it was finished in all its present dimensions, being at that time the largest church in Pennsylvania.

On the 18th of May, at eight o'clock in the morning, the last service was conducted in the Chapel, by Bishop Loskiel, a brief thanksgiving for the mercies which God had vouchsafed to His people as often as they had worshipped in this sanctuary. Then, while the trombonists played a melody known as "Unsern Ausgang segne Gott, unsern Eingang gleichermaszen," a procession, headed by the clergy, was formed, and the whole congregation moved

* The main building of this School no longer exists. It stood on the site of the present Parochial School.

solemnly into the present Church, which was thereupon dedicated with great rejoicing.

In the half century that followed, the "old Church," as it now came to be called, was put to different uses. First, it became the Chapel of the Female Boarding School, where the public examinations and exhibitions were held, until the institution was removed to its present locality, in 1815. Next, it was converted into an Archives-Room, in which the Library and Papers of the Church were arranged. These having been transferred to one of the East end apartments of the large Church, the Chapel was turned into a concert-hall for the Philharmonic Society of Bethlehem. As such it was used for many years. During this period, however, while the late Rev. Charles F. Seidel was Principal of the Boarding School, English religious service was, at one time, statedly held in it; and in 1854, when the new pulpit was built and other alterations were made in the large Church, it was the place of worship for the whole congregation.

Fifty years after it had been vacated, on the first Sunday of 1856, it was a second time constituted a regular place of worship. Bethlehem was no longer a Moravian settlement. Its exclusive system had been given up for thirteen years; the town, thrown open to all, had greatly increased, and contained several churches of other denominations. The Moravian congregation, too, had received large accessions, and it became necessary to have two sanctuaries in which the Gospel could be simultaneously preached, in the English and the German languages. Hence, for eight years, the large church and the chapel were both used for stated worship, English and German services alternating in each. The last of these in the original chapel was held on Sunday, the 24th of July, 1864, and in the same week a complete renovation of this sanctuary was begun. Owing to the great difficulty of getting workmen, during the time of the Civil War which then prevailed, this undertaking was not completed until the Spring of the following year. On the 2d of April, 1865, the renovated Chapel was rededicated to the Triune God.

Three years later, in the summer of 1868, the extension of the *Gemein-Haus*, the oldest edifice in the Borough of Bethlehem, was completely renovated, to the satisfaction of its inmates, but the sorrow of all antiquaries. It now presents the appearance of a common tenement house, cased in painted boards.

REVOLUTIONARY LETTERS.

The originals of the following letters are in the Bethlehem Archives:

BOSTON, Nov'r, 1778.

Dear Sir:

This Letter will be delivered to you by Madame Reidesel, the Lady of Major-General Reidesel, to whom I entreat you will shew every Mark of Civility and Respect in your Power—Wise Reasons have determined Congress to direct the March of the Army under the Convention of Saratoga to Charlotteville, in Virginia. General Reidesel, his Lady and little Family, accompany the Troopes of their Prince—It is a painful and fatiguing Journey at this Season of the Year. I doubt not your Hospitable Disposition will render it as pleasant as possible, and that without my Recommendations, you naturally would indulge the Sentiments which influence the Gentleman and the Citizen of the World.

I am,
Dear Sir,
Your Affectionate
Humble Servant,
HORATIO GATES.

Addressed to the Rev. Mr. Ettwein, at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

To the Committee of the Town of Bethlehem, or Others whom it may Concern:

Gentlemen:

According to his Excellency General Washington's Orders, the General Hospital of the Army is removed to Bethle-

hem, and you will do the greatest Act of humanity by immediately providing proper buildings for their reception, the largest and most Capacious will be the most convenient. I doubt not, Gentlemen, but you will act upon this occasion as becomes Men and Christians; Doct'r Baldwin, the Gentleman who waits upon you with this, is sent upon the Business of Providing proper Acomodations for the Sick; begging therefore that you will afford him all possible Assistance, I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

JOHN WARREN, Gen'l Hospit'l Surg'n and P. T. Direct.

HANOVER, GEN'L HOSPIT'L, Decem'r 1, 1776.

My d'r Sir:

It gives me pain to be obliged by order of Congress to send my sick and wounded Soldiers to your peaceable village—but so it is.—Your large buildings must be appropriated to their use. We will want room for 2000 at Bethlehem, Easton, Northampton, &c., and you may expect them on Saturday or Sunday.—I send Dr. Jackson before them that you may have time to order your affairs in the best manner—These are dreadful times, consequences of unnatural Wars—I am truly concerned for your Society and wish sincerely this Stroke could be averted but 'tis impossible—I beg Mr. Hasse's Assistance—love and Compliments to all friends from my d'r Sir

Your affectionate
humble Serv't
W. SHIPPEN,
D. G.

TRENTON, Sept. 18, 1777.

Addressed to the Rev. Mr. Edwin [Ettwein], Bethlehem.

A SCRAP FROM THE HISTORY OF BETHLEHEM, DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

The following brief, but pithy notes, each an autograph, and all written on the same sheet, are in the Archives at Bethlehem. They relate to that period of the Revolutionary War when the Brethren's House had been converted into the United States General Hospital.

Sir.

The Bearer, Mr. Carr, is in possession of Part of a House near the Fulling-Mill, the owner of which wants to put him out. He has applied to me for leave to stay until he is sufficiently well to shift for himself, as he is to all Itents and purposes an Invalid. I have told him it was not in my Power to do anything in his favour. He then desired me to write to you for advice and assistance, for if he is turned out he has no chance of having his cure completed. I am

with respect

your very humble servt

SAML FINLEY.

BETHLEHEM, Jan. 6, 1778.

COL. CROPPER.

In complyance with the request afsd, these do certify that Mr Carr is not to be moved until my orders.

Given under my hand at Bethlehem 6th Janu.

JOHN CROPPER

Lieut. Col.

Col. Cropper has none to command in Bethlehem but his soldiers. Therefore we cannot receive his orders. Mr. Carr does not belong to the Hospital; we want the Place where he is, and he must move without Delay.

JOHN ETTWEIN.

At the bottom of this sheet is the following:

N. B. Was directly fetched away by Mr. Finley into the Hospital.

A LETTER FROM BISHOP SPANGENBERG TO REV. JOHN ROGERS, OF PHILADELPHIA.

This letter was written in English by Bishop Spangenberg, and is addressed to the Pastor of the Moravian Church in Philadelphia. The original is preserved in a private collection of autographs.

BETHLEHEM, January 25, 1761.

My dear brother Rogers,

The last news I had from Carolina came by a letter of Br. Ettweins d. d. Nov. 20. a. c. He says therein twice, that all is well, both young and old, and mentions your daughter especially by name. Here is his letter to me, which I desire you will remit with the first opportunity.

Br. Post set out for Bethabara from Bethlehem the 22 m. c. With him I sent your letters, and many more. May the Lord be with him, and bring him home safe and well to Wachovia, and back again. He is to take his way by Litiz, where Br. Matthæus is to send with him what accounts he hath already in his hands for Bethabara.

I have wrote to Europe to Br. Johannes, on account of our settlement in Wachovia, and hoping that some Brethren and Sisters will come with Br. Nathaniel, next Spring, for Wachovia. I doubt not but a wagon will go there, and that with such an opportunity Johanna Salome* may come to Bethlehem. May the Lord order all things for good.

Inclosed is a letter to Br. Sam. Isles, who is now become a widower, and his Daughter an orphan. You can easily imagine that her case is harder than Johanna Salome's. She not having one of the sisters to take care for her. However the Father of orphans will bring about what is good for her. She is to come with her father as soon as the Brethren arrive in Antiguá, who, a good while ago, were to go there from England. I pray, my dear Brother, forward the said letter to Br. Isles as soon as possible.

My poor Brethren and Sisters at Jamaica! I pity them very much on account of the loss they had lately with the vessel taken by a French privateer. It would be better for the French privateers to take something else, than the letters and other writings of the Brethren. However such is the case of our Times, till the Lord pleases to restore peace again.

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* Rogers' daughter.

As for your endeavors in Philadelphia to acquaint many poor things with their Lord and Saviour, I know very well that this is a hard Task. The Genius of the People is as Horace says: *O cives! cives! quærenda pecunia primum, virtus post nummos.* And when they set their minds upon religion, they will prefer the way of works, before the way of faith. For the way of works makes a shew, and People can say: what can we do? we are poor sinful creatures!

However I think a Pulpit in a city like Philadelphia is worth a great deal. There comes now one, and then another, to hear: and the Gospel being the power of God can't be without Blessings. But, my dear Heart, think of Corinth! think of Rome! Were the people better there than they are now at Philadelphia, and yet, by the Gospel, a fine flock was gathered there for our good Lord. Think of London! Think of Berlin! Think of Copenhagen! etc. What sort of people live there? The same as in Philadelphia: and yet fine congregations are actually there now. Let your Prayers and Tears go before your preaching. Let the words, which you speak, be sprinkled with the blood of the Lamb: and be sure you will bring one heart, and then another etc, to his wounds, and the enjoyment of his Blessings.

That our Dear Children in Philadelphia begin to taste the verses of our Hymns, is great joy to me. Go on, my dear Brother, with them; and improve that grace which, like a spark, is now in them. But pray, tell me, should not they meet oftener than once a week? Should not they come twice or three times at least in a week, to sing together, and to be spoke to?

If it be so, as you think, that the English will sooner be prevailed upon by the Gospel, whenever a fresh awakening, by his grace, shall begin, than the Germans, it will make me very glad. For I am extremely sorry, that so little has been done amongst the English, since the time the Brethren came to America. One young man, viz., John Levering, who is now in Jamaica, was gained from the English, and that is all. Old England hath given more fellow-labourers in one year, than America in twenty years, from the English Nation.

I think, however, the fault is not altogether in the English people residing in America. Not so much care hath been taken of them, as might have been done. Many would have made good

Brethren, had they come in Time out of the circumstances which kept them entangled. For what can become of them, when they continue in the Towns, where every Thing is apt to ruin them, even their nearest relations?

I must conclude my letter, being

my D'r Br.

Yr affectionate Br.

JOSEPH.

P. S.

Many salutations to you from Br. Petrus, Lawatsch, my wife, etc.

Qu. 1.

How is it with the subscriptions? Could not your share for the *Mitleidenheit* be sent? I want to remit some money to Europe for that purpose.

Qu. 2.

Shady was one of the stewards; whom do you propose in his place?

Qu. 3.

Are all your People satisfied, if your communion-liturgy is quite English? If they are, I am.

Volume II

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Moravian Historical Society.

PART IV.

NAZARETH.
1870.

SKETCH OF
THE HISTORY OF THE BIBLE IN BOHEMIA.

BY G. W. MALIN.

In Manuscript.

The antiquity of a Bohemian version of the Scriptures is generally conceded, although it has been the subject of earnest controversy.

Dobrowsky, a learned Bohemian, writing in 1780,* not having met with very early MSS., doubted their existence, and thought it probable that the first translation had been made under the auspices of King Wenzel the First, who died in the year 1307. But P. Gelasius Dobner† (1788) assures us that he had seen and examined MSS. of an earlier date; and that the Emperor Charles IV, as King of Bohemia, in a charter issued in 1347, ascribed the Bohemian version to St. Jerome in these words, viz.: "Ob reverentiam & memoriam gloriosissimi Confessoris beati Jeronymi Stridoniensis Doctoris egregii & translatoris, interpretique eximii Sacræ Scripturæ de ebraica in latinam & slavonicam linguas, de qua siquidem slavonica lingua nostri Regni Bohemiæ idioma sumsit exordium primordialiter & processit," etc.‡ Balbinus§ (1677) also contends for this origin of the Bohemian version. Dobner, after a careful examination of the evidence, arrives at the conclusion that the version thus attributed to St. Jerome was originally the work of Cyril and Methodius, Greek missionaries, who first

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* Dobrowsky, in Abhandlungen einer Privatgeselleschaft in Böhmen, 5ter Band.

† Dobner, in Abhandlungen der böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in Prag. 4ter Band, page 296.

‡ Dobner, in the same, page 298, quoting from Pelzel's Leben Karl des Vierten, erster Theil, in Urkundenbuch, S. 92.

§ Balbinus, in Dissertatione Apologetica pro lingua Slavonica, præcipue Bohemica.

proclaimed the Gospel to the Slavonians about the year 860, but that their translation having become archaic, as several centuries had materially modified the language of the Bohemians, was revised, modernized and assimilated to the Latin Vulgate, and afterwards generally ascribed to St. Jerome, the more readily as that distinguished man was commonly, although erroneously, claimed as a fellow-countryman by Slavonic writers.

It is evident, therefore, that those who have attributed the Bohemian translation to John Huss* were mistaken, as it existed long before his day. It is, however, by no means improbable that by Huss, or under his supervision, it was revised, transcribed and circulated. We know at least that copies were numerous in after years among his followers. Some of these manuscripts still exist. The library of the Vatican contains a Codex Biblia Bohemica; another, of the New Testament only, is preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford,† and others are doubtless extant.

The Printed Bible.

In regard to the printed Bible, our knowledge is much more definite.

We learn from the historian Gindely‡ that the first Bohemian printing press was established by the Roman Catholics at Pilsen, in the year 1468; and that about twenty years later other presses were set up in Prague and Kuttenberg by the Ultraquist, or Calixtine party, then dominant in those cities. And from these latter, as we are informed by Elsner§ and Kleich,‖ issued the two first Bohemian Bibles. The earliest of these was printed at Prague. Its typography is rude, the characters Gothic, the initial letters of the chapters are all supplied by the pen. It has no division into verses, has neither the page nor folio numbered, and is without custos. It is comprised in 610 folios, with two columns upon the page. Its colophon as translated by Kleich, is in these words, viz.:

* Rieger, Die Alten und Neuen Böhmischen Brüder, Erster Band, page 457. Züllichau, 1739.

† De Long, Bibliotheca Sacra. Paris, 1700.

‡ Gindely, Geschichte der Böhmischen Brüder, Erster Band, page 134. Prag, 1857.

§ Elsner, Versuch einer böhmischen Bibel-Geschichte, von Johann Theophilus Elsner, Senior der B. Br. Unität in Gros-Pohlen, &c. Halle. 1765.

‖ Kleich (Wenzel) Vorrede zu einem böhmischen Neuen Testamente. Zittau, 1720.

"Das Ende dieser Arbeit und Bücher des göttlichen Gesetzes is glücklich gemacht worden in der berühmten Altstadt Prag, wobey viele Mühe und Unkosten gehabt haben die berühmten Männer und Bürger, Herr Johann Pytlik und Herr Severin, ein Kramer, Schöppen [sheriffs, or presiding magistrates,] dieses Jahrs; wie auch Herr Johann aus den Störchen, und Herr Matthias aus dem Weissen Löwen [probably noted hotels in Prague] indem sie zuvörderst ihr Absehen auf Gottes Ehre und denn auch auf das wahre Beste des Königreichs Böhmen, und den Anwachs im Guten der Böhmen und Mähren gehabt haben. Sie haben sich dabey der Hülfe der pragischen Magister und anderer im Gesetze des Herrn erfahrnen Männer bedienet, bis sie diese Arbeit zu Ende gebracht haben, und zwar im Jahr 1488, in Monat August."

The Bible thus published in this stronghold of the Calixtines, under the auspices of the authorities of the city and partly at their expense, cannot with any show of reason, be attributed to the Brethren, by whom indeed it never appears to have been claimed, but can only be regarded as a highly praiseworthy work of the Utraquists of Prague.

This edition is now very rare. Among existing copies the best known are those in the Imperial Library at Paris* and the State Library of Prague.†

Copies of the edition printed at Kuttenberg by Martin Von Tischniowa, in 1489, are even less frequently met with than those of that of Prague; from which however they differ in no material particular. Both editions follow closely the Latin Vulgate, and have the prefixes of St. Jerome. In both, as also in the English version by Wickliffe, the Acts of the Apostles follow the Epistle to the Hebrews.

The third Bohemian Bible was printed at Venice in 1506.‡ Why so distant a place was selected for the purpose is now unknown. It is true that Venice had established a reputation for superior typography, but by this time printing was well established in Bohemia, and even the Brethren had a press in Jungbunzlau as early as the year 1500. Possibly the enemies of the truth, who about that time instigated a bitter persecution of the

* Brunet, Manuel du Libraire. Paris, 1860.

† H. A. B. in *The Moravian*, Bethlehem, 1869.

‡ Theobald, Hussiten Krieg, Ander Thiel, page 133. Nürnberg, 1621.

Brethren, may have induced the authorities of the day to prohibit the printing of Bibles in Bohemia. Be that as it may, this edition also appears to have had a Calixtine origin, and was printed at the expense of the citizens of Prague. Brunet, the great French bibliographer, says of it,—"*Version faite à l'usage des Hussites par Benatska,*"—an assertion which gave the writer much trouble, until after consulting many biographers and bibliographers in search for Benatska, he discovered that the word is the Bohemian name of Venice! and that Brunet, or his amanuensis, had mistaken it for the name of a printer. The real printer was Peter Lichtenstein, a native of Cologne.

This Venetian edition has frequently been described as the first Bohemian Bible, and especially by Theobald, the historian of the wars of the Hussites, 1609 and 1621; Sam. A. Weleslawina,* publisher of a Bohemian Bible at Prague in 1613, and after them by Comenius, who probably adopted the statement of these writers without sufficient examination. Indeed it is improbable that Comenius ever saw a copy of this edition, which had not only become rare, but was superseded before his birth by the very superior translation of the Brethren from the original Greek and Hebrew. Theobald, by his own confession imperfectly acquainted with the Bohemian language,† failed to notice a passage in the preface to the Bible in question which distinctly refers to previous editions, of which it only professes this to be a revision and improvement. This is a statement which such a scholar as Comenius would scarcely have overlooked. The passage as translated by the learned Elsner reads as follows: "Diese Arbeit haben über sich genommen die vorsichtigen Männer, Johann Hlawsa, Wenzel Sowa, Burian Lasar, Bürger der Altstadt Prag so hiebey keine Kosten gesparet haben," etc. "Und obgleich die Bibel schon vorher Böhmisch abgedruckt worden ist, so sind doch hier verschiedene vorhin eingeschlichene Mängel verbessert worden." And again in the preface to the 4th book of Ezra, "Obgleich die böhmische Bibel *chedem schon zweymal* wäre gedruckt worden, so stünde doch dieses vierte Buch Esra niemals mit da." The editions of Prague and Kuttenberg both omit this book and are unquestionably the two referred to.

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* Elsner, Versuch. page 22.

† Theobald. H. K. page 139.

Theobald, travelling in Bohemia about a century after the publication of the Venetian imprint,* met with a copy in the hands of a miller, whose hospitality he enjoyed at Tausz, and unhesitatingly accepted it as the earliest Bohemian Bible. Writing afterwards of the Taborites he commends the untiring industry with which their Pastors transcribed the Scriptures for the laity "to be read in their houses," and proceeds to say, "Finally, ten years before Luther's dispute with Tetzelius, they caused an edition to be printed in Venice, as testified by the final clause copied from the exemplar met with at Tausz," viz: "Perfectum est illud opus Biblicum Venetiis in Italia, Anno Domini 1506," etc.† There is no evidence, nor any reason for supposing, that any other Bohemian Bible was ever printed in Venice; but in attributing the printing of this to the Taborites, Theobald is manifestly wrong. That warlike sect no longer existed; and with no propriety could the name be applied to their eminently peaceful successors, the Brethren.

The three editions we have been considering were followed by seven others, printed at Prague, in the years 1529, '37, '49,' 56, '70, '77 and 1613, and by one at Nuremberg in 1540. All of these were translations from the Latin of St. Jerome.‡

Seventeen editions of the New Testament only, all likewise from the Vulgate, were published in various years from 1513 to 1597. Of these, 3 were printed in Nuremberg, 1 in Olmutz, 9 at Prague, 2 at Jung-Bunzlau, 1 at Pilsen, and 1 at Prestiejowa.§

The Bible, and at least one of the Testaments printed at Nuremberg, together with both the Testaments of Jung-Bunzlau, and probably some of those published in Prague, were printed by or for the Brethren.‖ They, however, were far from satisfied with this translation of a translation, and earnestly desired to ascend as nearly as possible to the original sources of the waters of life. The way was opened to them by Bishop Blahoslaw, a man of spotless purity and great learning, who in 1564 published a New Testament translated from the original Greek, which had the

* The first edition of Theobald's Hussiten's Krieg was printed in 1609.

† Hussiten Krieg. A. T. page 139.

‡ Elsner. § Elsner.

‖ Plitt, quoted by Crœger, Geschichte der Alten Brüderkirche, 1ter Bd. page 121. Gnadau, 1865. And Gindely, Geschichte der Böhm. Br., 2ter Bd. page 70.

rare merit of being a faithful exhibit of the sense of the original in the purest idiomatic Bohemian.* This Testament was reprinted in 1568, and in 1593, with the annotations of Bishop Niemczanius, appeared as the 6th volume of the great Bible of the Brethren.

The First edition of the Brethren's Bible was printed at Kralitz in Moravia, in the castle and at the expense of the Baron John von Zerotin, a distinguished nobleman, who adhered to the Brethren.† It was published in six quarto volumes which appeared as follows, viz., The First, containing the Pentateuch, in 1579; Second, Joshua to Esther inclusive, 1580; Third, Job, Psalms and writings of Solomon, 1582; Fourth, The Prophetical Books, 1587; Fifth, The Apocrypha; and Sixth, The New Testament, in 1593, the whole enlarged and enriched by a copious and judicious commentary. Succeeding editions were printed in a more compact form, in one volume and without commentary. The Brethren's Bible was the first Bohemian one in which the chapters were divided into verses.

The Brethren prepared the way for this translation, which they had long desired, by sending a number of their most gifted youth to German and Swiss Universities, where alone a thorough knowledge of the original tongues could then be attained. From the young men thus educated eight scholars were selected to whom the task of translation was confided. Their moral fitness for the work may be inferred from the fact that four of them afterwards became Bishops of the Unity.‡ Their literary ability was never denied by the bitterest of their enemies. The work they produced is the proudest monument of the ancient Church of the Brethren. It is a faithful translation rendered in choice language. A selection of passages from this Bible was made for the use of schools and published by the Jesuits, from their press at Prague, in the year 1668. In the preface to this book its editor says, that while this Bible, as a whole, cannot be recommended to Catholics and ought not to be in their possession, on account of its heresies (ketzerische Irrthümer), its style is idiomatic, beautiful and pure, beyond that of

* Elsner, Versuch. page 79. Gindely, Gesch. der B. Br. 2ter Bd. page 70.

† Comenius, Ratio Disciplinæ. Amst, 1660. page 64 §117.

‡ Note on the 124th page of the German translation of Comenius published at Schwabach, 1739.

any other Bohemian book, and he wishes his selection placed in the hands of every schoolmaster to be industriously read and copied by their scholars as a model of style.* Modern Bohemian authors also admit that the style of this version remains unsurpassed by any writer of their language.

The Testament was republished, in a duodecimo volume, in 1596, and again, revised by Bishop Ariston, in quarto, in 1601.†

A second edition of the Bible was printed in the year 1596. A copy of this is in the hands of the writer. It is an octavo volume of 1140 pages, with double columns, the numbers of the verses occupying a space between them, and marginal notes their exterior border. The type is small but clear. The original division into six parts is retained, and each is furnished with an engraved title enclosed in an arabesque border, and floriated ornamental initial letters; the initials of the books and chapters are of the same character, but smaller. Over the title of the first division is seen a lamb bearing a banner, the device on the seal of the Unity. The general title of the volume is surmounted by the Sacred name in Hebrew characters, under which on one side of an oval containing the title, is a representation of Moses with the tables of the Law; and on the other side, a figure bearing a cross with a banner and representing the Gospel. Underneath these appears a triumphal procession with the Lord of Glory in a chariot drawn by lambs, behind which Death and Hell are dragged as captives.

A copy of this Bible was recently offered in a French catalogue for 300 francs, and one of the first edition by a German bookseller for 150 thalers.

The third and last edition of the Bible published by the Brethren before their pitiless persecution and exile by the Emperor Ferdinand the Second, was a revision printed in a folio of 1177 pages in 1613. In neither this nor the second edition is the place of publication indicated; but both are believed to have been printed at Kralitz.‡

Notwithstanding a literary activity which subsequent Bohemian writers have regarded as marvellous,§ not only the Bibles of

* Kleich, quoted by Elsner, in Versuch, pages 36 and 37.

† Elsner, Versuch. page 45. And Rieger, Böhm. Br. 3ter. Theil, page 470.

‡ Elsner, page 55.

§ Gindely, Gesch. der B. Br. 1ter Bd. page 124, and 2ter Bd. page 71.

the Brethren but all their devotional books are now very scarce. This is principally owing to the blind zeal of the early Jesuits who ruthlessly burned all they could discover. Antonius Koniasch alone is said by his biographer, Pelzel,* (himself a Jesuit) to have thus destroyed more than sixty thousand volumes.†

The revered Comenius, to supply in some measure the wants of his fellow-exiles who were destitute of Bibles, prepared and printed at Amsterdam in 1658, only two years after the destruction of his library at Lissa, a summary or abridgment of the Scriptures, entitled "A Handbook of the Marrow of the whole Holy Bible; the sum of what God has revealed for man to believe; commanded him to do; and taught him to expect," etc. It formed a 12mo pocket volume of 896 pages.‡

Since the year 1613 the Brethren's Bible has never been republished in Bohemia. In 1722, after the lapse of 109 years, a handsome reprint of the 3d edition was published for the use of exiles and their children at Halle in Saxony, and an edition of many thousand copies soon disposed of. §Encouraged by this success a bookseller of Brieg in Silesia undertook its republication in 1745, but his work was so poorly executed that none but the poorest people would purchase it.‖ The Bohemians were always noted for their love of handsomely printed books and even sumptuous bindings.

The New Testament was reprinted at Halle in 1709, 1722, 1752, and 1764, at Zittau in 1720, Lauban 1730, Brieg 1744, and Berlin in 1752.

A splendid edition of the Bohemian translation from the Vulgate

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* Pelzel, Franz Martin, Böhmische, Mährische und Schlesische Gelehrte und Schriftsteller aus dem Order der Jesuiten, page 184.

† The "Index Bohemicorum Librorum Prohibitorum" was issued from the press of the Jesuits at Prague, but bears no date. The sanction of the Pope is dated 1766, that of the Archbishop of Prague 1767, and the Imperial confirmation 1770. One might have expected more liberality, or at least some relaxation of vigilance, at so late a day as the time of Clement XIII, but none appears. In the "Index" every edition of the Brethren's Bible, together with its reprints, and the abridgement of Comenius, is not only prohibited but expressly marked for destruction with an asterisk, which is thus explained: "* notat Librum utpoti hæresi, vel aliis pravis dogmatis refertum, plene abolendum esse."

‡ Elsner, page 60.

§ Elsner, page 63.

‖ Elsner, pages 69 and 70.

was published in Prague by Sam. Adam Weleslawina in 1613. This edition had 158 historical engravings in addition to numerous illustrations. Among those calculated to shock a Protestant mind are six representations of the Deity, preceding the six days' work of creation, attired in a blue coat and red mantle.* Another edition of the Roman Catholic version, begun in 1677, was only completed at Prague in 1715, in a large folio; indicating a very small demand and no intention of supplying the common people.†

Having now carefully reviewed the history of the Bohemian Bible, it only remains to examine its claim to European priority.

Historians of the Bohemian Brethren, Cranz, Holmes, and Bost especially, have stated that the Brethren were the first who printed the Bible in a modern European language. In making this claim for the Brethren these authors rely exclusively on the 69th paragraph of the "Historiola Ecclesiæ Bohemicæ" of Comenius, prefixed to the "Ratio Disciplinæ," Amstel. 1660. viz:

"Crebrescere interim cœpit inventa nuper in Germania Typographiæ ars, prodeuntibus variis (in Italia potissimum, Romæ & Venetiis) libellis & libris, sacris & profanis. Bohemi ergo tanto hoc Dei dono animarum potissimum salutem utendum rati, Bibliorum vernaculo Idiomate circa hoc tempus editionem (primi Europæorum iterum) procuraverunt, *Venitiis:* brevique post, distractis exemplaribus, *Noribergæ*, semel & iterum: demum domi erectis officinis (Pragæ, Boleslaviæ, Kralicii in Moravia) sæpius."

The historians above named appear to have erred in supposing that when Comenius said "*Bohemi*," he meant the Brethren. In other respects they have fairly followed him, except as regards the date of this Venetian Bible. Comenius we see assigns no date, and Cranz simply repeats him. Holmes, however, thinking, probably, of the general spread of the art of printing referred to by Comenius gives 1470 as the year in which this Bible was printed,‡ while Bost, glancing at the dates of events recorded in the adjoining paragraphs and finding 1486 precede, and 1511 follow the paragraph we have transcribed, as an average or com-

* Elsner, pages 30 and 33.

† Kleich, quoted by Elsner, v. page 35.

‡ Holmes, History of Church of the Brethren. Vol. 1, page 63.

promise, fixes on the year 1490.* We have seen that neither of these dates is correct, but that the Bible in question was printed in 1506.

Having already proved that the earliest Bohemian printed Bible, of which there is any record, was printed in 1488, we have only further to inquire whether any other European Bible preceded it. In doing this we take for our guide the "Nachricht von der hochteutschen Bibelübersetzung" of Professor Nast (Stuttgart, 1799,) consulting also the works of Panzer† and Goeze‡ on this subject.

According to Prof. Nast the early editions of the German Bible were printed in the following order, viz.:

1st. The oldest German Bible, printed by Fust and Schoiffer at Mayence, in the year 1462.

2nd. The Bible printed at Strasburg by John Mentel, 1466.

3rd. A Bible, origin unknown, probably printed between the years 1466 and 1470.

4th. A Bible, without a date, name of place or printer, in a Swiss dialect of the German, probably printed at Zurich, 1470 to 1473.

5th. The great Bible of Augsburg, without name of printer or date, but believed to have been published between the years 1472 and 1476.

As these five editions were printed without dates, these have only been arrived at from the written memoranda made by their rubricists (persons employed to trace and fill in ornamental initials and other capitals, with the pen or pencil) and the internal evidence afforded by the orthography, typography, etc., of the volumes themselves. Copies of all these editions are preserved in several of the great German libraries. They have been minutely examined and carefully described by the eminent bibliographers above named, who mainly agree in their conclusions, except in regard to the date of the first edition, which Panzer thinks could not have been printed in 1462, inasmuch as Fust and Schoiffer printed

* Bost, Historie de l'Eglise des Freres de Boheme, etc., Geneve, 1831. Tome 1· page 95.

† Panzer, Nachricht von den allerältesten gedruckten deutschen Bibeln. Nürnberg, 1778.

‡ Goeze, Seltener und merkwürdiger Bibeln, Halle, 1777.

a folio Latin Bible in that year, and he thinks their means would have proved unequal to the production of two such works in the same year. Watt, in Bib. Britt. Edinb. 1824, thinks it well ascertained that this Bible was printed in 1467, which is the latest date that any one has assigned to it. The language of this Bible is very old German, and the version is supposed to have been made about the year 1300.

The sixth German Bible, the first with a printed date, was published at Augsburg in 1477. Others followed, at Augsburg in 1477, and again in 1480, and in 1487; Nuremberg, 1483; Strasburg, 1485; one at Cologne, in the dialect of Lower Saxony, 1480; and one at Delft, in the Dutch language, in 1477.

We thus see that no less than thirteen European Bibles were extant before the first Bohemian one was printed. It is also obvious that to the illustrious nation to which we owe the typographic art, belongs the honor of having first printed the Scriptures in a modern language.

Note.—Since the preceding went to the printer I have noticed that Bishop Cröger doubts whether Comenius really intended to convey the meaning generally attached to his words in the paragraph quoted on page 151, of which the English equivalent appears to be, "again the first of the Europeans," and which in the rather free German translation of Enderes (Schwabach. 1730), reads "worinnen sie unter allen Europaischen Völkern abermahls die Ersten waren."

In a foot-note, page 121 of the first part of his "Geschichte der alten Brüderkirche," Bishop Cröger says, "Inwiefern Comenius meinte dass die Böhmen in diesem Stück allen anderen Nationen vorgegangen sind, ist nicht klar (primi Europæorum iterum)." I confess, however, that I fail to see the force of this suggestion, especially when I read these words of Comenius in the light of a passage in the 14th paragraph of the Historiola, in which, writing of the early Sclavonian translation ascribed to St. Jerome, he says, "Eòque inter Europæas gentes primi fuerunt Sclavi, quibus nativâ linguâ credita fuerunt eloquia Dei," which may be fairly rendered, "Thus the Sclavonians were the first European people to whom the word of God was confided in their mother tongue," and is clearly the antecedent to which the *iterum* (again) has reference.

W. G. M.

ESTABLISHMENT

OF THE

MORAVIAN CONGREGATIONS IN OHIO.

BY JESSE BLICKENSDERFER.

In the year 1761 was built, by a Moravian Missionary, the first house within the limits of the present State of Ohio. This Missionary was Christian Frederick Post, who during the years 1758–9 had been commissioned by the English Government to visit the Indians on the Ohio, in order to detach them from the French interest in the war then raging between France and England.* In this undertaking Post succeeded beyond all expectation, and to his labor, therefore, in no small degree, is the success of the British arms in these wars to be attributed.

In 1761 Post journeyed to the Tuscarawas River to renew his friendship with the Delaware chief then living on its banks, and, in addition to this, he hoped to establish himself in that country as a missionary and teacher. He procured permission to build a house, and having selected a site on the North-east side of the river, about a mile above the mouth of Sandy Creek, he erected, as before said, the first house within the limits of the State of Ohio, the posts of traders only being excepted.

After finishing his cabin, Post returned to Pennsylvania, and endeavored to procure from the Brethren at Bethlehem an assistant to return with him in the following spring, with the intention of establishing on the banks of the Tuscarawas a permanent Moravian Mission. After some time such an assistant was found for him in the person of John Heckewelder, an apprentice, then not quite nineteen years of age. They set out March 12th, 1762, and

* The journal of this tour is printed in the Pennsylvania Archives, Vol. III. pp. 502—544.

after a tedious journey of thirty-three days reached Post's cabin, April 11th. During this time, however, the Indian tribes occupying the territory between the Ohio and Mississippi, had become very unsettled, and were in fact ready, at any moment, to break out into open hostilities against the whites. When Post and his companion arrived at their house and began to clear the ground for a cornfield, the Indians became very suspicious, and, forbidding them to proceed with their work, summoned them to a "talk." After Post's explanations and assurances, they were at length allowed to clear a small spot for a garden, the savages being of opinion that *this* was all a missionary needed. Notwithstanding their preparations, these two missionary pioneers were finally obliged, owing to the hostility of the savages, to abandon their enterprise in the latter part of the summer.

No further missionary efforts were made in this territory until 1772, when David Zeisberger, who in the preceding year had visited the Delaware chief Netawatwes at Gekelemukpechuenk, emigrated to the valley of the Tuscarawas with a body of Indian converts. Here the mission became exceedingly flourishing. Settlements were formed at Schönbrunn, Gnadenhütten, and Lichtenau, and afterwards at New Schönbrunn and Salem.*

In the year 1781 this flourishing mission came to an end. The British commandant at Detroit sent a body of Indian warriors under the Huron Half-King to take the Missionaries and their converts prisoners. The former were tried as American spies, but were acquitted, whilst the latter were left to spend an unusually severe winter in much suffering at Sandusky. In March, 1782, a body of them, being compelled by hunger to return to their settlements on the Tuscarawas to procure the corn which had remained unharvested in their fields, were surrounded by a company of American militia under Colonel Williamson, and murdered in cold blood, after they had previously surrendered their arms to the militia under promises of friendship and protection. About 96 men, women, and children perished in this massacre. Two boys only escaped from the hands of the murderers.†

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* For the location of these settlements see "Antiquarian Explorations in Ohio," in *The Moravian*, July and August, 1863.

† For a full account of the massacre, as well as of the Indian Mission in Ohio generally, see "Life and Times of David Zeisberger," by E. de Schweinitz.

As soon as peace was proclaimed between the United States and Great Britain, the agents of the missions endeavored to procure for the Christian Indians a title to the lands occupied by them on the Muskingum previous to their removal by the British. Accordingly a memorial, dated October 28th, 1783, was sent to Congress, praying for the reservation to the Indians of the three towns, Gnadenhütten, Schönbrunn, and Salem, with the circumjacent lands, which had been granted to them in 1772 by the Great Council of the Delaware nation. Hereupon Congress passed an act, May 20th, 1785, containing the following clause, "That the said towns, and so much of the adjoining lands as in the judgment of the geographer of the United States may be sufficient for them, together with the buildings &c., shall be reserved for the sole use of the Christian Indians formerly settled there."

Owing to disturbances and threats of violence against the Indians, they were not able to take possession of the land immediately, and in 1787, in order to facilitate a legal tenure of the land for the benefit of the converts, the "Society of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen" was formed, which met for the first time Sept. 21st. After various memorials on the part of the Society and the passage of several ordinances by Congress, an act was finally passed and approved, June 1st, 1796, granting to the said Society three tracts of land, of 4,000 acres each, containing the above mentioned towns, in trust for the benefit of the Christian Indians.* These lands were surveyed in 1797 by General Rufus Putnam, U. S. Surveyor General, John Heckewelder, William Henry, and others, and a patent therefor was granted in 1798.

After the lands had been surveyed, preparations were made to remove a body of Indian converts from Fairfield, Canada, to the Schönbrunn tract, and at the same time the Society endeavored to induce settlers to occupy the two other tracts, in order to improve them and render them available for the purposes of the grant. This resulted in the establishment of the Moravian Church in Ohio. From this point a more detailed account of the actual planting and organization of the congregations will be in place.

On the 19th of April, 1797, John Heckewelder and William

* See statement forwarded to Hon. J. C. Calhoun by C. G. Hueffel.

Henry, with John Rothrock and Christian Clewell, of Schöneck, as assistants, as also Kamp, of Graceham, set out from Bethlehem for Gnadenhütten, to meet General Putnam and survey the lands. At Charlestown, at the mouth of Buffalo Creek, they furnished themselves with provisions and necessary utensils, and having met two Indians, Captain Bull and Joseph White Eyes, proceeded on their journey on the morning of May 7th. The evening of the 10th found them at the mouth of the Gekelemukpechuenk, where they encamped on the spot occupied by Zeisberger and Jungman as a camping ground in the fall of 1781, after their captivity by the Hurons. On the next evening they reached Gnadenhütten, and on the morning of the 12th, Heckewelder with Messemer, a Tunker preacher, who was on his way to Detroit and had joined them at Buffalo, started for Marietta in search of Putnam. The remainder of the party busied themselves in constructing a tent, and in acquiring a knowledge of the topography of the country, and especially in examining the condition of the old town. The whole country was covered with a thick growth of underbrush and long grass, to which they set fire in order to protect themselves from the multitude of snakes which lay concealed therein, and also to procure a better view of the site of the former town.*

Heckewelder, having returned with General Putnam and his company, June 9th, the time until July 4th was spent in survey-

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* From a letter written by Wm. Henry, dated May 13th, we take the following:

"We found the whole land covered with a deep, dry grass of an old standing, to which, on the day or our arrival, we set fire, to defend ourselves in some degree against the numerous snakes and serpents which we found had taken possession. All the ground where the town stood is covered with briars, hazel bushes, plum and thorn bushes, like a low, impenetrable forest, excepting where the paths of bears, deer, turkeys and other wild creatures afforded admittance. I was exceedingly affected while I walked over and contemplated the ruins of this once beautiful place. Part of the chimneys appear in their rows. The place where our poor Indians were massacred is strongly marked. Part of their bones are yet to be seen among the coals and ashes, and in every quarter the ground is covered with the bones of cattle killed by their enemies."

From the diary of the journey, the following is taken:

"This (brush and grass) we set on fire to-day and experienced therefrom considerable pleasure." "Now we are for the first time able to obtain a real, horrible view of the ruins of the former place." "Everything lies covered with bones, and in the cellar of the house where part of the brethren were murdered we found nine of them."

ing the three tracts of land. On July 4th Heckewelder and Rothrock accompanied Putnam to Marietta, reaching Bethlehem in August. On the same day the remainder of the party set out on their return to Bethlehem, where they arrived on the 20th.

In the year 1796 a circular, dated September 10th, was issued by the Society for Propagating the Gospel addressed to the different congregations of the United Brethren, stating that the Society had received from Congress a grant of the above mentioned tracts of land, and that it desired to have them settled and improved. An appendix to this circular contained the conditions on which lands would be leased to Brethren and friends of the Mission. These conditions were subsequently (1798) modified, and in 1799 printed and adopted as the rule for future guidance. Among them occurred this paragraph, relating to the organization of a congregation: "As soon as twelve or fifteen families live on the Muskingum, the Society will take steps that a meeting-house be built, and that they receive an ordained brother, who shall serve them with the word of God and the sacraments, and also keep a school, as in other country congregations." To induce settlers to remove to and improve this land was now the great aim of the Society. Already in 1797, when the surveying party returned from Gnadenhütten, they found settlers at Charlestown who were anxious to occupy the land, but nothing seems to have come of their offer, though some of them may subsequently have leased land on the Salem tract.

In the spring of 1798, Heckewelder, as agent of the Society, accompanied young Mortimer to the Mission Station in Canada, and thence, with Edwards, made a most painful journey to Gnadenhütten, for the purpose of preparing for settlers, superintending the construction of buildings, and assisting in the establishment of the Indian congregation, which was shortly to arrive from Canada. October 4th., Zeisberger and Mortimer, with thirty-three Indians, arrived on the Schönbrunn tract, after a journey of fifty-one days from Fairfield. They chose for their settlement a spot on a high bank on the west side of the river, below their former town of Schönbrunn, and about $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles S. E. of New Schönbrunn. Here a town was immediately laid out and named Goshen.* Heckewelder, with his carpenters, who had in the mean time arrived

* Mortimer's Diary in the Bethlehem Archives.

from Bethlehem, at once set about constructing a commodious and substantial dwelling for Zeisberger, while the Indians busied themselves in erecting temporary cabins for themselves and the missionaries. On Nov. 24th, Heckewelder and Mortimer returned to Bethlehem, leaving Zeisberger in charge of the congregation at Goshen, and Edwards, with Schmick and the two Colvers, to continue the work at Gnadenhütten. Later in the autumn, all the carpenters except Nathaniel Colver returned to Pennsylvania. The work at Gnadenhütten consequently progressed but slowly, though the Indian brethren from Goshen frequently assisted.

During the winter the Indian congregation suffered considerably from the want of proper provisions. They had no corn of their own, and it was a very difficult matter to procure any, the nearest settlement, Georgetown, being seventy miles distant, and a journey in the winter through the wilderness to this place was no easy task. No settlers having yet moved upon the land, arrangements were now made with some brethren, mostly from Gnadenhütten on the Mahony, to move out under the conditions referred to above. Six or eight families agreed to go, it being understood that they should, for a certain time, be supplied with a minister, and also with a store, the settlements on the Ohio being too difficult of access and too remote to be relied on to supply their wants. During the winter, work on the houses at Gnadenhütten and Goshen, and the clearing of land progressed but slowly, being subject to frequent interruptions from the weather. Early in November a house was finished for Zeisberger, who had meanwhile occupied a cabin. On the 19th of the same month the Indians began the erection of a chapel, the first service in which was held December 12th, Zeisberger preaching from the text of the day.

Nothing of special interest occurred during the remainder of the winter, the chief concern both at Goshen and Gnadenhütten being to procure a sufficient supply of provisions for the Indian congregation. Visits were made to the settlements on the Ohio and corn was purchased wherever it could be procured, the time being mostly spent in hunting dear and bears.

When spring opened, the Indians occupied themselves in boiling maple sugar, on which, for want of other provisions, they subsisted for a time almost exclusively. The supply of corn from the settlements on the Ohio began to be exhausted, and they received notice

that they could not expect much more help from that source. In consequence of this, journeys were made to the Walhunding, Sandusky, &c., in quest of corn for planting.

At length, (May 6th) no doubt to the great joy of all, Bro. Heckewelder, with Jacob Bush and J. Hotel (Hodel ?), arrived from Bethlehem. Heckewelder was made acquainted with the state of affairs, and immediately dispatched a party with canoes to Marietta to obtain a sufficient supply of corn.

Though the work at Gnadenhütten had progressed as well as was to be expected, yet on Heckewelder's arrival he found much to be accomplished. No houses had yet been completed and no ground had been ploughed for corn-planting. Garden lots in Gnadenhütten were also to be prepared, and, in addition, the Salem tract was to be laid out into farms for the settlers, who were beginning to arrive, a party of Dunkers from Old Gnadenhütten being the first. June 9th, Brother Jungman arrived, having left the wagons with which he came some miles behind, they being detained waiting for a road to be cut through to the town. June 12th, Brother and Sister Oppelt arrived on horseback, in advance of the wagons, the latter being the first white woman in that country since 1781. Soon after the whole party came into the town, announcing their approach by a general discharge of their guns. The party consisted of the following persons: The Brethren Oppelt (on the way to the Canada Mission), Mortimer (Missionary at Goshen), and Jungman, (overseer of the workmen employed at Gnadenhütten), with the Sisters Oppelt and Jungman, (and Mortimer ?). The party had left Litiz May 6th, in two wagons, driven by Henry Bollinger and Jacob Ricksecker. After a journey of fifteen days they reached Pittsburg, where they spent several days in making necessary purchases and in waiting for the creeks, swollen by late heavy rains, to subside.

Pittsburg, at that time a town of considerable importance in the West, was an object of interest to the party.* Reaching George-

* The following from Mortimer's diary may be of interest. "We were informed that in March last, not less than 170 boats had left or passed Pittsburg, with settlers, horses, cattle, goods, &c., for the new countries. These boats are built in the rudest and simplest manner, of oblong form, 40 or 50 feet long and about 20 broad. They are in part covered with boards like the roof of a house, which serves for store-house and dwelling. Therein is a fire-place and rudder; the open

town on the 29th, they remained until the 31st, making preparations for their journey through the wilderness, purchasing cattle and procuring road-cutters to open the way before them to Gnadenhütten.* June 1st found the party fairly on their way, camping out in the woods. Owing to the labor of cutting the road and frequent delays by reason of the straying away of cattle and horses during the night, the party made but slow progress.† Added to this, the road-cutters not unfrequently became some-

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part is for the live-stock and lumber. Thus constructed, when seen upon the river, they present the appearance of a small, floating farm-house and yard." * * * * "The houses in Pittsburg number about 400, some handsomely built, containing about 3000 inhabitants. There are in Pittsburg, a Presbyterian, a Lutheran and a Methodist church. It is somewhat singular, however, that the churches are without ministers. All the clergymen, who have, for several years past, come to reside here have turned lawyers and three of them at present exercise that profession in the town.

* A variety of business now engaged our attention; we had to purchase cows, bacon, oats, flour, salt and a variety of other articles. Money had to be taken up, letters written, road-cutters engaged, part of the loading of the wagons left behind, new loading fetched, bread baked and every preparation made for a temporary residence or rather perigrination like the Calmucks, in the wilderness, for the support and accommodation of a considerable number of persons and for sundry possible casualties. Every individual among us was busy and solicitous that nothing of importance might be forgotten or neglected. We ought to notice here with thankfulness, that Bro. Heckewelder's prior arrangements and careful provision for us lightened our trouble very considerably. In the country bordering on the Ohio, it is extremely difficult to obtain industrious laboring people. Those who offer themselves as such, are generally idle strollers, who are not fond of staying long in one place, and only work at all, or seek to be paid for working, in order that they may have money to spend in the taverns. These people are only useful under close inspection. Such were the men whom we had to rely on to cut the road for us to the Muskingum." * * * "Georgetown contains 27 houses which make but a mean appearance. It was begun to be built about four years since. Some of the inhabitants appear to be religious. In the only tavern here a large upper apartment is devoted to divine worship whenever any travelling minister can be engaged to preach. The inhabitants gave Bro. Mortimer such an invitation which the poor state of his health obliged him to decline.

† "Our whole company consisted of 13 men and women, 10 horses, 6 cows, with 5 calves, and two dogs." "Those of our friends who are curious in the history of eating and drinking, will be desirous to know how we lived in the woods. The relation is very short and simple. Our breakfast and supper consisted of coffee, tea, chocolate, milk or some kind of soup with bread, bacon, and sometimes potatoes. Our dinner was of bacon and bread. It need hardly be added, that living entirely in the open air produced, unless in case of sickness, a never failing, keen appetite for food."

what unmanagable and very early showed a disposition to act very independently. On Sunday, June 9th, the party resting during the day, were overtaken by the millwrights whom Heckewelder had engaged from old Gnadenhütten, viz; Boaz and Joseph Walton Jacob Davis, and Joseph Rhodes. With their assistance the remainder of the road was cut, enabling the wagons to reach their destination on the 14th.

On their arrival in the town, the Brethren Jungman and Oppelt, with their wives, moved into a cabin formerly occupied by Heckewelder, no house being yet completed, a large one which had been built during the winter not being quite finished and being then temporarily occupied by the men.

The whole force, including the millwrights, now set to work clearing and preparing corn ground, as it was the highest time for the corn to be planted. Enclosures were also to be made for the cattle, and accommodations provided for the two families among them. "Now," in the language of Bro. Heckewelder, "there at length appeared some prospect of a settlement."

June 23rd, Bro. Mortimer, from Goshen, preached the first sermon in Gnadenhütten, the first since the removal of the Mission in 1781. There were present 17 white persons, and 6 Ottawa Indians.*

The work of corn planting being ended, and temporary enclosures for the stock being finished, the men next turned their attention to the completion of the dwellings, the first of which was finished July 8th, and immediately occupied by Bro. Jungman and wife.

July 13th, the first Communion was held by Bro. Zeisberger, who came down from Goshen expressly for this purpose. The following communicants were present, viz: Zeisberger, Oppelt, Jungman and their wives, John Heckewelder, Jacob Bush, Henry Bollinger, Paul Greer, Ezra Warner, Peter Edmunds, and the Indian brother Charles Henry,—in all 13. Previous to this, those living at Gnadenhütten had received the communion at Goshen.

The second house was finished July 26th, and on August 7th, Heckewelder moved into it. Heckewelder, though the Agent of the Society, had shared all the hardships of their situation and

* Heckewelders's diary of journey to Gnadenhütten. 1799.

only now moved into a comfortable dwelling. August 6th, the following Brethren from Old Gnadenhütten returned for their families: Peter and Ezra Warner, and Peter Edmunds.

Early in August Bro. and Sr. Oppelt, accompanied by Matthew Colver and some Indians, started on their journey to Canada. On the 11th of this month occurred the first death in the Goshen congregation. The brethren cleared a small spot to the west of the town and opened a road to it on the 12th; here the corpse was laid, and here also rest the mortal remains of the missionaries Zeisberger and Edwards.*

In Gnadenhütten, the building designed as a dwelling and store for Bro. Peter, was about this time commenced and finished during the autumn. Towards the middle of September the carpenters returned to Pennsylvania, two men being sent with them to remove the trees, which, in the summer-storms, had been blown down and obstructed the road to Georgetown. Affairs at Gnadenhütten had by this time assumed a settled appearance. Two houses besides the store had been completed, the corn which had been planted was now ready for use, and everything was prepared for the arrival of the families of the settlers.

October 18th, Brother and Sister David Peter and Brother and Sister Lewis Knauss arrived. The former immediately occupied the store, and in a few days was ready to do business with the Indians. This was a great convenience to them, as heretofore they had been obliged to visit the settlements on the Ohio to exchange the products of the chase, or await the arrival of traders in their own villages. November 6th, the force at Gnadenhütten was increased by the arrival from Old Gnadenhütten of the following brethren with their families: Jonathan Warner, Nathan Warner, (and six children), and Asa Walton. On the 15th the number was still further increased by the arrival of Ezra Warner and family. On the following day Brother Bollinger, who had brought these families out, returned with Brother and Sister Jungman, their work at the settlement being now ended. Soon after Brother Heckewelder, having now seen the settlement fairly established, returned to spend the winter with his family at Bethlehem. †

* This burying place is still preserved and is the property of the Society.

† Before leaving, the communion was celebrated. There were present: Brethren and Sisters Mortimer, Peter, Paul Greer, Ezra Warner, Jonathan Warner, Nathan Warner; and Mary Evrit, Jacob Bush, Brother Heckewelder.

During the winter and spring, Brother Mortimer from Goshen held religious services at Gnadenhütten every fourth Sunday both in German and English. The Christmas services were also observed, on Christmas Eve a lovefeast, at which were present 13 adults* and 11 children; in the morning of the 25th, a sermon, and in the evening communion, at which were present, beside Brother Mortimer, 11 communicants.† On the 26th, Brother Mortimer kept a liturgy and then returned to Goshen. Owing to the weather he was not able to return to keep the services on New Year's Eve. The congregation however met at half-past eight and partook of a lovefeast. By the arrival of Benjamin Chitty on the 27th the congregation consisted at the close of the year 1799 of 14 adults (of whom only 11 seem to have been communicants,) and 11 children, making a total of 25.‡

The church-services were, for the greater part of the time, held in Brother Heckewelder's house, and as the Brethren Zeisberger and Edwards were both at home, Brother Mortimer was enabled to serve the Gnadenhütten congregation pretty regularly, except when prevented by the weather or the impassable condition of the river. The settlers from the Salem tract and others not connected with the congregation, frequently attended these services. When Brother Mortimer was not able to be present, a sermon was read or a liturgy sung. During the spring (of 1800) the services were held at 1 o'clock, P. M., in order to enable the settlers from the Salem tract to attend; of these there were two families, numbering inclusive of children, 15 souls.

During this winter houses were built on the west side of the river for the brethren who had moved out in the autumn, and had rented lands there. These settlers subsequently composed the Beersheba congregation.

We must not omit to mention that on Easter Morning (1800) the little congregation repaired to the old Indian graveyard, and there prayed the Easter Morning Litany. The mingled emotions of sorrow and joy which filled their hearts, can be better imagined

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* As follows: The Brethren and Sisters Peter, Greer, Ezra Warner, Jonathan Warner, Nathan Warner, with Mary Evrit and Asa Walton and wife.

† Same as for lovefeast with the probable exception of Asa Walton and wife.

‡ For an account of the settlement see also "Life and Times of David Zeisberger." p. 657.

than described. For the first time since 1781 the words of the Litany were heard on this consecrated ground. Filled with grief over the past, but with bright hopes for the future, they remembered their brethren and sisters, who eighteen years before had met an untimely death near this spot. The following passage was introduced into the Litany:

"I believe that our brethren and sisters, about ninety-six in number, who were put to an untimely death in the year 1782 in the town that formerly stood here, are gone to the church made perfect and have entered into the joy of their Lord." "Their bones are buried near this place."*

"They are at rest in lasting bliss
Beholding Christ our Saviour."

As other settlers were soon to arrive at Gnadenhütten, the Society, in accordance with the conditions mentioned in their circular of 1796, now took steps to procure a minister for this station. To this work Brother Lewis Huebener, of Lancaster, was called. After visiting Bethlehem and Litiz, he, with other Moravians, left the latter place on June 2d, reaching his journey's end July 2d. On Sunday, July 6th, Brother and Sister Zeisberger came down from Goshen, and after dinner, during a lovefeast, Brother Zeisberger installed Brother Huebener as the pastor of the congregation. At the close of this service, the latter preached his introductory sermon, and in the evening the congregation partook of the communion, Brother Zeisberger officiating. In the evening the Conference for the government of the congregation was organized. During the following months this Conference† brought before the congregation the questions of the erection of a church, and of the election of two stewards to care for the temporal interests of the congregation. Both these measures were approved of, and it was determined to commence the erection of a church at as early a day as possible. The Stewards chosen were, for the Gnadenhütten side of the river, Lewis Knauss, and for the west side, Ezra Warner.

On August 13th, 1800, occurred the first death in the congre-

* All the bones of the murdered Indians were collected by William Henry and his company in 1797, and buried in a cellar of the old town, they not being able to find the old graveyard.—*Mortimer's Diary.*

† Composed of the Brethren Huebener, Heckewelder, and Peter, with their wives.

gation, viz.: Sister Hannah Greer, who with her husband, Brother Paul Greer, had moved to this place in autumn, 1799. A place of interment had been prepared beside the old Indian graveyard, near the old town. Here her remains were laid to rest, August 14th.

During this summer, the country in the vicinity of the congregation filled up with settlers very rapidly, and the congregation also received considerable accessions. Brother Heckewelder left Gnadenhütten, October 24th, to examine the Society's lands on French Creek, whence he returned to Bethlehem. Owing to the generally prevalent sickness and poverty, nothing was done towards the erection of a church and school-house. At the close of the year 1800, the congregation numbered 50 souls, 25 more than the previous year, of whom sixteen were communicants.*

The congregation being now well established, we need only chronicle the events of interest in its progress and extension. The settlers living on Salem tract and thereabouts, finding it inconvenient to attend divine services at Gnadenhütten, which was eight miles distant, requested Brother Huebener to visit and preach to them. Accordingly he held a service for them, for the first time, May 31st., 1801, in the house of George Sills, and continued these services during the summer. On June 9th, Brother Heckewelder and family arrived from Bethlehem as permanent residents and members of the Conference. The church services, which had heretofore been held in Brother Heckewelder's house, were now held, in fine weather under a large tree near the river bank, and at other times in Brother Huebener's house. The following extract from the Memorabilia for 1801 gives the number of members, and also the items of interest in the congregation. "We have to mention that a horse-mill is now raised, which will prove of great convenience and benefit to us and to our whole neighborhood, for which we are

* Extract from the Memorabilia of the year 1800: "In this year there have moved here four families, viz: Brother and Sister Peter and Elizabeth Edmunds, with their five children; Peter and Grace Warner, with their three children from Old Gnadenhütten; Brother and Sister Ludwig Huebener, from Lancaster; Brother and Sister Ludwig and Maria Knauss, with their six children, from Schœneck—22.

Born and baptized, four children, viz: Susan Warner, Mary Walton, Maria Peter, and Lydia Salome Huebener.

Departed, Sister Hannah Greer"

all very thankful. There was also a well* digged in our place so that we are now supplied with very good and fresh water. A dwelling-house and other buildings were also finished so that they are now inhabited. In this year there moved to us two families: from Bethlehem, Brother and Sister Heckewelder, he as Agent for the Society, and both as members of the Conference, with their two daughters, Anna Salome and Susannah; from Mt. Joy, Brother and Sister Isaac Gottlieb, and Anna Johannah Bornway with their five children, together with Michael Rhemel out of the neighborhood of Litiz—12.

Born and baptized, two children: Maria Warner and Anna Susannah Knauss.

Departed: the married Brother Jh. Gl. Bornway.

Our congregation consists of 63 souls, of whom 20 are communicants."

During the year 1802 there lived on the Gnadenhütten side of the river, seven families, and on the west side, six families. The regular church services in Gnadenhütten were in the English language. As it was a part of the duty of the minister to teach a school, both to support himself and to afford the children an opportunity of acquiring a common school education, Brother Huebener began a school, January 18th, 1802, with 17 children, which for want of a school-house, was kept in Brother Huebener's own house.†

* The present (1870) public well in the main street in Gnadenhütten.

† The following is a memorandum of the announcement concerning the school. "The school will be on the first three days of the week, beginning at 9 A. M., and ending after 3 P. M. On every Wednesday the scholars and children will have, alternately, children's meeting and instruction in the doctrines of Christianity, to which also such boys and girls as cannot come to school ought to come. The school will begin to-morrow, January 18th, and will be kept till the end of March. It is expected that the parents of such children as come to school will find firewood for the school-room and also get it chopped ready for burning. Ink, ink-stands, paper, quills, spelling-books and other books necessary for schools, must be provided by the parents of the children.

Both the English and German will be teached in the school, yet such children whose parents think it not needful that they learn the German, shall be exempted from it.

If the children shall learn cyphering, they ought to be provided with slates and slate-pencils. The children must be washed and combed well every morning before they come to school. Those children who live on the other side of the water may bring their dinner with them and eat it here. As the school for these few months is only a beginning of school, and on account of the want of proper books

The services at the house of Mr. Sills, below Salem, were continued during the summer, and on June 27th Brother Huebener began preaching at the house of Isaac Evans, who had been present at Mr. Sills' and begged Brother H. to preach for them. The settlement where Evans resided, numbering 6 families, lay 17 miles below Gnadenhütten, near the former Indian Whiteeyestown. Returning from this place, Brother H. visited the settlers at New Comerstown.

The whole Tuscarawas valley was now rapidly filling up with settlers, both above and below Gnadenhütten, and the congregation itself received considerable accessions. Besides, many families of Moravians settled on lands adjacent to the Society's tracts, but did not properly belong to the congregation.

At the close of 1802 the congregation numbered 89 souls, 23 being communicants. There were baptized five children belonging to the congregation, and eighteen children of surrounding settlers. At this time there do not seem to have been any other ministers besides the Moravian in the Tuscarawas valley.

The year 1803 was a prosperous year for the congregation. Besides receiving large accessions to their membership, they were at length enabled to complete their church, which since the year 1800 they had been endeavoring to erect. This building, 20 feet square, was dedicated July 10th, the Brethren Zeisberger and Haven from Goshen being present. The former officiated at the opening services. Excepting the mission chapels, this was probably the first church dedication within the State of Ohio. At these services all the brethren from both sides of the river and the vicinity of Goshen were present, the house being full to overflowing. Since Easter, in order to accommodate many of the brethren who could not understand English, the regular Sunday morning services were held alternately in German and English. The services below Salem and at Mr. Evans', near Whiteeyestown, were continued through the summer.

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and other materials necessary for a school, not very much can be expected of it, no payment for school will be expected from such parents as belong to the congregation.

But, as by the resolution of the Directors of the Society the school shall make out a part of the maintenance of the laborers here, it cannot be expected that in time to come, the school will be kept without payment."

At the close of this year (1803) the congregation numbered 139 persons, of whom 32 were communicants. This large increase was due mostly to immigration, 45 persons who had moved to Ohio from other States, having joined the congregation. During the fall Brother and Sister Loskiel paid an extended visit to the congregations at Goshen and Gnadenhütten.

A minute from the Provincial Helpers' Conference having been received at the beginning of the year 1804, requesting the congregation to conform as much as possible to the customs and rules of the Moravian Church, which were observed in other congregations, the members were accordingly distributed into their respective "choirs," which thereafter celebrated their annual festivals on the appointed days. In addition to the services kept by Brother Huebener during the last year, he this year, at the request of Mr. Knisely, the proprietor of the land,* held German services in his house for the benefit of the settlers above Goshen.

Already in the year 1803 steps had been taken by the settlers on the west side of the river, to have their own mill, tavern and church erected, and to procure a minister to serve them, they being entitled to one, as they were the majority of the settlers on the Society's lands. They could with difficulty understand German, and they were, moreover, frequently prevented by high water from attending church, and their children, during the winter, could only with the greatest danger cross the river to attend school. Therefore, in August, 1805, Brother Huebener was recalled. Having preached his farewell sermon on the 4th, he departed for Pennsylvania August 7th, and on the 24th, Brother George G. Müller, who was called to serve the brethren residing on the west side of the river, arrived and took up his abode temporarily with Brother Heckewelder. He preached his introductory sermon on the 25th.

Brother Müller remained in Gnadenhütten until his church was finished. The building comprised a church hall and school house on the lower story, and a dwelling for the minister on the upper. It was dedicated December 15th, 1805. On December 20th, Brother Müller moved over to his house, and this congregation and settlement, in distinction from Gnadenhütten, received the

* New Philadelphia?

name of Beersheba. This was reckoned his congregation proper, and Gnadenhütten only an out-post. The services at Beersheba were entirely English, and were held in the morning, whilst those at Gnadenhütten were held in the afternoon, or on Monday, and were entirely German. Many German brethren from Goshen and the surrounding country attended the latter.

At the close of the year 1805, the congregation at Beersheba numbered, including that of the Pastor, 11 families, a total of 72 souls, of whom 21 were communicants. Gnadenhütten being an out-post, was not counted.

During the following years the services at Gnadenhütten were well attended, while Beersheba progressed but slowly. On the 22d of August, 1810, Brother Müller, in order to accommodate the settlers living below Goshen, in the neighborhood of the present Sharon, began to preach once a month in the house of Brother John Uhrich. He did this, as he says, more especially to enable the children to attend divine services, they being seldom allowed to accompany their parents to Gnadenhütten. In August, 1811, these services were continued in a school-house* about a mile from the site of the present Sharon church.

The following account of the subsequent history of the congregations in Ohio, and of the general condition of religion in the Tuscarawas valley, is taken from an article in the *Moravian Church Miscellany, Vol. I,* the writer of which was himself a member of the congregation at that time.

"The Beersheba brethren spoke the English language, and as they came originally from New England they were called "Yankees," and their settlement "Yankeetown." Nearly all the other members of our Church were more conversant with the German language; and hence divine worship in Beersheba was kept in the English language, and at Gnadenhütten, and near the present Sharon, in German, but it was very seldom that Germans were seen at the English, or the English brethren at German meetings. No "Brotherly Agreement," or "Rules and Discipline," were made, or committees elected, or even thought of, as far as at present known, while Brother Müller was here, nor until several years afterwards. He was sent by the Society under a contract it

* Most probably on the site of the present "Nineveh" school-house.

had made with its lessees, under the sanction of the Provincial Helpers' Conference at Bethlehem, and all the members here were fully aware that all the privileges they enjoyed in having the Gospel preached and the sacraments administered, were owing to the Society who had sent and still supported Brother Müller in Beersheba.

"In the year 1814 the period terminated for which the Society had engaged to support a minister among its lessees. Early in the spring of that year Brother Müller was recalled, and the settlers were left without a minister and without a hope that his place would be supplied, as his moving away created in reality no vacancy. He had been there under a contract, and that contract was now fulfilled. Here then the history of the *congregations* in Ohio commences, as before this time no regularly organized congregation existed in Ohio. During the spring and summer of 1814, meetings of the members of our Church were very frequently held, and a correspondence opened with the P. H. Conference in Bethlehem, which resulted in the settlement of a minister at Gnadenhütten, and afterwards in organizing several congregations.

"After Brother Müller left Beersheba there was not a resident minister of the Gospel in Tuscarawas County except the missionary at Goshen. Marriages were generally performed by the magistrates; burials, among the Moravians and the few Christians in the neighborhood, by the missionary; among the Methodists (who were the most numerous denomination) by their class-leaders, and among the other inhabitants, either without any religious ceremonies, or with a few words of exhortation by any one who wished to address the persons assembled, or lead in singing a hymn.

* * * * Under these circumstances, the desire of our brethren in this neighbohood to have a minister of our own among us, was great and sincere. Meetings of the members of our Church were therefore held, the P. H. Conference at Bethlehem was applied to, and their answer was, that they would take our application into serious consideration and in all probability would comply with it, as soon as they were assured that funds were secured to cover the expenses of the removal of a minister with his family to Ohio, and an annual subscription from which he could respectably maintain his family after he was here.

"This was not an easy matter, especially to raise the funds for

a minister and family to remove to Ohio. During this time there was war with England and every thing was enormously high. It will sound strange in these days of railroads and canals to hear that at that time the freight on a hundred weight of goods from Philadelphia to Pittsburg amounted to ten dollars, and two dollars more from the latter place to this neighborhood. The travelling expenses for persons were in proportion. The number of brethren was so small that it required the full and united efforts of all to raise the amount required to bring a minister here, as well as a subscription from which he could live after he was here, and yet we were far from being united. The English brethren from Beersheba had their own meeting-house and wished religious services to be kept there. In Gnadenhuetten stood the old parsonage and church, and the largest number wished the minister to reside there and preach, at least part of the time, at that church and in the German language. A considerable number of the brethren lived in the neighborhood of the present Sharon church, from three to six miles from Gnadenhuetten, the river, without bridge or ferry, being between them and that place. They insisted that they could not with propriety be asked to contribute, unless a promise were given beforehand, that religious service should also be kept in in their neighborhood, and that it would have to be understood now, that they would erect a church of their own, as soon as they could get a suitable piece of ground, organize a congregation of their own as soon as the minister would be here, and that they must be allowed an equal share of his services, as a separate congregation.

"From the local situation of these last mentioned brethren, their demand was not unreasonable, and had to be conceded for the sake of obtaining their assistance. Although Beersheba and Gnadenhuetten were only one mile apart, yet on account of the river flowing between them, and the difference in language existing between the brethren of these two settlements, it was not considered reasonable to accede to their claim, and the result was a mutual agreement to do all we could to get the minister here, and then, with his consent and approbation, to divide into three congregations. No doubt was entertained of obtaining his consent as soon as he should be here and become acquainted with the local situation of the brethren. A subscription was then raised for his

support, as well as to defray the expenses of his removal to Ohio. The result was sent to the P. H. Conference and several members pledged themselves to become personally responsible if the amount should be insufficient. On this Brother Jacob Raushenberger received and accepted a call as minister to Gnadenhuetten. He moved to Ohio late in the season, and kept his first meeting at that place on December 25th, 1814.

"As soon as he became acquainted with the situation of his church-members, he made the arrangement to preach one Sunday at Gnadenhuetten, the second at Beersheba, and the third in a private house in the neighborhood of the present Sharon, but that all should be considered as forming one congregation, who met on all festival occasions at Gnadenhuetten.

"On the 25th and 26th of December, 1817, the present (1850) Sharon church was consecrated. There was then no resident minister in the neighborhood who could assist at the opening services, and the missionary at Goshen was the only minister present besides Brother Raushenberger. There was some difference of opinion among the members of the Sharon congregation while the church was building. On the present size all were agreed, but one party wanted to make it high enough for galleries on three sides, while the other party thought it large enough without galleries. It was built with galleries, and in less than twenty years it became occasionally very uncomfortably crowded, even with the galleries all filled. As soon as the church was built, the congregation asked for festivals and communion to be kept at their church, the same as in Gnadenhuetten, as the female part of the congregation could but seldom attend at that place. This was partially, but never fully, acceded to while Brother Raushenberger lived at Gnadenhuetten.

"The old church at Gnadenhuetten, which was a very small building, having become on almost every occasion too small, a new one was built and consecrated on August 20th, 1820. On this occasion two Lutheran ministers assisted in the solemnities, one of whom resided in New Philadelphia, the other in Columbiana County, about 65 miles from Gnadenhuetten. They both preached, one a German, the other an English sermon.

"Shortly after this the first 'Brotherly Agreement' was sent by the Provincial Helpers' Conference to our congregation, to be

signed by the male adult members as usual. In a congregation council, called for the purpose, it was examined, article by article, and signed by all present. At the same time the council was further directed to elect a committee. The question was again agitated whether we were one congregation, or three. The members were generally for dividing into three congregations, but it was opposed by the minister, who insisted that we were but one congregation, and should have but one committee, which should consist of six members, and that two should be elected from the Beersheba, two from the Gnadenhuetten, and two from the Sharon division of the congregation. The arrangement was acquiesced in, and a committee was elected.

"In the year 1827 Brother Raushenberger was recalled by the Provincial Helpers' Conference, and Brother Samuel R. Huebener arrived at Gnadenhuetten to fill his place. As a new subscription for his support had to be taken, the congregation at Sharon felt generally unwilling to subscribe under the old arrangement, and required a separate organization as a congregation, and an equal participation in festivals, to be kept at their church as often as in Gnadenhuetten. As there was no objection whatever to such an arrangement from the Gnadenhuetten side of the congregation, Brother Huebener agreed to it without hesitation, and the Sharon congregation elected its own committee, sometime in the latter part of that year. The Beersheba part of the congregation had by this time become reduced to two or three families. It will be recollected that they originally settled on land held by the Society of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen. As their leases ran out, and they became able, they purchased farms of their own, some within the bounds of one or the other congregation, others entirely away from them, because among themselves the land was not for sale. In 1823 the Society had retroceded their trust to Congress,* whereupon the land which had been im-

* On the 20th of February, 1822, Hon. Thomas H. Benton submitted in the Senate of the United States, a series of resolutions asking for information concerning the patent conveying the three tracts of land to the Society, the condition of the Indian converts settled thereon, and the general management of the trust by the Society. On February 22nd, these resolutions came up for action upon which Mr. Benton made some extended remarks, of which the following are extracts:

"He said, it happened about one hundred years ago that the followers of the sectarian Schwenkfeld were expelled by the reigning Elector from the Electorate of Saxony; and about the same time a Dr. Spangenberg, Theologicus Adjunctus

proved by those brethren was sold by Congress. This drove more off and caused the reduction above stated. With the consent of those who remained, Beersheba was discontinued as a preaching place, and the few members who were left attached themselves to the Gnadenhuetten congregation. From this time religious service was held every two weeks alternately at the churches in Gnadenhuetten and Sharon, which had been the case only every third Sunday before this time.

"Prior and up to the year 1840 several families of Moravians had settled in the town of Dover, and as they lived nine miles from the Sharon church, it was very inconvenient for them to attend meetings. At their request, Brother Titze, then the minister at Gnadenhuetten, commenced to preach during the summer season

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in the University of Halle, lost his place in the university on acoount of some dispute with the divines. Being out of employment, these individuals united in a project to cross over to the British Colonies in America for the purpose of civilizing and converting the Indians, and, addressing themselves to Governor Oglethorpe, then in London, received from him the means of transportation to Savannah in Georgia. Arrived at that place, they immediately commenced their labors among the Creek Indians; founded a church and a school at a place called Irene, five miles from Savannah, and had the greatest success, according to the published accounts, in teaching and converting the natives. The noise of their employment and success drew others from Germany, and with the increase of laborers was duly extended the field of action. They spread to the North and entered the colony of Connecticut, being invited as the history of the mission reports, by the Indians themselves. Mr. B. said that he could not gainsay the alleged fact of the invitation, nor was it material to the point in hand; but he could say that such an invitation implied a contradiction of every spring of human action, there being no principle in the breast of man, either civilized or barbarian, which can impel him to invite another to make an attack on the articles of his faith and the sanctity of his God. Be that as it may, Mr. B. said that the Brethren established themselves in the village of Shekomeko." * * * * "Mr. B. said that the history went on to show that the converted Indians increased in number and grace until they became an example to the people of Connecticut. He mentioned particularly the case of a certain justice of the peace, as related by Loskiel, who came to Shekomeko to find out whether anything was going on there contrary to the laws of the colony, and who was made ashamed of himself by the godly walk and conversation of the Indians and returned home rebuked and edified by their example." * * * * "Mr. B. said he was a friend to the Indians and an enemy to the abuse of charity. He believed that great abuses had been committed on public and private charities in the name of humanity to the Indians. He did not include all missionaries in his censure. * * * * Still he believed that great abuses had been committed and he could hold it but little short of an abuse to attempt, at this day, with the experience of three hundred years before our eyes, to raise money from the weak and credulous for the purpose of converting the Indians.

in the Lutheran church in Dover. This he continued during the summer until he removed from Gnadenhuetten, when it was continued by his successor, Brother Sylvester Wolle. These meetings, kept during the summer and discontinued during the winter, strengthened the desire which had already existed for sometime to have a Moravian church in Dover.

"Brother Lewis F. Kampmann came to Ohio in December, 1842, as an assistant to Brother Wolle. It was arranged between them that Brother Kampmann should live at Dover, and from that time must be dated the resolution of the Dover brethren to make a strong effort to build a church and apply to the P. H. Conference for a minister of their own. They numbered at this time a few over thirty communicant members, and as their church was too far off to think of a regular attendance, even only at festivals or communion days, and as there were four churches of other denominations then in Dover where meetings were regularly kept, it was feared that some of our members would attach themselves to other churches and our number would decrease, instead of increase, if the building of the church was delayed. The effort was made, and during the summer of 1843 a church and parsonage were built. Assistance was solicited and everywhere responded to by generous gifts. In the fall of 1843 Bro. Kampmann was appointed by the P. H. Conference the minister of the Dover congregation, and on the 12th of May, 1844, their church was consecrated. In the fall of that year their parsonage was also completed and occupied by Brother Kampmann and his family. The congregation had been organized during the winter before the church was consecrated."

In 1853, on the 21st of November, the present Gnadenhuetten church was consecrated, and during the summer of 1857 a church was built in Fry's Valley, which was consecrated on the 8th of November. In 1858, the Fry's Valley congregation, consisting mostly of former members of the Gnadenhuetten congregation, was regularly organized.

For many years the orginal Sharon church had been uncomfortably small; accordingly, a handsome brick edifice was erected, which was dedicated on the 21st of February, 1858.

Thus from the small beginning made by eight or ten families on the Gnadenhuetten tract of land, have sprung, in time, four congregations of the Brethren's Church.

ERRATA.

—In the article on the "History of the Bohemian Bible," in Part IV. of these Transactions, the following typographical errors and omissions occurred:

Page 143. Instead of G. W. Malin, read *W. G. Malin.*

Page 144. Instead of Ultraquist, read *Utraquist.*

Page 145. Instead of Thiel, read *Theil.*

Page 148. After "The Apocrypha" insert the date, 1588.

Page 152. Instead of 1799, read 1779, for the date of Prof. Nast's work.

Volume I

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Moravian Historical Society.

PART V.

NAZARETH.
1871.

WYALUSING,

AND THE

MORAVIAN MISSION AT FRIEDENSHUETTEN.

BY REV. W. C. REICHEL.

That stretch of lowland or bottom which skirts the left bank of the Susquehanna below the mouth of the Wyalusing creek, in Bradford County, covering an area of perhaps three square miles, is a point of interest to the student of Colonial history, second to none on the North Branch of the great river of Pennsylvania, excepting Wyoming Valley,—the *Skehandowa* of the Iroquois, and the *M'chwauwaumi* of the Delawares. It is one of those coves of fertile alluvium, which at regular intervals indent the shores of the Susquehanna, as it pursues its winding course through breaks in the Appalachian chain of mountains and highlands that crosses the State from North-east to South-west,—a condition of things which well illustrates an anomaly of unfrequent occurrence in physical geography,—that of a river of the first magnitude with no valley proper of its own.

The design of this paper is to furnish the reader in as satisfactory a manner as is compatible with its proposed limits, what history has handed down concerning this secluded valley,—which is invested for the Moravian with a special interest—it having been the seat of Moravian Gospel-labor for seven years, in the interval between 1765 and 1772,—and only recently the scene of an extraordinary gathering and unusual solemnities, commemorative of the effort made by the Moravian Church, one hundred years since, to ameliorate the condition of one portion of the aborigines of this country.

It is inferable from the observation made by the speaker of the council of the Cayugas, when in June of 1765 messengers from

Wyalusing appeared before that body at Cayuga, in order to advise the Cayugas (who claimed jurisdiction over the Susquehanna country as far down as Wyoming), of a settlement having been made by the Moravian Indians at Wyalusing,—that this now peaceful valley had been in prehistoric times the scene of many bloody encounters; for, observed the chieftain, "It is not meet that my Brethren plant at Wyalusing, for it is soil that is stained with blood." As it lay on the war-path taken by the Five-Nation Indians on their marauds southward into the country of the Catawbas and Cherokees, and as furthermore, through it passed a highway of Indian travel, it is probable that the desirableness of the locality and the fertility of its lowlands arrested the attention of the roving aborigines, and that at an early day it was selected as the seat of successive plantations and villages. One of these, and the first of which there is notice in historical records, was, prior to 1759 (perhaps already in 1752), the residence of a clan of Minsis. In July of the first mentioned year, their chief Papoonhank (whose name is written variously *Papoonhoal*, *Wampoonham*, *Papoonhang* and *Papoonham*), while visiting acquaintances in the settlement of Moravian Indians at Nain,* near Bethlehem, was deeply impressed by the preaching of the Gospel. Returning to his people (with whom he stood in high repute as a teacher of morality, he having, as he tells us, been brought to reflect upon the evils and punishment of sin, by the death of a beloved parent who had fallen a victim to the passion for strong drink), he acquainted them with what he had heard, and thus prepared the minds of some of his adherents for the reception of Christianity. In May of 1760, Christian Frederic Post† of Bethlehem, when on

* After the flight of the Christian Indians from East Gnadenhütten on the Lehigh, in Carbon County, in the night of the surprise at the Mahoning, 24th of November, 1755, provision was made for their subsistence at Bethlehem. In the autumn of 1757, however, they were settled on a tract of land at a point about two miles North-west from Bethlehem, now in Hanover township. The village built here was called Nain. This was their asylum until in the first year of the conspiracy of Pontiac, in October of 1763, when the Colonial Government was induced to remove them to the capital of the Province, for safe keeping at a time in which the popular mind was exasperated indiscriminately at all who belonged to the race that was visiting the frontier settlements with the horrors of a savage warfare.

† Christian Frederic Post, the most adventurous of Moravian missionaries employed among the North American Indians, was born at Conitz, Polish Prussia

his way to a grand council of the Western Indians about to be held in the Allegheny country, with words of greeting and assurances of friendship from Governor Hamilton, spent a night at Papoonhank's village, called by him *Machhachloosing*, a name subsequently variously written *Michalloasen*, *Munmuchlooscon*, *Mockocklooking*, *Quihaloosing*, or *Wighalooscon*, and by the Moravian missionaries during the time of the mission, *Machwihilusing*, *M'chwilusing* and *Wialusing*.* In a relation of what transpired between him and the inhabitants of the place, Post states that "the Indian town here is newly laid out, and dwelt in by a company of Minsis, a religious sort of people in their way, gathered together about *eight years ago* by Papoonhang, their leader and teacher." John Hays,† who accompanied Post on this hazardous embassy, adds in

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in 1710. He immigrated to this country in June, 1742. Between 1743 and 1749 he was a missionary to the Moravian Indians in New York and Connecticut. He first married Rachel, a Wampanoag, and after her death, Agnes, a Delaware. Having become a widower a second time, he in 1751 returned to Europe. Hence he sailed for Labrador in 1752, engaging in an unsuccessful attempt to bring the Gospel to the Esquimaux. Having returned to Bethlehem in 1754, he was sent to Wyoming, where he preached to the Indians until in November of 1755. In the summer of 1758 Post undertook an embassy in behalf of Government to the Delawares and Shawanese of the Ohio country, which resulted in the evacuation of Fort Du Quesne by the French, and the restoration of peace. In September of 1761 he engaged in an independent mission to the Indians of that distant region, and built him a hut on the Tuscarawas, near Bolivar, in Stark County, Ohio. John Heckewelder joined him in the spring of 1762. But the Pontiac war drove the missionaries back to the settlements, and the project was abandoned. Impelled by his ruling passion, Post now sought a new field of activity in the southern part of the Continent, and in January of 1764 sailed from Charleston, via Jamaica, for the Mosquito Coast. Here he preached to the natives for upwards of two years. He visited Bethlehem in July of 1767, returned to Mosquito, and was in Bethlehem, for the last time, in 1784. At this date he was residing with his third wife, who was an Episcopalian, in Germantown. Here he deceased April 29th, 1785. On the 5th of May his remains were interred in the Lower Graveyard of that place, Rev. William White, of Christ Church, conducting the funeral service. A marble slab, bearing an appropriate obituary record, was placed, some thirty years ago, upon the veteran missionary's grave.

* Heckewelder, in his "Delaware Names of Rivers and Localities in Pennsylvania," regards the word *Wyalusing* a corruption of *M'hwihilusing*, signifying "the place of the hoary veteran." *Mi-hi-lu-sis* signifies in Unami Delaware, *an old man*; and *ing* or *ink* is the usual local suffix of that dialect.

† Hays was from Allen township. His family, with other Ulster-Scots, had settled on the Catasauqua and the Monocacy, within the limits of what is now East Allen township, as early as 1737, and were the first whites to take up lands within the Forks of the Delaware.

his report of the journey, that the village lay on the east side of the Susquehanna on a stretch of fertile lowland, and consisted of twenty well-built Indian houses. Here Post, at the request of the Minsi chief, preached to the villagers, selecting as the subject of his address, the angelic appearance and announcement on record in Luke 2: verses 8 to 11. This was on the 20th of May, 1760, and should be remembered as the day on which the words of the Gospel of peace were for the first time proclaimed by a servant of Jesus Christ, in the secluded vale of Wyalusing on the waters of the Upper Susquehanna. The event, also, proved to be a link in a chain of important consequences. Papoonhank from that time expressed a wish that he and his people be further instructed by the Moravians in the purpose of God respecting man's release from the bondage of sin, and his happiness in the world to come. Hence it came to pass that David Zeisberger, with Anthony, a Delaware convert from Tunkhannock, in the capacity of interpreter, was sent from Bethlehem in the early summer of 1763, to preach at Wyalusing, and that on the 26th of June, Papoonhank was admitted into the Church of Christ by the ordinance of baptism, on which occasion he received the name of John. Hereafter he was known as John Papoonhank, or Minsi John.

A few days prior to this occurrence, John Woolman, an evangelist of the Society of Friends, in the course of a visitation to the Indians residing on the Lehigh and the Susquehanna, had sojourned at Wyalusing, speaking to its benighted inmates of the Light that shineth into darkness, and of the Truth that sets men free from the thraldom of sin. Woolman's Journal* contains the following reference to the Minsi town: "It stands on the bank of the Susquehanna, consists I believe of about forty houses, mostly compact together, some about thirty feet long and eighteen feet wide, some more and some less. They are built mostly of split plank, one end being set into the ground, and the other pinned to a plate on which rafters are laid, and then covered with bark."

The connection with the Moravians into which the Minsis of Wyalusing had been brought by the labors of Zeisberger and the baptism of their chieftain became closer, when in December of 1763,

* The Journal of John Woolman, with an introduction by John G. Whittier. Boston, 1871.

John Papoonhank with twenty-one of his adherents repaired to Bethlehem, desirous of sharing the protection which Government was in that perilous time extending to such of the Indians as approved themselves loyal to the English interests. Hence he followed the Moravian Indians to Philadelphia, and cheerfully shared with them the privations incident to confinement in soldiers' barracks. Seventeen months passed amid much suffering and death, before the cloud that darkened the noon-day of the Mission began to break, and peace again dawned. Yet it proved a peace that wrought a sad change for the unfortunate converts. The policy pursued by the Colonial Government in this critical period of its history, urged the immediate removal of all Indians indiscriminately beyond the limits of lands held by the white man by right of purchase. It was in vain that the released prisoners (for prisoners they had virtually been), plead for a return to their peaceful settlement near Bethlehem. So they became a homeless people first, and next and ever afterwards a people of wanderers, moving to and fro and westward, as if nowhere there was rest for the soles of their weary feet. John Papoonhank relieved them from the embarrassing situation in which they stood at the dawn of peace, offering to intercede in their behalf personally with the Six Nations, for permission to plant at his old home on the flats of Wyalusing. His negotiations proving successful, they set out from Bethlehem (eighty adults and upwards of ninety children), on the 3d of April, 1765, for the Susquehanna country under conduct of their beloved teachers, John Jacob Schmick and David Zeisberger. After a tedious journey of five weeks duration through an unbroken wilderness, in which interval two of their number passed into the eternal world, viz.: Magdalene, an adult woman, at *Weckquetank* (in Chestnut Hill township, Monroe County,—the seat of a Moravian Mission, between April of 1760 and October of 1763), and Anthony, a boy, at Tunkhannock,—they arrived at their destination. This exodus marks an epoch in the history of the Moravian Mission among the North American Indians. It had now passed the meridian of its glory.

Referring the reader to the historian Loskiel, for a faithful account of the mission at Wyalusing, in the interval between May 9, 1765, and June 11, 1772, especially for a delineation of its character as an evangelizing agency, and as a means of dissemina-

ting a knowledge of Christ beyond its own restricted limits; also for an exposition of the nature of the work which the missionaries wrought, and for an account of their trials, their privations, their hopes and fears, their sorrows and joys,—we purpose to confine ourselves to a narrative of matters touching the mission of less moment, it is true, yet of much interest to the lover of particular history. The diaries, conducted by the missionaries and forwarded by them in place of occasional reports, to the Mission Board at Bethlehem, enable us to present the following facts and incidents that occurred at Wyalusing, during its occupancy by the Moravians.

From regard for the sufferings they had experienced and the losses they had sustained during the wars of 1755 and 1763, and in consideration of their loyalty, Government assented to furnish the Moravian Indians supplies of flour until after the corn-harvest. The Society of Friends in Philadelphia, it must not be forgotten, was largely instrumental in securing, and also augmented this benefaction. The flour was purchased from the Ulster Scot farmers in the Craig settlement (Allen township), stored with them, and at stated times conveyed by the Indians on pack-horses to *Lechawachneck** (Pittston, at the mouth of the Lackawanna), and thence in canoes to Wyalusing. This, in addition to the yield of the summer hunt (at best an indifferent one) enabled them to subsist, even if precariously, during the first half year spent at their new homes. The seed-corn planted on the 26th of May for the harvest of 1765, was procured at *Zeninge*† and *Anohochquage*.‡ Four cows were purchased at the Craig settlement late in May. On the

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* Written *Lechauwah-hanneck* by Heckewelder, and, according to him, signifying *the forks of a stream*. See Heckewelder's "Delaware Names of Rivers and Localities in Pennsylvania." Written *Lawahannock* on Reading Howell's map of Pennsylvania (1792), and now *Lackawanna*. The Lackawanna comes down from the North-east, and empties into the Susquehanna at Pittston.

† *Zeninge*, now Chenango. Written *Otsiningo* on "Guy Johnson's Map of the Country of the Six Nations (1771)." Originally a Cayuga town on the Chenango, a tributary of the Susquehanna, in Broome County, N. Y.

‡ *Anohochquage* (now Oquago)—written *Onoghguagy* on Johnson's map just cited—was situated near the North-east angle of the Great Bend of the Susquehanna, on the site of Windsor, 14 miles east from Binghampton in Broome County, N. Y. This Indian town was visited by Rev. Gideon Hawley, an evangelist among the Indians, in 1753. For a narrative of his journey the reader is referred to Vol. III of O'Callighan's Documentary History of New York.

26th of October the corn was fully harvested, and a goodly store laid up for winter use.

On the 4th of June the Indians began to erect dwellings, and by the end of the month had completed thirty-four; thirty of which were bark-covered huts, and four log cabins. Divine worship was held under the heavens until the 30th of June, on which day the congregation met in a cabin that had been donated to the missionary for his ministration. A more commodious meeting-house, however, was erected at the close of the summer hunt, early in the month of September, and dedicated to the worship of God on the 15th day of the month. About the same time a substantial winter dwelling was built of unhewn logs for the missionary, hard by the meeting-house. Its dimensions were fifteen feet square, and it was furnished with both cellar and attic. He occupied it on the first day of November.

The site of the first town built by the Moravian Indians at Wyalusing, is difficult to determine satisfactorily.

From the statistics appended to David Zeisberger's diary of the mission for the year 1765, we learn that the Lord's Supper was administered for the first time on Saturday, the 27th of July, to thirteen members of the Church, and thrice subsequently to the end of the year. The supplies for the first Lovefeast partaken at Wyalusing (24th of September) were forwarded by the single sisters of the congregation at Bethlehem. Three adults and two infants were incorporated with the Church by baptism. There was one death and two interments. Eve, an adult, who died on the 23 of May, was buried on the 25th of the month, "on a spot in the low-land, which had been selected for a burial-ground." Here also the remains of Peter, a lad who had died while with his father on the hunt at Wyoming, were interred on the 29th of August.

The mission on the 31st of December of the above-mentioned year, was constituted as follows, and comprised sixteen Brethren and seventeen Sisters, all communicant members; fifteen male and six female adults, all baptized; thirteen male and twenty-four female adults, not baptized; sixteen boys and youth, and seven girls, all baptized; and twenty boys and youth, and fourteen girls and maidens not baptized; making a total of one hundred and forty-six souls.

On the 6th of May, 1766, the adults of the settlement were con-

voked to a council, at which it was resolved to select a more desirable locality for a town. Such a one, offering great conveniences for wood and water, was found at the upper end of the flat, but because of its remoteness from the farm-land, it was rejected, and choice instead made of a site hard by the first one occupied. On the 12th of May this plot was surveyed and laid off to a town, with a regular succession of streets and alleys, and on the 26th of June, a beginning was made with removing the huts and cabins (thirty-five in number), from below upon it. Hither also the meeting-house was transferred. It was set up in the centre of the plot; and near it, close to an excellent spring, a dwelling was erected for the missionaries, which was occupied on the 30th of August. This was built of logs, with a wing attached, and roofed with split plank. In January of 1767 a more commodious meeting-house was substituted for the one that had hitherto been used. It was constructed of squared timber, was thirty-two by twenty-feet in dimensions,—covered with a shingle roof in February of 1768,—in July of that year improved by the insertion of sash and lights into the four windows (the handiwork of the missionary Schmick); and on the 19th of September of that year surmounted by a belfry, in which was hung the bell that henceforth rung out on Lord's Day and holy day over the meadows and corn-lands of the sequestered valley. This was the bell which, on the 11th of June, 1772, was taken down and hung in Timothy's canoe that headed the squadron, and was tolled by him, until the voyageurs en route for the Allegheny country, had rounded the point down the river which shut out from their view for ever the "Huts of Peace." In September of 1768, the chapel was adorned with two paintings in oil, representing respectively the Nativity and Christ's Agony in the Garden. Their contemplation, we read in the Diary of the Mission, moved many a savage sojourner at Wyalusing, to ask in amazement who it was who thus humbled himself and then suffered for the children of men.

The name of *Friedenshütten* (Huts of Peace) was given to this second Moravian town on the flats of Wyalusing, in accordance with an act of a Provincial Synod in session at Bethlehem, in June of 1766. In 1767 eleven new dwellings were built on the plot. On the 31st of December, 1768, the town consisted of twenty-six log cabins, and ten bark-covered huts; and at the same date in

1769, of twenty-seven log cabins and seventeen huts. A school-house was erected early in 1771; and when the settlement was finally abandoned in June of 1772, there were fifty-two dwellings (thirty-nine log cabins and thirteen huts) deserted. For years they stood, silent tokens to passers-by, whether trader or roving Indian, of the former presence of a civilized people in the wilderness; and the school-house and the church in their midst, proved that the dwellers here had served God and had loved the ordinances of His house.

There is conclusive evidence, that the town of Friedenshütten just described, stood on the stretch of lowland included in the farms of Judge Levi P. Stalford, and Mr. Benjamin Brown, of Wyalusing. The cellar-walls of the mission house, traces of fire-places and blackened hearth-stones—and the well (which was under water in the great freshet of the 25th and 26th of May, 1771, when the inhabtants paddled their canoes through the streets of the town) are spoken of or remembered by old settlers as having been observed as late as thirty years since, along this reach or table of the flat.

The subsequent fate of this deserted village is not precisely known. The houses and improvements were entrusted by John Ettwein, who led one division of the Indians to the West, for safe keeping, to Job Chillaway, a Delaware of Wyalusing, and a friend of the Moravian Brethren. But troublous times succeeded the exodus, and we learn from Col. Hubley's and Thomas Grant's journals of Sullivan's expedition into the country of the Six Nations, that in August of 1779, when a division of his army encamped at Wyalusing, there "was not the appearance of a house to be seen, the old Moravian town having been destroyed partly by the savages, and partly by the whites, in the present war." Hubley furthermore states that the plantation here was formerly called the "*Old Man's Farm*," a name which would appear to corroborate Heckewelder's interpretation of *Wyalusing*.

A pitch-pine in the hedge that forms the dividing line between the lands of Mr. Wm. Brown and Mr. G. W. Lung, marks the only ridge or knoll on the lowland near the site of old Friedenshütten. This was the elevation selected as a burial place for the Mission; and here between May of 1765, and May of 1772, there were laid into their graves unto the resurrection from the dead, the

mortal remains of forty-one Indians, viz., six male and six female adults, three youths, one maiden, twelve boys and thirteen girls. Two of these deceased in 1765, four in 1766, four in 1767, nine in 1768, eight in 1769, seven in 1770, and seven in 1771. The ground was laid out after the manner of Moravian graveyards, with distinct plots for the burial of the dead of different age and sex, and was surrounded by a rail and post fence in the spring of 1768. Like these hallowed repositories elsewhere, it was carefully kept free from briars and weeds, and each sleeper's resting-place marked by a plain slab of stone. Fragments of these slabs are occasionally still found in plowing on the flat. It was on this knoll, that "very early in the morning" of the 19th of April, 1767, "as it began to dawn," the congregation of Christian Indians met with their missionary and his wife for the first time at Friedenshütten, to join in the prayers of the service appointed by the Moravian Church to be read on the great festival of Easter, and in part near the abodes of the dead who had died in the Lord.

Here it may be well, in the next place, to acquaint the reader with the services of God's house, that were held at the mission on the Lord's day and also on days kept festively by the Moravian Church. It was natural that their spiritual teachers should have sought to educate the Indians to the observanee of the latter also, as well as to that of other means of grace, which they themselves had been taught to recognize. The great festivals of the Christian Church, Easter, Pentecost, Christmas and Epiphany, were always celebrated after the Moravian custom. In the services of the Easter week, the acts of the days of the Son of Man were commu. nicated to the congregation from a Harmony of the Gospels, prepared in Delaware, by the missionary John Adam Grube for the use of the mission at Wechquetank. The vigils of Christmas Eve of 1768, were markedly festive. The chapel was illuminated, the picture of the Nativity was surrounded with lights, and the children, (there were fifty of them present) for the first time furnished with burning tapers, as they joined in chorus to sing the German hymn beginning with the lines, "*Gelobet seyst Du Jesus Christ, Dasz Du Mann geworden bist.*" The apartment was crowded, and the area without the meeting house was filled with Indians from Sheshequin, Tunkhannock and Wyoming, a throng of savage forms decked out in all the trappings of barbaric finery, and mute with

wonderment at what they saw and heard within. The following is the record of 7th September, 1767, the anniversary of the festival kept by the married members of the congregation: "The bell rang for rising at day-break. At 7 o'clock A. M. there was a general service, and at 10 o'clock a special service for our married members, in the course of which I discoursed on the text of Scripture appointed for the day's consideration, applying it to the requirements of my audience in their station in life. At noon the heads of families with their children dined in the chapel; and at 3 o'clock P. M. the customary lovefeast was served. The Lord's Supper was administered at dusk, and the solemnities of the day closed with a congregational meeting." Expositions of Scripture, homilies, and sermons were always interpreted from the missionary's lips. Anthony, a Delaware, who was mentioned above, was interpreter at the mission. In his absence during Zeisberger's sojourn at Wyalusing, portions of Scripture were read from Grube's Harmony, and the sermons varied by the singing of German hymns. Schmick usually preached in Mohican, with which language he was conversant. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper was celebrated ordinarily every month. During the continuance of the mission ninety-four adults and forty-five infants were admitted into church fellowship by the rite of baptism, and seven couples were united in wedlock. On the 31st Dec. 1770, there were attached to the mission forty-seven communicant members, one candidate for admission to the Lord's Supper, seventy-nine baptized adults and children, and forty-five children not baptized, numbering together one hundred and seventy-two souls. At the time of the exodus in June of 1772, the number had increased to one hundred and ninety-four; one hundred and forty of whom were conducted by the missionary Roth, and fifty-four by Rev. John Ettwein, of Bethlehem, (the former by way of the Susquehanna, the latter by the direct overland route) to the mouth of Muncy creek, in Lycoming County, and thence westward through a wilderness to the Big Beaver, to a point in the Southern part of Lawrence County.

The following missionaries labored in the Gospel at Wyalusing, during its occupation by the Moravian Indians, viz: David Zeis-

berger,* (9th May, 1765, to 14th Sept., 1766;) John Jacob Schmick,† and Johanna, his wife; (7th July 1766 to 7th May 1772;) John Roth,‡ assistant to Zeisberger, (between 25th Aug. 1765 and 25th June 1766;) and John George Jungmann‖ and Margaret his wife, in conjunction with Schmick, (in the interval between 10th June 1769 and 28th August 1770.)

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*. "The Life and Times of David Zeisberger," the Western Pioneer and Apostle of the Indians by Edmund de Schweinitz. 1870.

† John Jacob Schmick was born at Kœnigsberg in Prussia, 9th Oct. 1713, and was liberally educated for the Church. While in charge of a Lutheran congregation in Livonia, he became acquainted with the Moravian Brethren, with whom he united in 1748. He arrived at Bethlehem in Sept. of 1751, was set apart for the service of the Indian Mission, turned his attention to the study of the Mohican, in which he became a proficient, labored in the Gospel among the Indians at Bethlehem and Nain after the dispersion in the night of 24th Nov. 1755, followed them into exile to Philadelphia, and on their release led them to Wyalusing. It can justly be said that Schmick was the missionary of Friedenshütten. He deceased at Litiz, Lancaster County, Pa., 23d Jan. 1778, in the 64th year of his age. There are portraits of himself and his wife in the rooms of the Moravian Historical Society, at Nazareth, Pa.

‡ John Roth was born in Brandenburg, 3d Feb. 1726, of Catholic parents, and was brought up a locksmith. In 1748 he united with the Moravians, and emigrated to America, arriving at Bethlehem in June of 1756. He deceased at York, Pa., 22d July, 1791.

Between 4th Feb. 1769 and 5th May 1772, John Roth and his wife Mary, labored in the Gospel among the Indians residing at *Schechschiquanink* (Sheshequin) i. e., being interpreted "*the place of a sieve or rattle,*" the stretch of lowland on the right bank of the Susquehanna, about 24 miles north from Wyalusing. One Achcohund, a Delaware, was the chief of the Indian village at Schechschiquanink. Other Indians of note in Provincial History, who resided here at this time, were Captain Doughty, Jo Peepe, John Martin, and Isaac Still, who in May of 1769 took possession of a 200 acre tract of land on the flats, donated him by the Proprietary Government for services rendered during the Indian wars in the capacity of runner and interpreter. Jungmann and his wife resided a few months at Schechschiquanink. The Friedenshütten mission received accessions from this Indian town, and seventeen of its inhabitants accompanied the Moravian Indians to the West in June of 1772.

‖ John G. Jungmann, was born 19th April 1720, in the Palatinate. He immigrated to America with his parents in 1741, and settled in Oley, Berks County. Here he became acquainted with the Brethren, united with them, and removed to Bethlehem in 1744. In 1745 he married Margaret, relict of Gottlob Büttner, late missionary at Shekomeko, N. Y., and entered upon a long and varied career in the service of his adopted church, principally however among the Indians. He deceased at Bethlehem, 17th July, 1808, in the 89th year of his age. By trade, Jungmann was a cooper and miller. His wife has the reputation of having been a proficient in both Delaware and Mohican Indian.

While the Moravian missionaries at Wyalusing, as well as elsewhere, labored to impress the heathen with the love of God in Christ, to turn them to Him for the remission of sin, and for freedom from its bondage—and to have them attain to holiness of walk and conversation;—they prudently perhaps refrained from any effort to wean them from deeply-rooted prejudices and usages, as long as these were not sinful, or totally inconsistent with a Christian profession. Violent measures were never employed by them for the attainment of ends. They relied upon the power of the Gospel for the transformation of an uncivilized into a civilized race; and not, as is thought by some, upon the humanizing influences of civilization for the conversion of sinners from the ways of unrighteousness. Knowing this, we will not be surprised to learn, that while the Indians at Friedenshütten were *Christians*,—they continued to be *Indians*, following the pursuits and retaining many of the manners and customs in which their fathers before them had engaged, or which they had observed. Accordingly we find these Christian Indians hunters in preference to tillers of the soil, and their women hewers of wood and laborers in the field. We glean the following particulars respecting these matters, and others concerning the occupations the Christian Indians followed for a livelihood, from the Diary of the mission.

The women planted, hoed and harvested Indian corn, beans and pumpkins. In addition to the planting-land on the farm proper (Judge Stalford's land), we are told that fertile patches of bottom on the Wyalusing Creek, on an island of sixty acres above the mouth of the creek and on Sugar Run were annually put to corn. There was an acre cultivated in common for a special purpose, to furnish supplies for lovefeast, at which corn bread was distributed. The women also cut and carried, or hauled on hand-sleds the winter supply of fire-wood for the town; accompanied their husbands on the chase, halting at designated points, which constituted bases of supplies; or else, whenever required, repaired through woods and over mountains, despite the inclemency of the season, to the distant hunting-lodges, in which the venison or bears-meat, taken in the winter hunt, had been *cached* for future use. We meet them in early March in sugar-camps on the Wyalusing Creek, the *Tuscarora* (Laceyville) and Sugar Run; in the summer and autumn, gathering flag and rush (*typha latifolia* and *scirpus pungens*) for

mats, most frequently at *Wenschigochpiechen*,* (three days journey from Wyalusing); huckleberries at *Tenkhanneck*† (Tunkhannock); wild hemp (*apocynum cannabinum*) for the manufacture of carrying-bands and reticules, at *Lechawachneck;* cranberries in the swamp across the Susquehanna (Wilmot township,) and ginseng, (*aralia quinquefolia,*) and wild potatoes (*ipomœa pandurata*) in the rich bottoms, or on the dry banks of the neighborhood. The women also brought down in canoes the hay that was annually cut in the natural meadows at *Meschaschgunk* (Fairbanks), seven miles up the river, there being an insufficiency of grass at Wyalusing for both pasture for the cattle, and for a winter supply of hay. From all this it appears conclusively that the Indian women of Friedenshütten remained in the undisturbed enjoyment of Indian women's rights! Meanwhile the men asserted theirs, following the chase, both the winter and the summer hunt each in its season, and varying the intervals with trapping beaver and wolves, and taking shad with the "bush-net." Two thousand of this palatable fish were taken on the 18th of May, 1768. Wolves were plentiful and a pest to the settlement--a pack of them having one night, in the course of their depredations, killed thirty swine and a number of calves. The summer-hunt fell in the months of June and July, and was followed in the immediate neighborhood of Wyalusing. The winter hunt opened after corn harvest, in early November, and closed in the middle of January. This was unquestionably the most important event in the round of occupations which circumscribed the Indian's life. As its pursuit necessarily led the hunters to a distance from home, and for a succession of weeks, it caused the missionary much anxiety, and we read that never did a company of Christian Indians set out on the winter hunt but what its members were reminded by him of the temptations to which they would be exposed when associating with their heathen kinsmen or acquaintances in the woods—admonished to abide by their profession, and commended in prayer to the Lord's keeping. The hunting grounds visited by the converts of Friedenshütten when on the winter hunt included Wyoming Valley, the valley of the West

* Written Wyngeepichon in Provincial records of 1756, and located 20 miles above Tioga.

† Written by Heckewelder, *Tank-hanne,* and signifying according to him, *the small stream.* Corrupted into *Tunkhannock.*

Branch as far as the Great Island (Lock Haven), the Juniata country, the Great Pine Swamp, the valley of the Pocopoco, and the brush prairies of Lehigh and Moore townships in Northampton. They never hunted northward from Wyalusing. In fact the Indians residing in that direction, at *Schechschiquanink, Tioga,** *Wiechpaekak,*† *Shamunk,*‡ *Zeninge, Tschochnot,*§ *Hallobank,*‖ *Owege,*¶ and even those from the seats proper of the Six Nations, passed annually through Friedenshütten *southward,* on the winter hunt. In reviewing the occurrences of a past year at its close, the missionary of Friedenshütten never failed when reminding his hearers of the bounty of the Heavenly Father, to allude to their success in both the summer and the winter hunt.

The Moravian store at the Rose Tavern** was the market frequented by the Indian men and women of Friedenshütten for the sale of peltry, deer skins, horns, and tallow,—of mats, brooms, and baskets,—and at the same time the point at which the bounty set on wolf scalps was paid them. There is extant a day-book, kept at the Rose Store, in the interval between the 8th of February, 1769 and March of 1772, written in the hand of Wm. Edmonds,††

* Now Tioga Point.

† *Wiechpaekak,* the seat of a Cayuga chief, was probably in Tioga County, N. Y.

‡ *Shamunk* (now Chemung) was an Indian town on the Chemung in Chemung County, N. Y. According to Heckewelder the word is compounded from *W'schummo,* a horn, and the local suffix *nk,* and signifies *where there is a horn,* i. e. *the place of a horn.*

§ Now *Choconut,* the name of tributaries of the North Branch, in Susquehanna County, Penna., and in Broome Co., N. Y.

‖ *Hallobank* or *Whallobank,* was a Cayuga fore-post not far from *Owege,* probably in Tioga County, N. Y.

¶ Now Owego, a Cayuga town on the Owego Creek, in Tioga County, N. Y.

** The Rose Tavern was built by the Moravians in 1752 on the Northern line of the Nazareth tract of 5,000 acres (now Upper Nazareth Township), purchased of Whitefield in 1741. This house of entertainment, to which there is frequent allusion in Colonial History, stood as late as 1858. A few rods south of it, on the high road to the Minisinks, the site of the *Rose Store,* built about 1762, is pointed out. It was destroyed by fire toward the close of the last century. Both sites are on the farm of Mrs. Louisa Reinheimer, in Bushkill township, eleven miles North East from Bethlehem.

†† William Edmonds, leather-dresser, who bartered with the Indians of Wyalusing at the Rose Store immigrated from England in 1736. In 1749 he became a resident of Bethlehem. He was twice a member of the Provincial Assembly for Northampton, having been elected into that body the first time in October of 1755, and again in October of 1770. Mr. Edmonds was a warm advocate of the cause

storekeeper, which among other accounts contains those of the following Indians from Wyalusing and adjacents, to wit: John Papoonhank, Sam Evans, (a half-brother of Teedyuscung, King of the Eastern Delawares in the war of 1755,) Black Wampum, James Loquis, Ahendock, "the Indian with one eye," Nanticoke Sam,* Weschachelawal, "a short young fellow from *Shamunk*," William Seth, "a Jersey Indian that had lost his fingers," John Montour, of *Owege*, Conoy Sam,† Job Chillaway, Billy Chillaway his brother, Balzar Patterson, "who lives with Billy Chillaway," Abigail, Isaac Stille's wife, Capt. Doughty of *Shechschiquanink*, John Hillman's wife, a Jersey Indian, and Jemmy of *Welawamink*. Not a few of these accounts are closed by Profit and Loss, while the improvidence of the Indian character stands on record in the credits asked on no other security than a promise to pay at some future time from the yield of the next winter-hunt.

The route ordinarily taken by the Indians when setting out for the Rose, or for Bethlehem, led by water as far as *Lechawachneck*, thence overland across the Broad Mountain, and thence through the Wind Gap of the Kittatinny Hills into the trans-montane settlements. By this way, too, the missionaries and their visitors passed to and fro, for there was constant intercourse between Friedenshütten and the seat of the mother-church.

John Heckewelder visited Friedenshütten and *Schechschiquanink*, on special business five times in the interval between May of 1765 and September of 1771. Otherwise he was not connected with the mission. Gottlob Senseman, missionary, halted here in October

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of American Independence, and one of the leading patriots in Northampton county. He deceased at Nazareth, 15th of September, 1786, in the 79th year of his age. Seven of his great grandsons entered the service of the United States in the War of the Rebellion.

* When Nanticoke Sam [who figures repeatedly in Provincial History,] in February of 1766 asked permission to plant at Friedenshütten, it was refused him, in consideration of a revolting practise of his tribe, that of disinterring the remains of its members, *wherever* deceased, and after cleansing the bones from their flesh, of transporting the former for burial to one of their national cemeteries. At *Towandemung* (Towanda) signifying "*where there is burying*," was a Nanticoke cemetery,—that is a repository of *skeletons*.

† Conoy Sam, also a personage in Provincial History, from the Conoy town, on the site of Bainbridge, Lancaster Co., was baptized by Schmick, on the 19th of August, and named Augustus. He had been an inmate of the Barracks at Philadelphia simultaneously with the Moravian Indians.

of 1766, en route with David Zeisberger to Onondaga; again in May of 1768, and subsequently, a third time. On the 1st of May of the last mentioned year Rev. John Ettwein, arrived and spent a week at Friedenshütten, and also visited *Schechshiquanink.* A memorable occason in its annals, was the reception of the Brethren Christian Gregor, and John Loretz, members of the Unity's Elders' Conference at Herrnhut, Saxony, (then on a visitation to the Moravian Church in the Provinces,) accompanied by Nathaniel Seidel,* a Bishop frem Bethlehem. This was in May of 1770. During their sojourn (May 11th to May 21) they not only took part in the ministrations of the house of God, but also called upon the convert families for the purpose of religious conversation. The festival of Pentecost, which fell in the interval, was solemnized by the celebration of the Lord's Supper. In the evening of Whit Sunday the rite of baptism was administered to four catechumens; to *Welochalend,* of *Schechschiquanink,* (who was named Anton,) by Seidel, to an adult son of Rebecca, by Gregor, (he received the name of Jacob;) to *Kabaash,* by Loretz, and to William's wife, by Schmick,—these two being named respectively, Timothy and Martha. On the 23d of May, 1770, Rev. John Ettwein† arrived, to superintend preparations for the approaching departure of the Indians to the then far West.

It may here be asked, how was the work of the Gospel or the

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* Nathaniel Seidel, from Lauban, Saxony, came to Bethlehem in June of 1742, and labored in various capacities in the service of the Moravian Church in North America, also visiting its Missions in the West Indies and Guiana. He was ordained a Bishop in 1758. At the time of his decease 17th of May, 1782, at Bethlehem he was the proprietor in trust—of one part of the Church's estates or landed property in this country.

† John Ettwein was born 29th of June 1721 in Freudenstadt, Wirtemberg. He united with the Moravians in 1740, and came to Bethlehem in April of 1754. Here he was set apart for service in the schools of his adopted Church, when in 1758 a new field of labor was assigned him at the Brethren's settlements in Western North Carolina (Forsyth and adjacent counties). During his residence in Wachovia, he itinerated among the spiritually destitute Germans of South Carolina (1762) and visited the Salzburgers and Swiss of Ebenezer (in Georgia) in 1765. The following year he was recalled to Bethlehem. This place was the scene of his greatest activity, as here under God he led the Moravian Church in safety through the stormy times of the Revolution. He was ordained a Bishop in 1784. In 1789 he sailed for Europe, and attended a General Synod convened at Herrnhut. John Ettwein was one of the remarkable men of the Brethren's Church in North America. He deceased at Bethlehem, 2nd of January, 1802.

mission at Wyalusing sustained; in other words, on what did the men and women who preached and taught Christ in this wilderness, depend for a supply of their daily necessities? In part, and largely too, upon the labor of their own hands; in part upon the free-will offerings of their people, and in part upon assistance from Bethlehem. The Indians, in this respect, did what their precarious mode of life permitted them to do, for we find them sharing their venison and fish with the missionary's family, contributing from their stores of deer's tallow for the candles required in the chapel, maple sugar for lovefeasts, and making up a purse after a profitable sale of skins at the Rose in order to enable them to improve and repair their meeting-house. In this way, we learn, it was furnished with glazed windows, and its store-room with a supply of cups for use at lovefeasts. Meanwhile the missionary worked at haying, in the corn and in the buckwheat field, and together with his wife cultivated a garden, on whose yield of potatoes and vegetables their comfortable subsistence largely depended. Yet his life was one of constant self-denial, demanding the exercise of strict frugality and provident forethought. He never suffered want.

The following are miscellaneous items of more or less interest, extracted from the Diary of the mission, as literally as could well be done. They may aid the reader, perhaps, in filling out the picture of Friedenshütten, with the outlines of which it was the object of this paper to furnish him:

"*July* 14, 1765.—I gathered bark for covering my hut. (Zeisberger.) Intelligence reached us to-day of the death of Minsi Jachkapoos, who had led the surprise at the Mahoning. He recently died of the small-pox at Sir William Johnson's."

"*July* 21.—The entire nation of the *Tutelars*, (but a handful of people) passed en route for *Shamokin*, to hunt."

"*Sept.* 30.—This evening a wolf was killed in the town."

"*Jan'y* 2, 1766.—The hunters brought in ten deer."

"*Jan'y* 18.—The young men several days absent on a bear-hunt, returned on the 17th, with seven. The meat was apportioned among the heads of families."

"*Jan'y* 30.—The reception and entertainment of visiting Indians were entrusted to special persons, appointed in Council."

"*May* 16.—*Muschkoos*, a notorious Nanticoke powwow, who stands charged with having been privy to the death of several Indians of his tribe, and who is in bad repute even at *Zeninge*, left to-day to our relief. He passed the winter here."

"*Sept.* 11.—Several companies set out on a hunt; one bound for the neighborhood of Christian's Spring.* My wife called on *Magdalene*, for religious conversation." (Schmick.)

* Christian's Spring was a Moravian settlement, commenced on the Nazareth tract, about nine miles N. N.E. from Bethlehem in 1749. It was named for Christian Renatus, a son of Count Zinzendorf.

"*Sept.* 23.—Esther, with other sisters, went to gather ginseng."

"*November* 4.—Cornelius trapped two wolves near town, two of a pack that had been tearing calves. He secured the culprits by an ingenious piece of strategy, having suspended one of their slain victims from a tree, and immediately under the lure placed two loaded rifles, with muzzles directed toward the only point of approach, in attempting to pass which, a rope, nicely adjusted so as to control the triggers, would inevitably be disturbed, and discharge the pieces."

"*November* 14.—Lieberkühn's Harmony of the Gospels, which is to be done into *Mohican*, came to hand." (Schmick.)

"*Dec.* 7.—Called upon Tamar, Job Chillaway's mother-in-law, who is upwards of seventy years of age."

"*Dec.* 9.—The collection of texts of Scripture, designed for daily use in 1767, came to hand from Bethlehem."

"*Jan'y* 7, 1767. (Epiphany.) The rite of baptism was administered to a daughter of Job Chillaway, and she was named Augustina."

"*Jan'y* 18.—Tamar departed this life."

"*Jan'y* 15.—Billy Chillaway, Job's brother who resides at *Zeninge*, made application to become an inhabitant of the town."

"*March* 16.—John Papoonhank and Joachim set out for *Menachninyk** down the river to visit their hunting lodge and bring home a load of skins and venison."

"*March* 24.—Joseph returned from the beaver-hunt with five beavers."

"*April* 2.—A string of wampum was sent by the Indians of Tioga for corn. It was accepted at a valuation of two bushels."

"*April* 27.—One of old *Nutimaes'*† sons came from the Great Island to purchase corn."

"*April* 30.—I sowed seeds in my garden."

"*May* 14.—Nathaniel, who had the small-pox, was conveyed across the river and lodged in one of the huts on that side."

"*May* 15.—Margaret, his wife, and a boy, both manifesting symptoms of the small-pox were sent to hospital."

"*May* 22.—Finished setting fence. Within the past three weeks. the Brethren have set one mile of fence on the plantation by the river's side, and along the town."

"*May* 25.—Nathaniel departed this life."

"*May* 28.—Took 500 shad.

"*June* 9.—The women planted two acres of corn."

"*June* 13.—A buck that had swam the river crossed the plantation and entered the town. On discovering it, the boys (the men were all absent) raised a hue and cry which bewildered the frightened animal so that in an attempt to leap over a high stump, it hung itself as it were,—one of its legs being entangled in its antlers. In this helpless condition, the boys dispatched it."

"*June* 29.—We were necessitated this season to plant much of the corn-land a second time, there being a plague of worms and grasshoppers; and to day we finished hoeing.

"*August* 29.—Cornelius, on his return from hunting, brought us some of the water of the mineral-spring, distant upwards of ten miles." (*Query* the Sulphur spring on Wyalusing creek in Rush township, Susquehanna County?)

"*Oct.* 9, 1767.—I was awakened on this my fifty-fourth birth-day, by the voices of the Indians who joined in the songs of our Zion to wish me God's blessing."

"*Oct.* 22.—Job Chillaway's house was blocked up."

"*Oct.* 23.—It was brought under roof."

"*Oct.* 31.—The women harvested potatoes and pumpkins."

"*Dec.* 1768.—The texts of Scripture for 1768 came to hand."

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* Perhaps *Monockonock* Island below Pittston.

† *Nutimaes*, which being interpreted is, "*a spearer of fish*," was a noted chief of the Fork Indians, or dwellers within the Forks of the Delaware and a signer of the release to the Proprietaries of the tract of land whose boundaries were fully defined by the historic walk, made in September of 1737.

In this year there fell an interesting movement in the history of Indian nations, which is noticed quite in detail in the Diary of Friedenshütten. It was the migration northward of the remnant of two once powerful tribes, of the last of the Tuscaroras from North Carolina, and the last of the Nanticokes from the Eastern shore of Maryland. The Tuscaroras, at the time of early white settlement in North Carolina, had their seats on the upper waters of the Neuse and Tar Rivers, and in 1708 still numbered twelve-hundred fighting men. A collision with the whites at a subsequent period, however, proved so disastrous to this people of warriors, as to induce them to sue for admission into the Iroquois confederacy. The alliance was formally concluded in 1727 although the main body of the Tuscaroras had migrated northwards as early as 1712. It was by this accession, that the Five Nation Indians became the Six Nations. On the 25th of March 1767, two Tuscaroras, avant-couriers of the main body, and messengers from its chief, arrived at Wyalusing stating that they had left their comrades, seventy and upwards, including men, women and children at *Shamokin* (Sunbury,) and that they were come to collect corn and to request its transportation to that point without delay. One of the two set out for the Six Nation country on the third day, his errand being to ask permission of the Cayugas for his people to settle and plant at *Lechawachneck*, a piece of unpleasant intelligence to the missionaries, who knew the Tuscaroras to be an indolent race, totally averse to the reception of Christianity, and likely to prove indifferent neighbors. On the 4th of May a second express arrived from *Shamokin* bringing word that the Tuscaroras had broken camp, and were moving up the river. Measures were at once taken with a view to their accomodation and entertainment, and bark-huts were constructed and contributions in corn solicited. These preparations were but partially conpleted, when on the 6th twenty of the strangers arrived and a few days later upwards of forty, who during their sojourn on a creek, 14 miles by water below Friedenshütten (to the present day called *Tuscarora Creek*) had with admirable effrontery made a requisition in corn on the Mission, and then demanded its gratuitous transportation to their place of encampment. Most of these half famished southerners set out for *Zeninge*, their destination, before the close of the week; a few, however, remained at Wyalusing through

the ensuing winter. This migration numbered seventy-five souls. A colony comprising twenty families had halted at the mission in November of 1767 on their way northward.

The Nanticokes, which being interpreted signifies "*tide water people*," when first known to the whites, had their seats on the Eastern shore of Maryland. In August of 1748, almost the entire nation abandoned its ancestral homes, moved northward following the course of the Susquehanna, and planted in part below and at Wyoming, in part above Wyalusing, principally at Shamunk and Zeninge. On the 8th of September 1767, two of their people came up to the Mission from *Menachningk* where, they reported, fifty-five of their nation en route from Maryland were encamped. They begged for corn and requested the loan of canoes, in which to bring up their aged and infirm, emphasising as it were this two-fold request by a belt. On the 21st of September the emigrants arrived at Friedenshütten. Here they were entertained at the public expense, an ox having been butchered for the occasion, which with corn-bread was served to the hungry strangers, as they sat in a circle on the outskirts of the town. They set out for *Zeninge*, next day.

The Diary for 1768 contains the following items:

"*Jan.* 4.—The Brethren contributed skins for the purchase of nails, glass, and for tin-cups for use at lovefeasts."

"*Jan.* 23.—They split shingles on the other side of the Susquehanna."

"*Feb.* 1.—They brought home two thousand."

"*Feb.* 22.—Jim Davis of *Schechschiquanink* made application for stated preaching of the Gospel. I promised him to send David Zeisberger to the town on his return from Bethlehem."

"*April* 23.—The Susquehanna rose, and inundated the plantation. No one remembers having seen the river as high."

"*April* 24.—Tom King, an Oneida chief, *Attakullakulla*. alias Little Carpenter, a Cherokee, his wife and three children, eight Mohawks, and three Catawbas, furnished with passes by Sir William Johnson, arrived from *Shechschiquanink*, en route for the South, to report the ratification of a peace between the Six Nation Indians and the Cherokees. Observing that none of onr Indians were painted, they washed their faces and arms before attending evening service."

"*June* 25.—The captain of Shamunk, the new town above Tioga, came to purchase corn."

"*July* 17.—Our Mohican Brethren met in Council to frame a reply in response to the call they had received from Sir Wm. Johnsom, in April last, inviting them to remove to *Zeninge*, so as to come within his jurisdiction. They expressed themselves unwilling to abandon Wyalusing."

"*August* 22.—Council set a bounty of two quarts of corn for every inhabitant on a wolf-scalp, payable to the fortunate hunter."

"*Sep.* 13.—Set watches and kept fires burning through the night, to guard against the depredations of wolves."

"*Sep.* 14.—Unroofed the church, in order to build it higher by two rows of logs."

"*Oct.* 25.—My wife and myself harvested potatoes."

"*Nov.* 17.—I set up a stove, the tiles for which had been burned in the summer."

"*Nov.* 21.—Excessively cold weather, and deep snow."

"*March* 20, 1769.—Twenty Nanticokes arrived from *Zeninge*. They report a scarcity of food, almost a famine, up the river, and bring the blankets and strouds which were apportioned among them at the late treaty, to barter away for corn."

"*April* 25.—An Indian came up the river from *Quelutamen*, stating that he had learned from a Jersey Indian, that six others who had passed the winter at *Wechquetank* were en route for the upper Susquehanna, it being the policy of Government to remove all Indians from the settlements."

July 16.—Twenty families from *Shamunk*, came to procure corn."

"*July* 20.—Forty Indians from different points, all half-famished came for corn."

"*July* 23.—Ten Cayugas came on the same errand. There is scarcity with us also, and the Indians eat but one meal daily."

"*August* 1.—Benjamin, out on the hunt, the other day, was bitten by a copper-snake. As he lay rolling on the ground in the agony of pain, he was almost precipitated into the creek while unconscious, and only next morning recovered so as to be able to answer the signal guns fired in our anxiety for his prolonged absence."

"*October* 23.—We cautioned the Indians not to hunt at Wyoming, as intelligence reached us of a collision there between the New England settlers and the Pennsylvanians."

"*Jan'y* 16, 1770.—The Brethren felled trees and hewed logs for the proposed school-house. A few set out for the Rose. The weather is intensely cold."

"*March* 26.—Bro. Jungmann was busy boiling maple-molasses."

"*May* 16.—Took 1200 shad."

"*June* 6.—Planted corn for the second time, the worms having destroyed the first planting entirely."

"*June* 16.—There arrived two Mowhaks, sent by the Six Nations with a message and a belt to the New Englanders at Wyoming, to the effect that if they, the New Englanders, delayed evacuating the valley, they would come down and take them by the hair of their heads and shake them. Col. Croghan and Dr. Forbes breakfasted with us. Both attended service, and expressed themselves much gratified with the appearance of things at the Mission. The Doctor informed me, that he had only recently come from Europe, and that in the course of his travels in North Carolina he had visited Bethabara. Before leaving for Wyoming whence he journeys to Pittsburg, he sketched the Mission."

"*July* 4.—Bro. Jungmann made hay on the Wyalusing Creek. A company of Indians went up to *Meshchaschgunk*, for the same purpose."

"*Aug.* 20.—Some of the Brethren cut oats."

"*Oct.* 10.—Four Brethren set out for Bethlehem with several head of cattle to sell."

"*Oct.* 12.—My wife and myself bound buckwheat."

"*Nov.* 11.—The hunters brought in three deer and three bears."

"*Dec.* 20.—The School closed for the term. The scholars have been punctual in their attendance, and have made commendable progress. Some write on slates;—the younger ones on wooden tablets."

"*April* 27, 1771.—Daily we have a plentiful supply of wild pigeons, that are taken at the roost in the Swamp."

"*May* 6 —Mark, John Martin, Elias and Balzar Patterson, set out for Christian's Spring with four horses for the Brethren Seidel, Gregor and Loretz."

"*May* 11.—John Papoonhank, Augustus, Daniel and Saul went down the river with two canoes as far as *Lechawachneck*, thence to bring up our expected visitors."

"*May* 24, 25 *and* 26.—Constant rain these days and a rise in the river. On the 26th the farm was entirely under water,—by noon it reached our house, and one-half of the garden and *the well* were inundated. We took to our canoes. The fences along the river, and up *at the creek* where some of the Brethren plant, were clean swept away, and a number of swine were drowned. The oldest residents

state that within twenty years there has not been such a flood. The water began to fall in the evening of the 26th."

"*May* 29.—We learned that the inhabitants of *Schechschiquanink*, had been necessiated to take to their canoes, and encamp on the hill-side."

1772. "*Feb.* 4.—A fall of snow three feet deep."

"*March* 5.—The snow unusually deep for the season."

"*March* 10.—The Brethren began constructing canoes, in view of their impending departure for the West."

"*March* 21.—All busily engaged in the sugar-camps."

"*May* 5.—I and my wife, took leave of the Indians, as we propose setting out for Bethlehem to-day." (Schmick.)

"*May* 16.—Took 700 shad."

"*May* 23.—Bro. Ettwein arrived from Bethlehem."

"*June* 5.—The gift of $100 from benevolent friends in Philadelphia, which Bro. Ettwein had brought was to-day divided among our Indians. There was a love-feast served and at dusk Bro. Ettwein administered the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

"*June* 10.—Arrangements for to-morrow's exodus were completed. The division which purposes going by water, was further divided into five sections each in charge of a captain. Bro. Roth and his wife will be of this company. Thirty canoes are ready for the voyage. The division which is to move overland to Muncy Creek, under conduct of Bro. Ettwein, was further divided into two sections, one to lead the march with the horses, and the other to follow with the horned cattle. It was finally resolved that at sundown of each day, all the members of the different sections belonging to one division, should assemble in camp, for divine worship.

For the gratification of any readers of this paper, that may be interested in local particulars, it is proposed to here state in detail the movements of white men through Wyalusing and in the vicinity, as far as they have been recorded by the faithful annalist. He does not advert to white men residing in the valley, during the occupation of Friedenshütten by the Indians. There is however mention made of a white man (he is called an Irishman) residing in *Schechschiquanink*, in the record of 5th December 1768, and again in that of 2nd Feb. 1769. He assisted Jim and Sam Davis in conveying the missionary Roth's effects to that town, when the latter was settled there in the aforesaid month and year. Another Irishman of *Schechschiquanink*, is referred to in the record of 20th of Dec. 1770, on which day three Indians passed through Friedenshütten in pursuit of him, he being charged with the theft of a rifle, and it having been ascertained that he had gone to *Tenkhanneck*. It was in an Irish family at *Schechschiquanink* also that the measles appeared in the spring of 1772, unfortunately for the Indians at the mission, as the contagion spread and some were infected about the time of its abandonment, their illness on the journey subsequently causing much inconvenience and tedious delays. Passing over the occasional visits of Indian traders at

Wyalusing, (as those of Mr. Anderson,* who stopped annually once or twice between May of 1765 and June of 1769 and those of Capt. Ogden and brother,† of Wyoming, whose trading-house and dwelling were sacked and then burned by the New England men in April of 1770,) and only alluding to an ineffectual attempt made by traders from Paxton (the country about Harris' Ferry, now Harrisburg) to establish a market for rum at Wyalusing, in May of 1768,—we will call the attention of the reader to the following surface-indications of a movement of whites from above, into the "land abounding in the sugar-tree," at the time when the contest for the possession of its jewel, Wyoming Valley, between two rival claimants had actually begun.

It is true these facts are meager; yet they may perhaps prove serviceable to the student of local history in illustrating some obscure point in his reading. Not to detract from their historical character and value they are therefore presented in the words of the Mission, and in the order of time.

"*Nov.* 3, 1765.—John Jennings,‡ of Northampton County, arrived in company of Mr. Anderson."

"*Feb.* 3, 1766.—Three whites from *Shamunk* came to buy corn, and proposed a shooting-match to the Indians, a proposition that was however rejected."

"*July* 11.—Divine worship was attended by several whites (English) from Johnsons's settlement (Fort Johnson on the Mohawk.")

"*July* 2, 1767.—A white man, Hackett by name, from *Anchockquage* stopped on his way to the Juniata country.

"*Nov.* 9, 1768.—Capt. Ogden called on his return from the treaty, to his home in Wyoming.

"*May* 10, 1769.—Mr. Anderson brought two surveyors with him from Wyoming, to survey lands at *Meschaschgunk*, at *Tawandemung*, (Towanda) and above *Schechschiquanink*,—purporting on their return to survey at *Tuscarora*.

"*May* 25.—A white family from Scoharie in two batteaux put to shore in distress, having lost their most valuable effects by a batteau's upsetting when yet on the lake. They had buried a child of three years on the journey. Wyoming is their destination, and the father intends to erect a shop, and do blacksmithing."

"*June* 10.—Mr. Anderson and Mr. Charles Stewart, deputy Surveyor, with three assistants arrived, and much to our astonishment, for the purpose of surveying Wyalusing for one Mr. Wm. Smith, of Lancaster County. They desisted, however, on hearing from the Indians the assurance given them by the Governor in March last, that Wyalusing would at all hazards be reserved for their use."

"*June* 12.—A white man with wife and six children, on their way to settle at Wyoming, spent a few hours here."

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* Probably John Anderson who, we are told by Heckewelder (see his History of Indian Nations p. 234) was called the *honest Quaker trader* by the Indians.

† Capt. Amos Ogden. Nathan, his brother, was shot by Lazarus Stewart in the Fort at Wyoming, in January of 1771.

‡ Soon after this date appointed Sheriff of Northampton County. He was a son of Solomon Jennings, one of the three walkers, who resided one mile west from the site of Bethlehem, as early as 1737.

"*May* 1, 1770.—A white man who had been held prisoner by the New England men at Wyoming upwards of three weeks, was brought by Job Chillaway. From him we heard of the calamity which had befallen Capt. Ogden and his brother."

"*May* 23.—Three white families from Scoharie, who propose settling at *Tenkhanneek*, landed from their batteaux this morning."

"*Sept.* 8.—The English clergyman residing at *Anohochquage* with his interpreter, a locksmith by trade, called on his way to Wyoming and the settlements, and spent a day with us. His name is Mosell."*

"*Oct.* 1.—He returned and stated that he had been at Bethlehem."

"*Feb.* 2, 1771.—The two white men from *Tenkhanneek*, who have been several days past cutting wood and splitting rails for the Indians to earn some corn for their famishing families, returned home."

"*Jan'y* 3, 1772.—This evening there arrived two New Englanders from above, and also John Kœster and William Thom from Gnadenhütten.† The former came to sell goods to the Indians."

"*May* 22.—Three white men from Wyoming are about, buying up horses and cattle, paying the Indians for them in *lead coin*. We despatched a runner to *Schechschiquaniuk* with words of caution."

It has been stated that the Moravian Indians settled at Wyalusing with the consent of the Six Nations, who were the acknowledged proprietors of the soil. But in November of 1768, at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, the latter sold to the agents of the Penns all the land in Pennsylvania not heretofore purchased, within the following limits, to wit: "beginning at a point in the general boundary-line at a place on the east side of the east Branch of Susquehanna called *Owege*, thence down said East Branch on the east side thereof to the mouth of a creek called by the Indians *Owandac* (Towanda,) and across the river and up the said creek on the south side thereof, and along the range of hills called Burnett's Hills on the north side of them, to the head of a creek which runs into the west branch of the Susquehanna, which creek is called by the Indians *Tiadaghton* (determined at the treaty of 1784 to designate Pine Creek) down said Creek to the West Branch of the Susquehanna, thence up the several courses of said West Branch on the south side thereof," westward &c., to the place of beginning. It was this sale, which, by inviting white settlement to the North Branch above Wyalusing also, induced the Moravians to remove their mission from a region of country which was furthermore, (since 1754) debatable ground, and for

* Perhaps Rev. Richard Mosely, a missionary at this time in the employ of the "Society for the propagation of the Gospel, at Litchfield, Ct."

† Immediately after the Revolution, the Moravians re-settled their long deserted lands on the Mahoning, in Carbon County, organized a church, the members of which were principally of English extraction, and called the place by the old name of Gnadenhütten.

whose possession the rival claimants were about engaging in deadly contest.

On receiving intelligence of what had transpired at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, the Moravian Indians and their guardians in their behalf applied to the Governor, requesting him to cause a survey of their cultivated lands (including John Papoonhank's original plantation, a tract of 300 acres at *Meschaschgunk* (Fairbanks), and a second tract of 100 acres of woodland lying opposite Friedenshütten on the right bank of the river,) to be made on warrant in their name, and a reservation assured them of two tracts (about 400 acres in the whole) situate six miles below Friedenshütten. By such a course they sought to secure a partial return at least for the improvements they had made, in the event of an exodus. John Penn in his reply (dated 21st of June 1769) to their memorial seeks to set their minds at rest, by reminding them of a former promise, in which he had told them that he had given orders to the surveyors not to survey at Wyalusing, nor within five miles of Friedenshütten. "One thing," he proceeds, "I want to tell you, that I expect you will not give encouragement to the New England people, who have taken possession of the Proprietaries' land at *Waiawamick* (Wyoming.") This they promised they would refrain from doing. But meanwhile Job Chillaway, a Delaware, who had done the Government service in the capacity of a runner during the late Indian wars, applied to Penn for the survey of the choice of Wyalusing on warrant to himself. The date of this application is Nov. 26th, 1768. This proved a new source of uneasiness to the Moravian Indians, although Chillaway stated that he had taken the step in order to secure them in their possessions. Nor was their concern at this development relieved on turning to government for an explanation—in the course of which they on their part, stated that "they had never desired Chillaway to take up any land for them, that he had no valid claims to the place, and that his procedure was to the prejudice of their brother John Papoonhank, who had been settled at Wyalusing, two years prior to Chillaway." In this way complications multiplied, and despite the reiterated assurances of Government, there were undeniable indications that Wyalusing would ere long be surrendered to the white man. Hence it came to pass that in September of 1771, the Mission Board at Bethlehem, fore

seeing coming events, resolved to locate the Christian Indians elsewhere, and accepted an invitation given them by Delawares of the then Ohio country to plant at *Langundo-utenink* (which signifies, being interpreted, "Town of Peace") on the Big Beaver in Lawrence County. Thither the Moravian Indians of Friedenshütten accordingly immigrated—they and their wives and their children, with their horses and their cattle. This migration fell in the interval between the 11th of June and the 5th of August, 1772. It marks a new era in the history of the Moravian Mission among the aborigines of this country, which era was characterized by perpetual disturbances and unrest,—it being also the era of its gradual decadence extending down into our own times, when there is but a feeble remnant of Christian Indians ministered to by Moravians, dwelling at New Fairfield, Canada, and New Westfield, Kansas. In the veins of some of these there flows the blood of the Mohicans and Delawares of old Friedenshütten, the "deserted village" of the flats of Wyalusing.

The order for the survey at Wyalusing in favor of Job Chillaway is dated the 20th of May 1772. The survey was made by John Lukens, Surveyor General, 16th Sept. 1773. The warrant requiring the Surveyor General to accept the survey into his office and to make return thereof into the Secretary's office in order to confirm to Chillaway, is dated the 10th of March 1774; and the 12th of March of the same year is the date of the Patent of confirmation granted him by Thomas and John Penn, for six hundred and twenty three acres and allowance, bounded as follows, to wit; "beginning at the easterly side of the North-east branch of the Susquehanna, at the mouth of Wyalusing creek, thence up along the side of the said creek, one hundred and thirty-nine perches to a post, thence by Benjamin Bear's land, south fifty seven degrees east, one hundred and ninety four perches to a marked white oak, thence by vacant land south thirty seven degrees east one hundred and forty two perches to a marked pine, south sixty eight degrees east, ninety six perches to a marked pine, and north sixty seven degrees east one hundred and forty two perches to a post, thence by William Kinsley's land south seventy degrees east, one hundred and forty perches to a marked buttonwood at the side of the North-east branch on Susquehanna aforesaid, thence up along the side of the said branch on the several

courses thereof, eight hundred and eight perches to the place of beginning," the tract being a part of the Proprietaries' "*Manor of Pomfret*," and in the county of Northumberland.* By an indenture made between Job Chillaway, yeoman, and Elizabeth his wife of the county of Northumberland and Henry Pawling of the township of Providence and county of Philadelphia, gentleman, and dated the 4th of May, 1775, the tract was conveyed to the aforesaid Pawling, in consideration of the payment of 784£ lawful money of Pennsylvania, "subject however to the payment of certain debts due and owing thereupon to John Pemberton, Abel James, Henry Drinker, Samuel Pleasants, and Reuben Haines, all of the county of Philadelphia, amounting to 236£ Penna. currency." Pawling, in his last will and testament, dated the 29th of Aug. 1792, devised to his daughter Catharine Stalmford, (Stalford,) wife of Joseph Stalford, 275 acres of the tract in one contiguous body, (she to locate them according to her pleasure) and furthermore ordered the balance to be sold by his executors at such time as they should judge most prudent considering the Connecticut title. "Subsequently," states Rev. David Craft, in his *Historical Discourse on the Wyalusing Presbyterian Church*, (Towanda 1870) "the Commissioners appointed to settle the land-titles in Springfield township, assigned the upper half of the Pawling tract to Connecticut claimants, leaving to the Stalford family only the part once occupied by the Indians."

In the second week of September of (1870), a company of ladies and gentlemen from Philadelphia and Bethlehem,† members of the Moravian Historical Society, visited Wyalusing in order to view the scene of the events recorded on the interesting page in the history of Moravian missions, just transcribed. Meeting with residents of the place who sympathized with them in the feelings by which they had been prompted to undertake this pilgrimage, they

* "*Patent of Confirmation, Thomas and John Penn to Job Chillaway for* 623 *acres;*" recorded in Patent Book A. A. Vol. 14, p. 178, remaining in the office of the Surveyor General of Penna., at Harrisburg.

† John Jordan, Jr., and lady, William H. Jordan, Misses Helen and Emily Bell, all of Philadelphia, Miss Clara Henry, of Bolton, Northampton County, and Mr. Maurice C. Jones and the writer of this paper, both from Bethlehem.

were enabled with their assistance to make a satisfactory exploration of the historic ground. Rev David Craft, pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church of Wyalusing, who had for several years been conducting locally historical researches, Judge Levi P. Stalford, a grandson of Joseph and Catharine Stalford, and Mr. Edward Welles, were especially instrumental in the attainment of the object of their visit. With these gentlemen as guides they inspected the points of interest in the beautiful little valley, and although Time's changes have obliterated the last traces of the presence of the Moravian Indians there one hundred years ago,—well authenticated tradition tells where they had planted, where they had built, and where their dead had been consigned to the grave. As has been stated above, there is conclusive evidence that the town of Friedenshütten stood on the lowland of the farms of Judge Stalford and Mr. Benjamin Brown and that the graveyard of the Mission is on that of Mr. Wm. H. Brown.

There is a difference of opinion respecting the site of Papoonhank's heathen town, although that of the burial ground used by the heathen Indians is positively known. The latter is on land of Mr. J. B. Stalford, a little above Sugar Run ferry. Remains of old apple-trees, surmised to have been planted by the missionaries, (but to orchards there are no allusions in the Diary of the Mission) on the lowest bench or table of the flat, and the recollection in the minds of old residents of a peach orchard on an island in the river, included within the Chillaway purchase, point, if no more can be said, simply to settlement at an early day.. That Wyalusing was in pre-historic times already a resort of the red man, there can be no doubt. He has left abundant traces of his former presence, fragments of his works in stone and clay, and the bones of his dead as consigned by him to the dust with all the accompaniments of heathen sepulture. There is scarcely a point in the valley that is destitute of these tokens of the race, whose condition the Moravian Missionaries at Wyalusing sought to ameliorate, during their seven years' sojourn in the "Huts of Peace."

In order to mark the site of this scene of labors performed in the cause of Christ and for the extension of His kingdom, a benefactor of the Moravian Church and a friend of her history, expressed a desire to erect a memorial-stone on the spot where Friedenshütten had stood. Consent to placing such a memorial on his land hav-

ing been obtained from Judge Stalford, the coöperation of Mr. Edward Welles and Rev. David Craft for effecting the arrangements necessary to the successful consummation of the project, was happily secured, and the 14th and 15th days of June 1871, fixed for the dedicatory services. Notice of this was given to friends of the Moravian Church and her Missions, who could best be reached in this way, by a circular, inscribed "In Memoriam, Friedenshütten, (M'chwihilusing)," dated Bethlehem, Pa., May 31, 1871, over the names of Levi P. Stalford, David Craft and Edward Welles, and William C. Reichel, Secretary. Meanwhile the stone, which had been cut and dressed by Messrs. Brubaker and Collins of Pittston, was placed on the spot that had been selected.

On the morning of the 14th of June, a company of Moravians friends of the Moravian Church* from Bethlehem, Philadelphia, and Nazareth, New York and Litiz, who purposed participating in or witnessing the dedicatory sertices on the site of old Friedenshütten, set out from the first named place in the 9.30 up-train on the Lehigh Valley Railroad, for Wyalusing. They reached their destination at 3.15 p. m., after a journey of one hundred and fifty-two miles, along one of the most attractive routes of public travel in Pennsylvania. At Wyalusing station they met with a hearty welcome at the hands of the residents and neighbors whose hospitality it had been arranged, they should share during their brief sojourn.

Agreeable to the proposed exercises, there was service in the Second Presbyterian Church at Wyalusing (Rev. David Craft's) at eight o'clock in the evening. The congregation was unusually large, and manifested much interest in the exercises. The pulpit was tastefully decorated with flowers and evergreens. The service was opened by the music of trombones, with Tune 167 of the Mo-

* John Jordan, Jr., and lady, Miss Helen Bell, John W. Jordan and lady, Miss Nettie Jordan, Dr. Ewing Jordan, Miss Elizabeth Ritter, Mr. Isaac L. Ritter and lady, Mr. Massa M. Warner and lady, Mr. Wm. H. Boner, Mr. Julius W. Held, all of Philadelphia; Rt. Rev. Amadeus A. Reinke, of New York; Rt. Rev. Peter Wolle, Rt. Rev. Edmund de Schweinitz and lady, Rev. Sylvester Wolle, Rev. Henry J. Van Vleck, Rev. Hermann A. Brickenstein, Mr. Jedediah Weiss, Mr. Maurice C. Jones and lady, Mr. James H. Wolle, Mr. Bernard E. Lehman, lady and daughter, Mr. Abraham S. Schropp, Miss Carrie Roepper, and the writer of this paper, all of Bethlehem. Rev. Edward H. Reichel, Rev. Eugene Leibert and lady, of Nazareth; Granville Henry and lady, Misses Sophia and Clara Henry, of Bolton; and Mr. John Beck of Litiz, Lancaster Co.

ravian Collection, performed by the Quartette of Trombonists attached to the First Moravian Church in Philadelphia, led by Mr. W. H. Boner. Rev. Sylvester Wolle then read the Litany of the Moravian Church. Rt. Rev. Edmund de Schweinitz, (after the first stanza of the hymn No. 648 of the Moravian Collection had been sung) gave an account of the history, polity and doctrine of his Church, dwelling principally upon these points as manifested in the Ancient Church or early Unitas Fratrum, a department of ecclesiastical history which he has made the subject of special research. His address was replete with information, and ably written. At its close Rev. W. C. Cattell, D.D., President of Lafayette College, spoke of his sojourn among the seats of the Ancient Moravian and Bohemian Brethren, during his recent visit in Bohemia, whither he had been sent by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. He also spoke of his impressions of Moravian life at Herrnhut. After prayer by the Rev. D. D. Gray, of the Baptist church of Laceyville, hymn No. 417 was sung, and the congregation dismissed with the benediction.

Thursday proved a charming day, and there were indications of its being an unusual one in Wyalusing, as the rural population began to assemble from all directions in the meadow on Judge Stalford's farm. Here in the shade of an apple-tree a platform had been erected for those who were to take part in the exercises, and here in the forenoon fair hands were busily decking the memorial-stone with the wild flowers of Wyalusing. It stands a few rods east from the railway, between mile posts 164 and 165, reckoning from Easton the southern terminus of the Lehigh Valley Railroad. Upon a base three feet six inches square and two feet high, rests a die, two feet seven inches square with a height of two feet and eight inches,—the two supporting an obelisk rising eight feet above the die, its apex being twelve feet and eight inches above the base. A foundation-stone set into an artificial elevation gives the structure a height total of fifteen feet. It is of buff sandstone, from Campbell's Ledge above Pittston, excepting the foundation stone which was quarried at Laceyville. The cost of the Memorial was three hundred and fifteen dollars. Each face of the die bears an inscription. On the northern face are the words:

"To mark the site of Friedenshütten,
(M'chwihilusing)
A settlement of Moravian Indians
between 1765 and 1772."

On the eastern face:

"This stone was erected on the 15th day of June in the year of Redemption 1871, by members of the Moravian Historical Society."

The western and southern faces bear respectively the words of Scripture:

"And my people shall dwell in a peaceable habitation, and in sure dwellings, and in quiet resting-places."

and

"Remember the days of old, consider the years of many generations; ask thy father and he will show thee; thy elders and they will tell thee."

At 10½ o'clock A. M. a procession was formed at Judge Stalford's, and after a choral by the Trombonists, it moved to the field. Here was a concourse of people assembled around the platform and the memorial stone, (not a few in carriages,) presenting altogether an animated appearance. Wyalusing and its vicinity, Towanda, Athens, Troy, Wilkesbarre, Scranton, and the smaller river-towns adjacent each had its representatives. It is estimated that there were upwards of a thousand spectators present. The dedicatory service was opened by a choral, at the conclusion of which Rev. Eugene Leibert read the Moravian Litany for Easter morning. After the first stanza of hymn No. 640 had been sung, Rt. Rev. Amadeus A. Reinke delivered a historical address, in which he reviewed the Gospel-work at Friedenshütten, deducing from its record instances of Christian heroism, illustrations of the transforming power of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and incentives to Christian duty. Mr. John Beck of Litiz, a grandson of the missionary Bernhard Adam Grube, who had been the spiritual teacher of one portion of the Indians of Friedenshütten, during their residence at Wechquetank, gave personal recollections of his grandfather, who died at Bethlehem, the 20th of March 1808, in the ninety-third year of his age. The venerable grandson who spoke so pleasantly of by-gone days and men, was on that very day completing the eightieth year of his earthly pilgrimage; and yet in his rehearsal of the past he did not fail to point to the little girl of eleven summers, Miss Annie W. Lehman, that sat by his side, whose great grandfather, John Heckewelder, had followed the In-

dians of Friedenshütten into the western country, casting in his lot with theirs, in the darkest days of the Mission. It was a touching incident. When Mr. Beck had finished, Rev. Herman A. Brickenstein followed in prayer. The German hymn "*Nun danket alle Gott,*" was read by Rt. Rev. Edmund de Schweinitz for congregational singing, after which Rt. Rev. Peter Wolle dismissed the meeting with the benediction.

It was one o'clock when the service was concluded. The assistance rendered by members of the choir attached to the Moravian Church at Bethlehem, and the instrumental music,* served to heighten the solemnities on the field, and those of the service of the previous evening. Both of these were impressive, and although lengthy did not fail to hold the attention of the numerous audience.

Here it is proper to state that by the courtesy of the officers of both divisions of the Lehigh Valley Railroad, so large a number of persons from Philadelphia and Bethlehem was enabled to be present at Wyalusing on this extraordinary occasion. Special arrangements for the accommodation of the local travel, on the day of the dedication were also made on the line of the upper division of the road. The residents of Wyalusing and its vicinity contributed largely to the enjoyment of the days spent at old Friedenshütten, and the hospitality of those who entertained the Moravian visitors† will be kept in kind remembrance. All sympathized with strangers, in the performance of a labor of love as deeply as if it had been undertaken by near acquaintances and members of their own household of faith.

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* Tunes 22, 22 A, 230, 185, 151 A, 146, 249, 159, 167, 199, 14 A, 205, 58, 168, 157, 78, and 82, from Rev. Peter Wolle's Collection of Chorals used in the Brethren's Church," (Boston, 1849) were performed in connection with the services of the two days.

† They were distributed among the families in the village and adjacents; some at Browntown, with Messrs. Ira and D. W. Brown; some at Sugar Run, with Mr. Josiah Stowell; others with Major Uriah Terry in Terrytown; the rest in Wyalusing, with Rev. David Craft, Judge Stalford, Mr. George H. Welles, Mr. Clark Hollenback, Mr. Alphonzo J. Lloyd, Mr. G. M. Bixby, Mr. Bascom Taylor and Mr. J. B. Stalford.

APPENDIX.

Containing diverse papers relating to the Mission at Wyalusing, transcribed or translated from the original documents preserved in the Archives of the Moravian Church, at Bethlehem, Pa., here given in the order of time and furnishing the reader with matter supplementary to the preceding historical sketch.

I.

NAMES OF THE COMMUNICANT MEMBERS OF THE WYALUSING MISSION, IN MAY OF 1765.

a. *Married Persons.*

Anton and Johanna (assistants.)
Joshua and Bathsheba,
Shebosh and Christiana,
Abraham and Salome,
Timothy and Martha,
Bartholomew and Elizabeth,
David and Charity,
John and Ann Johanna,
Mark and Ann,
Andrew and Ann Justina,
Joachim and Benigna,
Cornelius and Amelia,
Benjamin and Christiana,
John Martin,
Christian,
Jacob,
Paul,
Jonas.

Agnes,
Ann Rosina,
Mary,
Philippina,
Sophia.

b. *Widowers.*

Nicodemus,
Philip, Sr.

c. *Widows.*

Esther,
Lucia,
Naomi,
Justina,
Hannah,
Phebe.

Total, 44.

II.

PLOT OF FRIEDENSHUETTEN.

1767.

Every lot has a front of thirty two feet, and a ten-foot alley intervenes between every pair of lots.

Moses,		
Zaccheus,		Elias,
Bartholomew,		Bill Chillaway,
Tabea,		Job Chillaway,
Shebosh,		John Martin,
Punkshas,		Mary,
Joshua, Sr.,		Benjamin,
Abraham,		Augustus,
Timothy,		Cornelius,
Daniel,		Joshua, Jr.,
John.		Widows.
Schmick.		
Mark,		Anton,
Andrew,		Joseph,
Nicodemus,		Paul,
Jacob,		Philip,
Magdalene,		Christian,
Gottlieb,		Thomas,
Amos.		Joachim,
		Abel.

III.

Endorsed.

THE PETITION OF SEVERAL INDIANS TO HIS HONOR THE GOVERNOR.*

FEBRUARY 7, 1769.

"The Petition of John Papunhan and Joshua the Mohican, in behalf of themselves and their friends—the Indians that live at Wialusing, on the East side of Susquehanna, about sixty miles above Waiomick, humbly sheweth,

* John Penn, a grandson of William Penn. He was comissioned their Lieutenant-Governor by the Proprietaries of the Province (Thomas Penn his uncle and Richard Penn his father) in August of 1763,—entered upon office in November of that year, and resigned in April of 1771, on receiving intelligence of the decease of his father. By this event he became one of the Proprietors and owner of one fourth of the Province. He was Governor a second time just before the Revolution. Died in Bucks County in 1795.

"That the spot of ground whereon the said Indians are seated was originally the plantation of the said Papunhan, who with the consent and approbation of the Five Nations at Onondaga, received at his said place several families of Indians which came in the year 1765 from the Philadelphia Barracks—

"That the said Indians being about one hundred and eighty men, women and children, are by their connection and intercourse with Christians become in some degree civilized, using agriculture and other domestic business, have built at the place aforesaid twenty five good strong log houses, a handsome Church or meeting-house, cleared and enfenced fields of several miles in circumference, in full expectation that they and their posterity should enjoy the fruits of their labor on a small glebe of their native country.

"That about six miles above their aforesaid settlement, at a place called *Massasiung* is a tract of about 300 acres where they make hay for their cattle, and on the West side of Susquehanna opposite their settlement is some good woodland, it may be 100 acres, proper for to get their fuel,—and that these three tracts are so necessary for the support of their settlement, that if either of them should be taken up by an old right, or people should come of their own accord and seat and improve them, the Indians would be obliged to remove further up in their country.

"That about six miles below their said settlement are two spots of ground, may be 400 acres in the whole, which the Indians have no immediate occasion for, but they are apprehensive that some or other people that look out for good land might be tempted to seat themselves there, and give the Indians opportunities to buy rum, which must tend to the utter ruin of their young people.

"That your petitioners have no money to offer to the Hnble. Proprietaries for these lands or to pay quit-rents or other rents, but must confide in their Honors' wonted goodness who have always in their purchases reserved some lands for the Indians that had lived there before the purchase was made. Besides, that no grant of sale or lease can secure an Indian property when for the convenience of Government and to avoid disturbances they should shortly be obliged to remove further up in the country.

"And your petitioners humbly pray that the aforesaid lands may by a special warrant be surveyed, and afterwards by grant be vested in Trustees for the use of the said Indians, so that when the Indians for the good of the state must remove, the said Trustees may sell the improvements for the benefit of the Indians, subject to the Proprietaries'* demands for the price of the land, and under such other reservations and restrictions as your Honor in your wisdom shall think fit."

* Thomas Penn and Richard Penn, sons of William Penn by his second wife, Hannah m. n. Callowhill.

IV.

Endorsed.

PETITION OF SAMUEL DAVIS IN BEHALF OF HIMSELF AND HIS FRIENDS THE INDIANS, TO JOHN PENN.

FEB. 7, 1769.

"*To the Hnble. John Penn, Esq.*

"The Petition of Samuel Davis and his friends the Indians that live at a place called Tshetshequanink on the west side of Susquehanna, about 30 miles above Wyalusing, humbly sheweth,

"That their settlement or Indian town of the name aforesaid is out of the new purchase, but on the line thereof,—and that they have made some corn fields on the east side of Susquehanna, within the said purchase, and further—that there is on the same side a tract of about half a mile in breadth and five miles in length of grassy lowland, reaching from the point opposite to their settlement up near to Diaogu, on which they have hitherto subsisted their cattle, grazing being the chief occupation of your petitioners.

"And your Petitioners humbly pray that the said cornfields and grass-land may by your special warrant be surveyed and reserved, not that they want any property or estate in the same, but the use thereof, for the purposes aforesaid, during the pleasure of your Honor the Proprietor.*

V.

Endorsed.

A LETTER TO THE HNBLE. JOHN PENN.

WYALUSING, FEB. 13, 1769.

"*Honorable Sir,*

"Since the last Treaty by which the Indians have ceded the lands on the Susquehanna to the Hnble. Proprietaries of this Province, I have found a great deal of uneasiness among the Indians under my care, in regard of their present establishment here within the line of purchase, and on that account they have resolved to send down Joshua, John Papoonhank and Jacob as their deputies to lay their case before your Honor, in full confidence that your Honor will be pleased to secure to them their possessions, which have cost them great pains and labor.

I beg leave to recommend them to your kind favor, and am with the greatest respect

Your Honor's
most devoted humble servant
JOHN JACOB SCHMICK,
Minister of the Gospel."

---

* John Penn was not a Proprietor at this date.

VI.

Endorsed.

JOHN PENN TO PAPOONHAM AND THE REST OF THE WYALOOSING INDIANS.

PHILADELPHIA, JUNE 21, 1769.

"*Brethren, the Indians of Wyaloosing,*

"I have heard that you are very uneasy for fear that your land at Wyalusing should be taken away from you. When some of you came to me a few months ago, I told you that as you were a peaceable and a quiet people and behaved very well, you should not be disturbed in your possessions at Wyaloosing. This is the word that I then gave and you may depend that I may keep it; and I have accordingly given orders to the surveyors not to survey your lands nor any lands within five miles of your settlement. Therefore I would have you disregard all idle stories you may hear about your lands being taken away from you, and be satisfied that I will do all in my power to protect and secure you in the possession of them, so long as you behave yourselves well, and if any of the people of this Province shall offer to disturb you, I will take care that justice shall be done to you.

"One thing I must tell you, that I expect you will not give encouragement to the New England people who have taken possession of the Proprietaries' land at Wiawamack. If you expect to be protected by this Government you must not encourage the New England people who are endeavoring to take the land from the Proprietaries.

"I send this by Job Chillaway (with a string of Wampum) who has promised me that he will do nothing to your prejudice; and I must do him the justice to say that he at first took up his land to secure it for himself and the rest of you. And as Job is well inclined to agree with you, I must advise you not to differ with him, but by all means endeavor to live together in a friendly manner.

JOHN PENN."

VII.

Endorsed.

THE INDIANS' REPLY TO JOHN PENN.

AUGUST, 1769.

"*Honorable Sir,*

"We received your kind letter of the 21st of June with a string of wampum on the 23th of July by the hands of Job Chillaway, and thank your Honor for the good words;—that we shall not be disturbed in our possessions at Wialusing, and that your Honor has given orders to the surveyors not to survey our land, nor any lands within six miles of our settlement, which has abated

all our uneasiness; and we will not give ear to anything contrary to your Honor's good words.

"We love that which is good, and hope we shall never be found unworthy of your protection. Those who will not behave well shall not live in our town.

"With the New England people we have no connection at all. We never encouraged them in their settlement and shall not do it. But we pray your Honor not to believe every report of us. There are many bad Indians, and all say they come from Wialusing, as they pass through here. If we are charged with anything and we are asked about it, we will answer what is the truth. We wish to live in a friendly manner with Job Chillaway and all men, and as much as we know every body has been kind to him and his family. If he does nothing to our prejudice we shall be obliged to him. But we never desired him to take up any land for us, and upon what account he could call Wyalusing his land, we do not know. We think that was to our prejudice, for our worthy Brother John Papunhank, was settled here two years before him, and Job has but this year begun to clear some new land, and has the least judgment of us all; but we shall not differ from him so long as he behaves well and lays nothing in our way, and then we shall not make complaint against him."

Signed in behalf of all the inhabitants living at Wyalusing with our names and marks.

JOHN PAPUNHAM,
JOSHUA.

VIII.

AN ENUMERATION OF THE INDIAN FAMILIES RESIDING AT FRIEDENSHUETTEN AND OF THE IMPROVEMENTS BELONGING TO EACH. 1771.

Families.	*Improvements.*
1. John Papoonhank, wife and daughter. 3.	Two dwellings of squared logs, covered with shingles; one small do. covered with split boards, a stable and a garden.
2. Joshua, Sr., wife and brother. 3.	One dwelling as above, a stable and a garden.
3. Shebosh, wife and two children. 4.	Do.
4. Mark, wife and two children. 4.	One dwelling of squared logs covered with shingles.
5. John Martin, wife, brother and three children. 6.	Do.
6. Joshua, Jr., wife and three children. 5.	Do. and a stable.

Families.		*Improvements.*
7. Billy Chillaway, wife and two children.	4.	One dwelling of squared log covered with shingles.
8. Augustus and wife.	2.	One do. a stable and a garden
9. David and wife.	2.	One do. and a stable.
10. Joseph, wife and three children.	5.	One do. covered with shin gles.
11. Cornelius, wife and four children.	6.	One do. covered with spl boards, and a stable.
12. Daniel, wife, father, and three children.	6.	One do. covered with shin gles.
13. Philip Jr., wife, father, and five children.	8.	Do.
14. Gottlieb, wife, and five children.	7.	Do.
15. Andrew and wife.	2.	Do.
16. Moses, wife, mother and three children.	6.	One dwelling of unhewn log covered with split boards.
17. Zaccheus and wife, his son and wife, and their three children.	7.	One do. covered with bark.
18. Esther (widow)	1.	One do. covered with sp boards.
19. Mary (do.)	1.	Do.
20. Phoebe (do.)	1.	One do. covered with bark
21. Helen and three children.	4.	Do.
22. Sam Evans, wife and three children.	5.	One dwelling of unhewn lo covered with shingles.
23. Amos, wife and child.	3.	One do. covered with sp boards.
24. Louisa and two children.	3.	One do. covered with shingl
25. Timothy, wife and daughter.	3.	One hut.
26. Thomas, wife, grandson and two children.	5.	Do.
27. Sarah.	1.	Do.
28. Bartholomew, wife, son, and two girls.	5.	Do.
29. Christiana, Abraham and Kaschoosh.	3.	Do.
30. John (Mohican) wife and four children.	6.	Do.
31. Lucia and mother.	2.	Do.
32. Christian, wife, mother, brother and two children.	6.	Do.
33. Hannah and her grandchild.	2.	Do.

Families.	*Improvements.*
34. Patty, her son and daughter. 3.	One hut.
35. Abel, wife and two children. 4.	Do.
36. Amy (widow) 1.	Do.
37. Magdalene, Erdmuth and one child. 3.	Do.

The missionary has two dwellings adjoining each other, both covered with split boards,—a stable and a large garden in which there is a well. The meeting-house, thirty-two by twenty-four feet, built of squared logs and covered with shingles stands in the middle of the town plot; and adjoining it is the school-house, a log building covered with split boards.

Log houses in the town, - - - - -	29
Huts " " - - - - -	13
Total of dwellings - - - - -	42

Land cleared for planting and converted into meadows, measures 250 acres.

The fencing on two sides of the settlement measures almost two miles in length.

Number of adults in the town, - - -	94
Number of children " " - - -	48
Total of inhabitants, - - - - -	142

IX.

Endorsed.

RICHARD PENN* TO THE INDIANS AT WYALOOSING.

MAY 1772.

"*Friends and Brethren, the Wyaloosing Indians!*

"I have taken into consideration what you said to me yesterday, informing me of your intention to remove to the Ohio; and desiring some satisfaction for the improvements you are about to leave at Wyaloosing. I am sorry for your departure at this particular time, because I am apprehensive it may be injurious to the Government and the interest of the Proprietaries; and I wish it could have been convenient to you to have remained where you are another year.

"As to making you any satisfaction for your improvements, I have no power from the Proprietaries to do it. All I can do for you is to lay your case before them, which you may depend I will,

* Richard Penn, a younger brother of John Penn was commissioned their Lieutenant by the Proprietaries (Thomas Penn and John Penn) in July of 1771. He was in office in the interval between Oct. of 1771 and July of 1773. Richard Penn died in England in 1811.

by the first opportunity; and at the same time I shall do you tl justice to inform them of your orderly and quiet behavior since yc have lived at Wyaloosing. If they should sell the land for an ac vanced price, on account of the improvements you have made, doubt not but they will in justice order you to be paid the overplu

"Brethren!

"I now take leave of you and I wish you a good jou ney, and that your removal to the Ohio may prove to your sati faction.

I am your friend and brother

Phila., 15 May, 1772. RICHARD PENN."

X.

Endorsed.

ADDRESS OF THE CHRISTIAN INDIANS TO THE ASSEMBLY 16 MA 1772.

"*To the Hnble the Representatives of the Freemen of the Province o Pennsylvania.*

"The Christian Indians of Wyalusing and Sheshecunnin present their most sincere thanks for the notice and care hithert taken of them, their wives and their children, in the time of thei great trouble and distress, especially when they were protected an maintained at Province Island and Philadelphia Barracks.

"They shall ever preserve a grateful remembrance thereof, im press it upon the minds of their children, and relate your acts o humanity and benevolence to those distant nations among whom they are going to live.

"They wish that the peace of God may be with the people o this Province and that ease and plenty may always be the lot o the industrious inhabitants thereof. They bid you the last fare well. They thank you for the present you have provided for them, and beg this only additional favor that you will always kindly remember the faithful and unshaken attachment of these Christian Indians to his Majesty's Government in this Province."

Signed in behalf of the said Indians by their Deputies.

Phila., 16 May, 1772.

XI.

STATUS OF THE INDIAN MISSION ON THE SUSQUEHANNA, AT THE TIME OF THE EXODUS, JUNE 1772.

A. MEMBERS RESIDING AT FRIEDENSHUETTEN.

1. COMMUNICANT MEMBERS.

Married Persons.	*Widowers.*
Shebosh and Christiana,	Paul,
Joshua and Bathsheba,	Philip, Sr.,
John and Ann Johanna,	Samuel.
Andrew and Ann Justina,	

Married Persons.

Cornelius and Amelia,
Mark and Ann Elizabeth,
Timothy and Martha,
John Martin and Regina,
Joshua, Jr., and Sophia,
Gottlieb and Ann Rosina,
Joseph and Ann Mary,
Christian and Augustina,
Bartholomew and Elizabeth,
David and Charity,
William,
Philip, Jr.,

Agnes,
Mary,
Lydia,
Philippina,
Lorel.

Augustus.

Widows.

Esther,
Lucia,
Naomi,
Justina,
Hannah,
Phebe,
Helen,
Sarah,
Amy,
Magdalene,
Patty,
Christiana,
Erdmuth.

2. NON-COMMUNICANTS, ALL BAPTIZED.

Married Persons.

Zaccheus and Catharine,
Thomas and Rachel,
Elias and Louisa,
Daniel and Johanna,
Moses and Julianna,
John and Elizabeth,
Stephen and Judith,
Nathaniel and Ann Johanna,
Abel,
Amos,

Martha,
Ruth,
Sarah,
Susanna.

Widows.

Miriam,
Magdalene.

Single Men.

Gabriel,
Nathan,
Jeremiah,
Abraham,
Peter,
Timothy,
John.

Children.

John (Elizabeth's son.)
Daniel, Peter, (Peter's sons.)
Nathaniel, (Gottlieb's son.)
Lucas (Sam Evans' son.)
Paul (John Martin's son.)
Samuel (Daniel's son.)
Christian, Jacob (Elias' sons.)
Gottlob (Helen's son.)
Thomas (Philip's son.)
Tobias (Sam Evans' son.)
Adolph (Abel's son.)
Gottlieb (Daniel's son.)
Christian (Christian's son.)
Lewis (Mark's son.)
Augustina (Ann Rosina's d'r.)
Christiana (Shebosh's d'r.)
Elizabeth (Bartholomew's d'r.)
Ann, Bathsheba (Joshua Jr.'s d'rs.)
Leah (Amos' d'r.)
Justina (Thomas' d'r.)
Johanna (Joseph's d'r.)
Martha,
Salome (Stephen's d'r.)

Single Women.

Mary (Patty's daughter)
Salome (Timothy's d'r.)

Youths.

Joseph,
Adam,
Matthew,
Gottlob.

Children.

Esther (Cornelius' d'r.)
Beata (Moses' d'r.)
Mary Elizabeth (Mark's d'r.)
Ann Salome (Joshua Jr.'s d'r.)
Ann (Bartholomew's d'r.)
Ann Justina (Philip's d'r.)
Paulina (Cornelius' d'r.)
Abigail (Wilhelmina's d'r.)
Mary (John's d'r.)

3. MEMBERS OF THE MISSION, NOT YET BAPTIZED.

Adults.

Sam Evans (Ruth's husband)
Helen's son,
Magdalene's son,
Ann Mary's brother,
Regina's do.,
Eve's grandson,
Moses' son,
John Martin's son,
Ann Johanna's daughter,
William's friend.

Children.

Judith's son,
Joseph's son,
Elizabeth's two sons,
Moses' son,
Lorel's son,
Daniel's son,
John Martin's son,
Sam Evans' son,
Patty's son,
Magdalene's son.

Total of souls at Friedenshütten, 151.

B. MEMBERS RESIDING AT SCHECHSCHIQUANINK.

1. COMMUNICANT MEMBERS.

Joachim,
Benjamin,
Nathaniel Davis,
Joseph Peepe.

2. NON-COMMUNICANTS ALL BAPTIZED.

Anton and Julianna,
Samuel and Sarah,
Thomas and Mary,
Matthew and Rosina,
Hannah,
Salome,
Lydia,
Joachim's son,
Gottlieb (N. Davis' son,)
Beata (Samuel's d'r.)
Elizabeth (Anton's d'r.)

3. MEMBERS OF THE MISSION, NOT YET BAPTIZED.

Solomon, Abraham, George } (N. Davis' sons.)
Two girls,
Anton's daughter,
A widow and three sons,
Hannah's three sons,
Hannah's sister,
Samuel's three daughters,
Lydia's daughter,
Melinius, one son and three d'rs.
Tschemapehillus,
Mary, his wife,
Christiana's daughter,
Her daughter by an Irishman,
Tadeuskund's two sons,
Julianna,
Tscheffely, her son.

Total of souls at Schechschiquanink, 53.

Total of souls attached to the Mission on the Susquehanna, at this date, 1 June 1772,—204.

XII.

EXTRACTS FROM A JOURNAL WRITTEN IN SULLIVAN'S CAMPAIGN, 1779, BY A BRIGADE CHAPLAIN OF THE PENNSYLVANIA LINE.

From the American Universal Magazine for May 1797.

About two miles from Black Walnut Bottom, we crossed a small run or creek named Tuscaroge; took a particular view of the two places, where the enemy last fall attacked Colonel Hartley's regiment, on its return from Tioga. Both of them were as favourable for action as the regiment could have wished. We passed by a scull of one of our men, who was then killed, hanging on a small tree. After we left this height, having marched over a low and swampy piece of ground, we came to Wyalusing mountain. The ascent was gradual; at the top we had a pleasing view of the Susquehanna; its form is rather more than semicircular, flowing around a large tract of wilderness called the Horse-Shoe, which, every one who sees it, will confess to be rightly named. From the top of the mountain the plains of Wyalusing settlement are also visible; the descent of the mountain is not nigh so gradual as the ascent; the mountain is two miles over; on reaching its bottom, we entered a thicket containing the largest trees my eyes ever beheld of the Sycamore, or Button-wood kind, being in circumference, take one with another, between twenty and thirty feet; and in diameter, between nine and twelve feet. Notwithstanding these trees, the bottom is called *Sugar Bottom*, on account of the Sugar Maple. Along this bottom there grows plenty of a root, called sweet Cicely, of a similar taste with anise-seed, and very useful. On the mountain, and in the bottom, we saw several spots where the Indians had encamped; fresh Indian tracks were discovered, and one of their canoes was taken up by Mr. Lodge; also by some of the soldiers, a raft with a pair of mockasons.

An engagement was expected throughout the day, but granting that the enemy had a fair view of us, of which we had not the least doubt, they suffered us to pass unmolested, notwithstanding the many adventageous posts they might have occupied in annoying us. From the foot of the mountain to Wyalusing is one and a half miles. Wyalusing, which we reached in good season, consists of about 1000 acres of clear land amazingly fertile, and containing beds of extraordinary fine English grass.

Since the present contest, the town which was inhabited by Moravian Indians has been destroyed partly by our people and partly by the savages. It contained upwards of eighty good, square log houses, and a fine ornamented Moravian church in the centre, with a bell. The minister resided in the town; there were also a tavern and other public buildings; all of which, without exception, were demolished or rafted down the Susquehanna. No sign of even the

smallest hut was left standing. These Indians it is said, moved off with their families towards the Ohio. On this fine open plain, like a bed of down, the main army encamped. The light troops marched a mile farther on, contiguous to an excellent spring; the place abounding with good pasture, and distant from the river about half a mile, where we made our fires, and took up our abode for the night. This day's march was nine miles; course N. 80° W. or N. W. by W. Wyalusing plains are exactly fifty miles from Wyoming, agreeably to the actual survey of Mr. Lodge. The country hereabouts is excellent for hunting.

Friday, August 6. This day the army halted. A party of thirty men, from the light corps, with a commissioned officer were sent out on a scout, and returned without making any discoveries.

Towards evening I rode to headquarters, where information had been received of 450 British troops from Canada, having joined the Indians, also a great body of savages from that quarter having been implored so to do by Colonel Brandt, a devoted servant of the man who bears the title of the "Defender of the Faith." May the Lord give him that faith which worketh by love! Visited Col. Proctor, on board the *Adventure*, and felt happy in finding all the fleet safely arrived; and moored along the shore of Wyalusing Plains. The evening rainy, which continued almost the whole night. Through this country the nights and mornings are generally very foggy; when we were at Wyoming and since we left it, I scarcely remember seeing any clear sunshine, until considerably late in the day.

Saturday, August 7. By reason of the rain the army continued at Wyalusing. We hear that the Indians have been doing much mischief on the west branch of the Susquehanna, near Northumberland. Nothing new occurred among us, excepting that one or two scouting parties were sent out, who returned without making any discovery.

N. B.—Wyalusing belonged to one *Job Chillaway* an Indian, and a friend to our cause. He sold it to the *Paulins* on Schuylkill. Indian Job died last winter,—many handsome things are spoken of him, which makes his memory to be

"By strangers honour'd, and by strangers mourned."

NAMES

WHICH THE

LENNI LENNAPE OR DELAWARE INDIANS

GAVE TO

RIVERS, STREAMS AND LOCALITIES,

WITHIN THE STATES OF

PENNSYLVANIA, NEW JERSEY, MARYLAND and VIRGINIA,

WITH THEIR SIGNIFICATIONS.

PREPARED FOR THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE
MORAVIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY FROM
A MS. BY JOHN HECKEWELDER,

BY

WILLIAM C. REICHEL.

NAZARETH.
1872.

NAMES WHICH THE LENNI LENNAPE OR DELAWARE INDIANS GAVE TO RIVERS, STREAMS AND LOCALITIES WITHIN THE STATES OF PENNSYLVANIA, NEW JERSEY, MARYLAND AND VIRGINIA, WITH THEIR SIGNIFICATIONS, BY JOHN HECKEWELDER.

The footprints of extinct races of men always become objects of interest in proportion to the fewness of their number and the obscurity of their character. Those of the Indian tribes, who once dwelt along the rivers that drain the loveliest portions of the eastern slope of the Appalachians, are growing less and fainter with the lapse of succeeding years. With no records to perpetuate the story of their origin, the course of migratory waves, the wars of contending nations, the rise and decadence of clans and the prowess of national heroes and heroines, save an oral tradition distorted by the adornments of a rude poesy,—the archæology of this occidental people is likely to remain a sealed book. Even the tokens they have left us in enduring stone,—memorial pillars, implements of war, of the chase and of the household,—whether inscribed in hieroglyphics of hidden meaning, or cunningly wrought from material as hard as adamant in an age which was ignorant of the use of the metals,—instead of aiding in the solution of the problem, present it in a more perplexing form. Equally obscure and unintelligible, but for the interpreter through whom they now speak, would have forever remained another class of relics come down to us—we mean the straggling footprints of its language, impressed upon the beautiful objects of nature among which this mysterious people lived and passed away.

It is with such fragmentary remains of a now dead tongue that this paper is concerned; principally with words belonging to the euphonious dialect of the Unamis or Delawares of the lowlands, the first of the copper-colored aborigines, who witnessed the advent of the white man from countries beyond the "great water," and the rising of the sun.

When Mr. Heckewelder undertook to restore the mutilated forms of Indian appellations of mountains, rivers and localities current among the whites of his time, and then to point out their significance, he did a work for which he is entitled to grateful remembrance. These names are now no longer empty sounds. They have become as it were living things, endowed with the faculty of speech. Transformed by him into tutelary spirits, they cling like dryads and hamadryads to the inanimate objects to which they were long ago attached, and keep watch over the artless records inscribed upon them by another race of men. Some fix the localities of events that belong to the history of nations or of incidents that occurred in the experience of individuals,—some the favorite haunts of the animals of the chase or the habitat of those spontaneous products of nature which ministered to the Indian's daily wants; others afford us glimpses of his sylvan life when on the hunt or on the war-path, or are descriptive of peculiarities in the landscape, of its flora or of its fauna; while together they people portions of our country with historical recollections of their former occupants which would otherwise have been inevitably lost.

In preparing this paper, the editor took some liberties with Mr. Heckewelder's MS., deeming it desirable to avoid repetitions, to abbreviate modes of expression where it could be done without involving a sacrifice of the compiler's meaning, and to adapt topographical descriptions to the geography of the present day. An alphabetical arrangement of the names suggested itself at once as the most convenient for reference. The historical annotations were drawn from a variety of trustworthy sources, and whilst in their selection preference was given to such matter as belongs to Moravian history, the attempt was made in all cases to adduce the earliest use or mention on record of the names under consideration. The following maps were freely consulted in this effort: 1st. "*A Map of the Middle British Colonies in America and of Aquanishuonigy, the Country of the Confederate Indians, comprehending Aquanishuonigy proper, their place of residence,* (that part of the State of New York lying south of the Mohawk)—*Ohio* (embracing the region of country south of the Maumee as far down as the Kentucky) and *Tiiuxsoxruntie* (the country north of the Maumee and west of the Huron, as high as Lake Huron) *their deer-hunting countries,*—and *Cowsawrage* (upper New York, south of the St.

Lawrence) and *Skaniadarade* (the country lying north of Lake Erie) *their beaver-hunting country;*" "published by Act of Parliament by Lewis Evans, June 22, 1755, and sold by R. Dodsley in Pall Mall, London, and by the author in Philadelphia. Engraved by James Turner, of Philadelphia." Being dedicated to the Honble Thomas Pownall, Esq., the map is illuminated with the coat of arms of the Pownall family, blazoned as follows: *Arms.* Arg., a lion rampant, sa. charged on the breast with a cross paté of the first. *Crest.* A lion's jambe erased, erect ppr, grasping a key or, from which a chain is reflexed of the last. 2. "*A Map of the improved part of the Province of Pennsylvania, humbly dedicated to the Hon. Thomas Penn and Richard Penn, Esqrs., true and absolute Proprietaries and Governors of the Province of Pennsylvania, and Counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex on Delaware, by Nicholas Scull,* and published according to Act of Parliament, January 1, 1759." The formula of dedication appearing on this invaluable historical chart is inscribed within elaborate scroll-work, surrounded by the arms and crest of the Penn family blazoned thus: *Arms.* Arg. on a fess sa. three plates. *Crest,* A demi-lion rampant, ppr. gorged with a collar sa. charged with three plates. *Motto.* Mercy and Justice. 3. "*A Map of the State of Pennsylvania, by Reading Howell. Respectfully inscribed to Thomas Mifflin, Governor, and to the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania by the author. Published August* 1, 1792, *for him, and sold by James Phillips, George's Yard, Lombard Street, London.*" This map is beautifully executed, and shows, to use the words of the draftsman, "the triangle lately purchased by Congress, and the boundary lines of the State as run by the respective Commissioners, with parts of Lake Erie and Presqu' Isle; also by actual survey the rivers Susquehanna (its north-east and west branches), Tyoga, Sinnemahoning, Juniata, Lehigh, Lexawaesein, Schuylkill, and the western rivers, Ohio, Alleghany, Conewango,—part of the Chautaughque Lake and French Creek, agreeable to the late discoveries,—the Monaungahela, Yaxhiogeni and Kiskemanetas; also the larger creeks, most of the lesser streams, mountains, the principal old roads, with the many new ones in the northern and western parts of the State, and portages and communications according to the late surveys by order of Government; furthermore the division

lines of the respective counties und townships, a delineation of the districts of depreciation and donation lands, with all the other districts in the new purchase—besides the seats of justice in the respective counties, iron-works, mills, manufactories, locations of minerals, bridle-roads, Indian-paths, &c., &c."

It was from a third edition of this map, that Mr. Heckewelder, as he tells us, copied the majority of names in his catalogue; Proud's History of Pennsylvania (Phila. 1798) furnished him with a few, and his friend Samuel D. Franks, of Harrisburg, with those occurring in Indian deeds preserved in the Land Office of the Commonwealth.

David Zeisberger's "*Essay of a Delaware Indian and English Spelling-book for the use of the Christian Indians on the Muskingum*" (Phila. 1776) supplied the vocables which are incorporated in the notes for the purpose of confirming or illustrating Heckewelder's interpretation.

In conclusion, it may be stated that the Moravian missionaries of the last century were unanimous in pronouncing the Unami dialect of the Delaware, despite its many gutturals and aspirates, eminently musical, and well adapted by its structure to the purposes of public harangue or oratory. A German tongue, they add, finds no difficulty in mastering even its characteristic sounds, and enjoys the advantage of meeting with vowels that differ as to their power, in no respect from those with which it is already familiar. The absence of the consonants *r*, *f*, and *v*, the accumulation of the *k* sounds (all enunciated from the depths of the throat), the paucity of monosyllabic and the abundance of compound and polysyllabic words, are marked peculiarities of this dialect. The last feature renders its acquisition extremely difficult. Finally, it should be kept in mind that in words of three syllables, the stress of the voice *generally* falls upon the penult; in polysyllables, however, *always;* and that a violation of rules of accent, in most cases, involves an entire change of signification.

John G. E. Heckewelder, missionary to the Delawares, was born March 12, 1743, in Bedford O. E. whither his father (who was a native of Moravia), had been sent from Herrnhut, a few years previous, to labor in the service of the Brethren's Church. His childhood was spent at the Brethren's schools at Buttermere, in Wilts, and at Smith-house and Fulneck in Yorkshire. In 1754 he accom-

panied his parents to Bethlehem, whence, on leaving school, he was placed at Christian's Spring, where he engaged in the labors of the farm, then worked by the young men of the settlement for the benefit of their Economy. He was next indentured to William Nixon a cedar-cooper at Bethlehem. It was while thus employed that the desire he had for some time felt of becoming an evangelist to the Indians was gratified, as in the spring of 1762 he was called to accompany Frederick Post, who had planned a mission among the tribes of the far west, to the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum. But the Pontiac war broke out, and the adventurous attempt was abandoned before the expiration of the year.

In the interval between 1763 and 1771, Mr. Heckewelder was occasionally dispatched from his cooper's shop in the capacity of a messenger or runner in the service of the mission, to Friedenshütten on the Wyalusing, and to Indian towns on the Susquehanna. The most active period of his life, however, dates from 1771, and covers an interval of fifteen years, during which he participated in the various fortunes of the Moravian Indians, accompanying them on their tedious migrations westward,—from the Susquehanna to the Allegheny, thence to the Big Beaver, and thence to the Muskingum, sharing their joys and their sorrows, in times of peace and war, "in journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils of his countrymen, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the wilderness, in weariness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness;" and, yet spared as to his life to a good old age, in the quiet days of which, when resting from his labors, he drew up his well known "Narrative" of eventful years in his own experience and in the history of his Church.

In the autumn of 1786, on withdrawing from active service in the mission, Mr. Heckewelder settled with his wife (Sarah, m. n. Ohneberg, whom he had married in 1780) and two daughters at Bethlehem. This change, however, brought him no rest, as much of his time for the next fifteen years was devoted to the interests of the Church and her missions, in behalf of which he undertook frequent long and trying journeys. In 1792 and 1793, Government associated him with United States Commissioners to treat for peace with the Indians of the Maumee and the Wabash. This was a high testimonial of confidence in his knowledge of Indian

life and Indian affairs. The remuneration he received for these services was judiciously economized for his old age, his immediate wants being supplied by his handicraft, and the income accruing from a nursery he had planted on his return from the western country. There are orchards still standing in the vicinity of Bethlehem set out by John Heckewelder and his daughters.

In 1801 he removed with his family to Gnadenhütten on the Tuscarawas, and was a resident of the State of Ohio for nine years. Mr. Heckewelder now became a man of official business, having been entrusted by the "Society of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen,"* with the care of the reservation of 12,000 acres of land on the Muskingum, held in trust by said Society for the benefit of the Moravian Indians. He was also in the civil service, being a Postmaster and a Justice of the Peace.

In 1810 he returned to Bethlehem, built a house (still standing on Cedar Alley), planted the premises with trees and shrubs from their native forest, surrounded himself with birds and wild flowers, and through these beautiful things of nature with which they were associated in their woodland homes, sought to prolong fellowship with his beloved Indians. In 1815 he was called to mourn the departure of his wife to the eternal world.

At a time when there was a growing spirit of inquiry among men of science in the department of Indian archæology, it need not surprise us, that Mr. Heckewelder was sought out in his retirement, and called on to contribute from the store of his experience. In this way originated his intimacy with Duponceau and Wistar of the American Philosophical Society, and that career of literary labor to which he dedicated the lonely and latter years of his life. In addition to occasional essays which are incorporated in the Transactions of that Society, Mr. Heckewelder in 1818 published his well known "Account of the History, Manners and Customs of the Indian nations who once inhabited Pennsylvania and the neighboring States," a work which was received with almost unqualified approbation. Fenimore Cooper, when venturing upon a new field of romance, drew much of his inspiration from the pages of

* This Association, whose Board has its seat at Bethlehem, was incorporated in 1788.

this fascinating volume. The "Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Delaware and Mohican Indians," appeared in 1820, and in 1822, Mr. Heckewelder, at the request of members of the American Philosophical Society, made the collection of Indian appellations here offered to the reader. This was one of his last efforts; another year of suffering, and on the 30th of January, 1823, the friend of the Delawares, having lived to become a hoary old man of seventy-nine winters, passed away.

He left three daughters; Johanna Maria, born April 16, 1781, at Salem, Tuscarawas County, Ohio, (she died at Bethlehem, Sept. 19, 1868); Anna Salome, born August 13, 1784, at New Gnadenhütten on the river Huron, Michigan; (she married Joseph Rice of Bethlehem, and died January 15, 1857), and Susanna, born at Bethlehem Dec. 31, 1786; (she married J. Christian Luckenbach of Bethlehem, and died Feb. 8, 1867).

Mr. Heckewelder was a fair representative of the Moravian missionary of the last century,—one of a class of men whose time was necessarily divided betwen the discharge of spiritual and secular duties; who preached the Gospel and administered the sacraments in houses built by their own hands; who wielded the axe as well as the sword of the Spirit, and who by lives of self-denial and patient endurance, sustained a mission among the aborigines of this country in the face of disappointments and obstacles, which would have discouraged any but men of their implicit faith in the Divine power of the Christian religion.

The subject of this notice was no scholar; nor did he make any literary pretensions. Despite this, however, and although his mode of giving expression to thought is German, his writings are characterized by a pleasing simplicity of diction, and an honesty of purpose, which enlist the sympathy of the reader. It would be presumptuous to claim for him infallibility, as we know that even the best of men are led astray, or err in their search after truth. It would be as presumptuous however to deny his statements all claim to respect. Hence we do not hesitate to say, that John Heckewelder's contributions to the store of knowledge we possess respecting Indian traditions, language, manners and customs, and life and character, are worthy of the degree of regard that is usually accorded to men of intelligence, and disinterestedness of purpose, whose position permitted them to ascertain or to observe what they relate.

For the curious reader, we append the following enumeration of his many journeys and their distances, found among Mr. Heckewelder's private papers, in possession of Mr. Henry B. Luckenbach, of Bethlehem, a grandson.

JOHN HECKEWELDER'S JOURNEYS BETWEEN 1762 AND 1814.

		Miles.
1762.	From Bethlehem (in company of Christ'n F. Post) to the Muskingum (Tuscarawas branch), and return	840
1763.	To New York, and return	200
1765.	To Friedenshütten (*Wyalusing*) and, after a sojourn there, return	300
1767.	To Wyoming, and return	160
1768.	" " with the Brethren Zeisberger, Ettwein and Senseman, and return	160
1769.	To Friedenshütten in the capacity of a messenger, (alone)	160
1770.	To Friedenshütten and Sheshequin (Bradford County), as ditto	180
	With Bro. Rothe, and Indians, return	180
1771.	To Friedenshütten, in company of Zeisberger, and return	300
	" " thence in Oct. with David Zeisberger to *Friedensstadt* (Town of Peace) in Delaware, *Langunduotenink*, on the Big Beaver	380
	Thence to Pittsburg, and return	120
1772.	In July, up the Allegheny (to meet the Christian Indians en route from Friedenshütten to the Big Beaver, under conduct of the Brethren Rothe and Ettwein), and return	180
	In August, with Zeisberger, Ettwein, and some Indian converts to *Schönbrunn* (Beautiful Spring) in Delaware, *Welhik-tuppeek* (the best spring) on the Tuscarawas	80
	Return to Friedensstadt with Zeisberger and Shebosh, and a second time to Schönbrunn	160
1773.	To Friedensstadt, by land	80
	Thence, in April, down Beaver creek, by water	30
	Thence down to Ohio, to the mouth of the Muskingum (*Ell's-Eye*, compounded of *moos*, an elk, and *wusch-gink*, the eye, the face)	150
	Thence up the Muskingum, by water, to Schönbrunn	160
		420
1774.	To Bethlehem, in company of some Indians by way of the *Great Island* (in the Susquehanna) and Gnadenhütten on the Mahoning, and return by the same route	800
1775.	In company of Shebosh and some Indians, to the Mahoning, to *Sickhcunk*, and *Langunduotenink* in search of stolen horses, and return	200
1776.	April 11. Moved to Lichtenau on the Tuscarawas with David Zeisberger	48
	In the autumn, returned to keep school at Schönbrunn	42
1777.	Thence to Bethlehem, alone	420
1778.	From Bethlehem (in March) to Pittsburg and Lichtenau	450
	Thence to *Tuscarawas*, and return with some Indians	110
1779.	A second journey to Tuscarawas, and return with some Indians	110
1780.	Moved to Salem, journeying by water	45
1781.	Taken as prisoner of war to Upper Sandusky	100
	Thence with Zeisberger, Edwards, Senseman and some Indians to Detroit	110
	Return to Upper Sandusky	110
1782.	A second time to Detroit (all the missionaries)	110
	Thence to Huron River and return, by water	80
	Thence a second time to Huron River	40
1783.	In May from Huron River to Detroit, and return by water	80

Miles.

In October, in company of Senseman, from Huron River to Detroit, and return by water..... 80
1784. From Huron River to Detroit, and return..... 80
1785. Do. do. do. twice..... 160
1786. From Huron River the last time to Detroit, and thence to *Cayahaya* (in North Eastern Ohio)..... 160
Thence, in the autumn, with my family, to Bethlehem..... 420
1787. In company of Michael Jung and Weygand to Pittsburg, and return.. 640
In October, with Bro. Ettwein, by way of Staten Island to New York. 100
Return to Bethlehem, by way of Hope, New Jersey..... 130
1788. In August to New York (for warrants), and return..... 200
In September, in company of Matt'w Blickensderfer to Pittsburg, and thence with Capt. Hutchins, Surveyor General, by water to Marietta, and (after nine weeks stay) return..... 940
1789. Accompanied Bro. Abraham Steiner to *Petquottink*, and return..... 980
In September with Bro. Charles Culver to Carlisle, and return..... 230
1792. At Washington's request was commissioned by Gen. Knox, Secretary of War, to accompany Gen. Putnam to the Wabash, and aid in opening negotiations for a peace with the Indians—traveling thus:
From Bethlehem to Pittsburg..... 320
From Pittsburg, by water, to the Wabash.....1022
Up the Wabash to Post Vincennes..... 160
From Post Vincennes by land to the Falls of Ohio..... 150
From the Falls of Ohio to Pittsburg..... 705
From Pittsburg, via Bethlehem, to Philadelphia..... 370
—2727
1793. At the request of Government, accompanied Gen. Lincoln, Col. Pickering and ex-Governor Beverly Randolph, (appointed Commissioners to treat with the friendly Indians on the Miami) via Philadelphia, New York, Albany, Schenectady, Fort Stanwix, Oneida Lake, Oswego, Niagara and Lake Erie, as far as Detroit..... 800
From Detroit, alone to Fairfield, Upper Canada and return..... 140
From Detroit to Bethlehem, as follows: across Lake Erie to Niagara—across Lake Ontario to Kingston—from Kingston down the St. Lawrence to Montreal—thence by land to St. Johns—thence down Lake Champlain to Skenesborough or Whitehall—thence along the Hudson to Albany—thence by sloop to New York, and thence to Bethlehem.....1310
179–. Accompanied Jacob Everly as far as Pittsburg—he was on his way to survey lands on French Creek, and return..... 620
1797. In company of Bro. William Henry and others, to the Muskingum..... 410
From Gnadenhütten through the wilderness (accompanied part of the way by an Indian) to Marietta..... 125
Return, with Gen. Putnam (engaged in a survey) to Gnadenhütten, and thence to the Tuscarawas Fording Place..... 200
A second time to Marietta by water, and thence to Bethlehem..... 640
1798. Accompanied Bro. Benjamin Mortimer to Fairfield, U. C., traveling through the Genessee country to Buffalo, thence by way of Black Rock, Niagara Falls, Queenstown, Newark (head of Lake Ontario) Burlington Heights, Grand River (or Brandt's Town), the Pinery, and Monsey Town..... 530
From Fairfield (in company of William Edwards and two Indians) by way of Detroit, Brownstown, River Raisin, Miami, Old Fort, The Rapids, Upper Sandusky, Owl Creek and Walhending to Gnadenhütten..... 270
Thence to Pittsburg, in company of Bro. Mortimer (to escort Eldridge), and return..... 200
In the autumn, in company of Bro. Mortimer (who along with Zeisberger had led some Indians from Fairfield to Gnadenhütten) to Bethlehem..... 410

		Miles.
1799.	To Muskingum, and return	820
1800.	Accompanied Bro. Christian Fde. Denke to Gnadenhütten	410
	Thence in the autumn to Pittsburg, and from there by way of Fort Franklin and Meadville to La Boeuf, pursuant to commission received from the Directors of the "Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen," to view its lands on French Creek; thence via Pittsburg to Bethlehem	660
1801.	Moved with my family to Muskingum	410
	To Marietta, and return	220
1802.	Do do.	220
	To Bethlehem and return, at my own expense	820
1803.	To Marietta, and return	220
	In the autumn with Bro. Loskiel from Gnadenhütten to Pittsburg, and return	200
1804.	On official business (to appraise houses, &c.) to Zanesville and other towns, and return	140
1805.	To Zanesville and return	120
1806.	To do. (to pay taxes) and return	120
	Thence to Bethlehem and return via Philadelphia, at my own expense	850
1807.	To Zanesville, and return	120
1808.	To do. (to pay taxes) and return	120
1809.	Appointed by the Assembly one of three commissioners to fix two new County seats, visiting Canton, Wooster, Richland, &c., and return	190
	To Zanesville, and return	120
	In December, via Zanesville and New Lancaster to the Assembly sitting in Ohio, and in January of 1810, return	215
1810.	To Zanesville (to pay taxes) and return	110
	In October removed with my family to Bethlehem	410
	Thereupon to Lancaster to present William Henry Killbuck's petition to the Assemby, and return to Philadelphia	190
1813.	For the last time in the Western country, traveling to Gnadenhütten by way of Pittsburg, Harmony, Beaver Town, Tuscarawas and New Philadelphia. From Gnadenhütten to Zanesville, and return to Bethlehem	955
		26,257

1. DELAWARE NAMES OF RIVERS, STREAMS AND LOCALITIES IN PENNSYLVANIA.

ALLEGHENY, corrupted from *Alligéwi*—the name of a race of Indians* said to have dwelt along the river of that name,† and in

* Of the wars of the Lenape and Mengwe with the Alligewi, and of the discomfiture and expulsion of the latter from Alligewinink, Heckewelder records the following tradition in his History of Indian Nations. The Lenape (the Delawares), resided many hundred years ago in a far distant country in the western part of the American Continent. For some reason they determined to migrate eastward, and accordingly set out in a body. After a very long journey and many nights' encampments by the way, they at length arrived at the *Namaesi Sipu* (i. e. the *River of Fish*, the Mississippi) where they fell in with the Mengwe (the Iroquois), who were likewise emigrating from a distant country in search of new homes, and who had struck that river somewhat higher up. Spies sent out in advance by the Lenape to reconnoitre had ascertained, before the arrival of the main body of their people on the Mississippi, that the country east of it was inhabited by a very powerful nation, who had numerous large towns built on the rivers flowing through it. This was the nation of the *Alligewi*. Many wonderful things are told of them. They are said to have been remarkably tall and stout, and even of gigantic stature, far exceeding in size the tallest of the Lenape. They were likewise skilled in the arts of defensive warfare, of throwing up entrenchments and of erecting fortifications, remains of some of which are to be seen at the present day in the western country.

The Lenape, on arriving at the Mississippi, thought it prudent, before crossing the stream, to send a messenger to the Alligewi to request permission of them to settle in their neighborhood. This was refused. Instead, however, the Alligewi expressed a willingness to allow them a passage *through* their country. The Lenape accordingly began to cross the river. It was now that the Alligewi, on seeing that the strangers were a numerous people, (not to be counted by thousands), moved by fear, fell treacherously upon those who had already crossed, slew many of them, and threatened the others with annihilation, should they persist in the passage. On recovering from the surprise, the Lenape held a council, in which they considered what was best to be done, whether to retreat, or whether to measure their strength with those who had cruelly betrayed their confidence. They felt disposed to do the latter, for they were a brave people, and incensed at the loss of their kinsmen. But prudence forbade them engaging in an unequal contest, and they were about setting their faces westward, when the Mengwe, who from their encampment had been spectators of the unprovoked attack, proposed to render them assistance, to join them in a war of conquest and extermination with the Alligewi, and after its successful close, to share with them the conquered territory. "Thus," they said, "their wanderings would end, and there they would find the homes in search of which they had left the setting sun."

Having thus united their forces, the Lenape and Mengwe declared war against

Alligewinink, i. e., all the country west of the Alleghenies, drained by the tributaries of the Ohio and their numerous sources. The Shawanose called this river *Palawu-thepiki.*

APPOLACON, (emptying into the Susquehanna from the South, in Susquehanna County), corrupted from *Apelogúcan*, (in Minsi Delaware *Apellochgacan*), signifying, *whence the messenger returned.*‡

AQUANSHICOLA, (emptying into the Lehigh from the north-east in Carbon County), corrupted from *Achquoanschicola*, signifying, *where we fish with the bush-net.*§

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the Alligewi, and great battles were fought, in which many warriors fell on both sides. It was a long and bloody contest, in which quarter was neither asked nor given. The enemy stockaded their large towns and erected fortifications, which the allies besieged, and sometimes took by storm. In a certain engagement the slain were thrown together in large heaps and covered with earth,—their places of sepulture forming tumuli or mounds, that for many generations marked the site of the great battle-field. Thus hard pressed the Alligewi, seeing their destruction inevitable, withdrew from the contest, abandoned their country to the invaders, and fled down the Mississippi, never to return. Hereupon the conquerors made a division of the country, whereby the Mengwe came into possession of the lands about the great lakes and their tributary streams, the Lenape of those situate to the south, whence these gradually moved eastward, even to the Atlantic coast, until when the white man came, the Delaware or *Lenapewihittuck* (i. e., the river of the Lenape) was in the very heart of their settlements.

† The Allegheny was called by the French, on their first hostile occupation o Pennsylvania territory in 1753, "*La Belle Riviere,*" a name subsequently applied to the Ohio, the former being regarded not as a tributary, but as the *main stream* of the great river of *Alligewinink.* Hence, too, Indian traders also called the river *below the Forks* the Allegheny, or else used this name and Ohio without discrimination when speaking of the great river of Western Pennsylvania. The Delawares called the Allegheny or Ohio, *Kit-hanne*, i. e., the *main stream* in its region of country, it being the same descriptive appellation by which they designated their great river of the East, i. e., the Delaware. Jonah Davenport and James Le Tort, Indian traders, in Oct., 1731, reported that on *Kittanning River* there dwelt mostly Delawares, 50 families, 100 men, with *Kykenhammo*, their chief. (See *Delaware, Kittanning* and *Ohio*, in this register.)

‡ *Al-lo-ga-can*, a servant, a messenger. *Zr.*

§ *Ach-quoa-ni-can* a bush-net; *ach-quo-ne-man*, to fish with a bush-net; *ach-qwoa-na-u*, caught with the bush-net.—*Zr.* "As soon as the shad (*scha-wa-nam-meck*, the *south-fish*, compounded of *scha-wa-ne-u* south, and *na-mees* fish) come from the south to deposit their spawn, running up the rivers from the sea, the Indians assemble for the annual fishery. And first they build a stone dam across the stream, the two wings or walls of which converge into a pound or wooden box, perforated with holes. This is the trap. A wild grape-vine of sufficient length to reach from shore to shore is then cut, and loaded down with brush, secured at intervals of from ten to fifteen feet. This barrier is stretched across the river, perhaps a

AUGHWICK, (a tributary of the Juniata in Huntingdon County), corrupted from *Achweek*, signifying *brushy*, i. e., *overgrown with brush.**

BALD EAGLE, (emptying into the Susquehanna from the south-

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mile above the pound, and being held in position by Indians in canoes, is slowly towed down stream. The frightened fish are driven before it back into the dam, and thence by the Indians, posted on its walls, into the pound, where they are caught by hand. As many as a thousand are known to have been taken in this way in a morning. The Delawares called March *the shad-month.*"—*Loskiel's History of the Moravian Mission among the North American Indians.*

The narrow valley or gorge of the Aquanshicola (written sometimes *Aquanshahales* in old deeds), was visited by Zinzendorf in July of 1742, and by missionaries from Bethlehem, until the commencement of Indian hostilities in the fall of 1755. It most have been a favorite planting-spot of the Delawares. It may have been inhabited by even an earlier race, by a race of strong men that wrought in stone as we do in wood, handling and fashioning huge blocks taken out of the mountain side, with the same ease and accuracy of design as with which are fashioned the lesser implements of war and the chase, found so plentifully along the Aquanschicola. If ever there was a relic of a "stone-age," it is the so-called "Indian mill (*tach-quoa-hoa-can*) of the Aquanschicola," now in the museum of Mr. Richard Crist of Nazareth, Pa. Of its history we know only the following: Mr. Chas. E. Buskirk of Chestnut Hill Township, now sixty-five years of age, states that in his grandfather's time the mill was discovered, partially embedded in the ground, near the foot of the mountain on the left bank of the creek, not far from the Ross Common Tavern, and at once became an object of curiosity to the neighborhood, as well as to passing travelers. In 1860, Mr. Reuben Hartzell, on whose land it lay, had it disinterred, removed and set up in front of the Tavern. Mr. Crist purchased and had it conveyed to Nazareth in Sept. of 1869. This unique piece of antiquity is wrought from a solid block of gray sandstone, and in form is a perfect frustum of a cone, with an altitude of three feet, the diameter of the lower base being the same, and that of the upper base being one foot six inches. A funnel-shaped cavity tapering down from a ten-inch to a five-inch diameter, is chiseled into the block to the depth of two feet, at which point the polished circumference shows where the stone that *ground* or *cut* the corn, revolved in its socket. From here the grist fell through a hole, nine inches square, mortiсed into the lower base. The weight of the block is 2185 pounds. It would almost appear as if the mill were worked by an application of the power at the extremities of levers, fitted into the upright that carried the *cutter* or *crusher* at its base, after the fashion of a capstan—that the mill was placed over a pit, and that the grist was caught in bags or other receptacles placed in the latter. The *crushing* or *cutting* stone, although lost, is well remembered by inhabitants of Ross Common.

* *A-che-we-u* bushy.—*Zr.* An Indian village of this name, mentioned in Provincial records prior to 1750, stood on *Aughwick Creek* (it is said on the site of Shirleysburg) where Fort Shirley (so named in honor of Gen. Wm. Shirley of Massachusetts) was built in 1756. George Croghan, a trader of note, and subsequently Sir Wm. Johnson's deputy in Indian affairs, resided previous to the

west in Clinton County), called by the Delawares *Wapalanewachschiee-hánne*, i. e., *the stream of the Bald Eagle's nest.**

Bald Eagle's Nest,† in Delaware, *Wapalanewachschiéchey.*

Beaver Dam, (a branch of the Kiskiminetas in Westmoreland County), called by the Delawares *Amochkpuhásink*‡ signifying *where the beaver has shut up the stream.*

Beaver River, (a branch of the Ohio in Beaver County), in Delaware, *Amochkwi-sipu*,§ i. e., *beaver-river*, or *Amochk-hánne*, i. e.,

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Indian war at *Aughwick Old Town*. In Sept. of 1754, Conrad Weisser treated with the Delawares and Shawanese of the West, in behalf of the Province, at Aughwick.

* *Woap-su* and *Woa-peek*, white. *Woap-a-lanne*, the bald eagle. *Wach-schiechey*, a nest. *Han-ne*, a stream.—*Zr.*

† The name of an Indian village, situated above the confluence of Buffalo Run and Bald Eagle Creek (now in Centre County), and the residence of "Bald Eagle," a noted chief. Scull's map calls it simply "*The Nest.*" It stood on the flats near Milesburg, on the "Indian Path from the Great Island to Ohio."

‡ *A-mochk*, a beaver.—*Zr.*

§ *Sipo* and *sipu*, a river. *Si-po-tit* (diminutive), a creek. *Si-punk* and *Si pusing*, at, or, in the river.—*Zr.* The Moravian missionary, C. Frederic Post, in the summer of 1758 undertook a perilous mission in behalf of the Proprietary Government to the Delawares of Ohio,—in the course of which he penetrated the wilds of Pennsylvania to their extreme western limits. His journal appears in full in the third volume of the Archives of Pennsylvania. Accompanied by several friendly Indians, he set out from Bethlehem on the 19th of July for Fort Augusta, (Sunbury). There he took the path along the right bank of the West Branch, leading over the *Chillisquaque*, over *Muncy*, *Loyalsock* and *Pine Creeks*,—crossed the *Susquehanna* at the *Great Island*, and then struck one of the main Indian thoroughfares to the West. On the 3d of July he forded *Beech Creek*, on whose left bank he came to the forks of the road. One branch led south-west along the *Bald Eagle*, past the *Nest* to *Frankstown*, and thence to the Ohio country;—the other due West to *Chinklacamoose*. Post took the latter. It led over the *Moshannon*, which he crossed on the 1st of August. Next day he arrived at the village of *Chinklacamoose* in the "*Clear Fields.*" Hence the travelers struck a trail to the north-west, crossed *Toby's Creek* (Clarion River), and on the 7th of August reached *Fort Venango*, built by the French in 1753, in "the forks of the *Allegheny.*" "I prayed the Lord," writes Post, "to blind the French, as he did the enemies of Lot and Elisha, that I might pass unknown." Leaving Venango, Post and his companions turned their horses' heads to the south-west,—struck the *Conequenessing* on the 12th of August,—crossed the *Big Beaver*, and next day arrived at *Kuskaskie*, the terminus of their journey and the head-quarters of "The Beaver" and "Shingas," war-chiefs of the Western Delawares. Post was, therefore, the first Moravian west of the Alleghenies. He closes his interesting journal with these words: "Thirty-two days that I lay in the woods, the heavens were my covering, and the dew fell so hard sometimes, that it pricked close to the skin.

beaver-stream. The Indians, however, called the river *Kaskaskie-sipu*, from the town of Kaskaskie on its bank.

Beech Creek, (a branch of the Bald Eagle in Centre County), in Delaware, *Schauweminsch-hanne*,† i. e., *beech-stream.*

Black Lick, (a branch of the Two Licks in Indiana County)—in Delaware, *Naskahóni*, i. e., a *lick of blackish color.*‡

Brushy Creek, (a branch of the Conequenessing in Beaver County)—in Delaware, *Achweek*, i. e., *bushy*, or overgrown with brush.

During this time nothing lay so heavily on my heart as the man who went along with me (*Shamokin Daniel*), for he thwarted me in everything I said or did; not that he did it against me, but against the country on whose business I was sent. When he was with the French he would speak against the English, and when he was with the English he would speak against the French. The Indians observed that he was unreliable, and desired me not to bring him any more to transact business between them and the Province. And it was owing to him, too, that I failed in obtaining an interview with the prisoners. But praise and glory be to the Lamb that was slain, who brought me through a country of dreadful jealousy and mistrust, where the Prince of this world holds rule and government over the children of disobedience. It was my Lord who preserved me amid all difficulties and dangers, and His Holy Spirit directed me. I had no one to commune with, but Him; and it was He who brought me from under a thick, heavy and dark cloud into the open air, for which I adore, and praise and worship Him. I know and confess that He, the Lord my God, the same who forgave my sins and washed my heart in his most precious blood, grasped me in his almighty hand and held me safe—and hence I live no longer for myself, but for Him, whose holy will to do is my chiefest pleasure."

The town, or towns of *Kaskaskie* (*the Kaskaskies*), are first mentioned in official records, in Weisser's Journal of his Proceedings at Logstown, fifteen miles below Pittsburg, on the right bank of the Ohio. "To-day" (Aug. 29th, 1748), he writes, "my companions went to *Kaskaskie*, a large Indian town about thirty miles off." "Early this morning," (Aug. 17th, 1758) writes Post in his Journal, "the Indians called all the people together to clear the place where they intended to hold the Council, it being in the midst of the town. *Kaskaskie* is divided into *four towns*, each at a distance from the other, and the whole settlement consists of about ninety houses and two hundred able warriors."

Howell's Map notes *Kaskaskie* on the *Little Beaver* or *Mahoning Creek*, now in Lawrence County. Heckewelder crossed the *Big Beaver* in April of 1762, then on his way with Post to the Tuscarawas, (in Stark County, Ohio), the first scene of his missionary labors. Between 1770 and 1773 Moravian Indians under Zeisberger were settled at *Friedensstadt* (Town of Peace), on the West bank of the Big Beaver, in the southern part of Lawrence County, about 15 miles south-east from *Kaskaskie*. Howell's Map notes the site of the Moravian settlement.

† *Schau-we-min-schi*, the red-beech tree.—*Zr.*

‡ *Nees-ki-u*, black. *Nes ca-lenk*, a negro. *Ma-ho-ny*, a lick.—*Zr.*

Buffalo Creek, (a branch of the Allegheny in Armstrong County)—in Delaware, *Sisilie-hánne*, i. e., *buffalo-stream*—a stream whose banks are the resort of the buffalo.

Catasauqua, (an affluent of the Lehigh from the North-east in Northampton County,) corrupted from *Gattoshácki** signifying, *the earth thirsts*, viz. for rain.

Cat-fish Run, (a small stream near the borough of Washington, Washington County). The Delawares called it *Wisaméking*,† signifying, *where there is a Cat-fish, where the Cat-fish dwells.*

Catawissa, (a branch of the Susquehanna in Columbia County), corrupted from *Gattawísi*,‡ signifying *growing fat.* (*Note.* Probably the Indians who named the place, had shot a deer along the creek in the season when deer fatten.)

Cawanshannock, (a branch of the Allegheny in Armstrong County), corrupted from *Gawunsch-hánne*, signifying *green-brier stream.*

Chester River, (in Delaware County), called in early deeds *Macopanackhan*,§ corrupted from *Meechoppenáckhan*, signifying, *the large potato stream*, i. e., the stream along which large potatoes grow.

Chickhansink, corrupted from *Tshickhánsink*,‖ signifying, *where we were robbed,—the place of the robbery.*

Chickisalunga,¶ (emptying into the Susquehanna from the

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* *Gat-tos-so-mo*, to thirst. *Hacki*, the earth, the land.—*Zr.* The name is written *Calisuk* and *Caladaqua*, in old deeds. Scull's and Howell's Maps call the stream *Mill Creek.* Scotch-Irish immigrants from Ulster settled on its banks as early as 1737. They were the first white residents within the present limits of Northampton county.

† *Wi-sa-meek*, a cat-fish. Compounded of *wi-su*, fat, and *na-mees*, a fish.—*Zr.* "Cat-fish Camp," formerly on the site of the borough of Washington, was so called for the head man of the village, a half-breed, *Cat-fish* by name.

‡ *Wi-sa-heen*, to fatten. *Wi-su*, fat.—*Zr.* *Catawissa*, is regarded by some, as a corruption of *Ganawese*, and as designating the region to which the Conoys retired, on withdrawing from the limits of Lancaster county. See *Conoy* in this paper.

§ *Me-cheek* and *Ma-chwe-u*, large. *Hob-be-nac*, potatoes.—*Zr.* The name occurs in an Indian deed executed to William Penn, the 14th day of 5th mo., 1683, "for lands lying between *Manaiunk*, alias Schuylkill and *Macopanackhan*, alias Chester River." The Swedes called the stream *Opland Kill.*

‖ *A-men tschiwch-tin*, to rob, to plunder. *Me-ha-men-tschit*, a robber.—*Zr.*

¶ Shortened into *Chiquis* and *Salunga*, both post-towns in Lancaster County.

North-east in Lancaster County), corrupted from *Chickiswalungo, the place of the craw-fish*, i. e., where the ground is full of holes bored by the crab or craw-fish.

CHILLISQUAQUE,* (emptying into the Susquehanna from the North-east in Northumberland County), corrupted from *Chililisuági*, signifying, *the place of snow-birds.*

CHINKLACAMOOSE,† now shortened into Moose, (emptying into the Susquehanna from the North-east in Clearfield County, "*the Clear Fields*"), corrupted from *Achtschingi-clamme*, signifying, *it almost joins*, in allusion to a horse-shoe bend in the stream, whose extremities almost unite.

CHOCONUT, (emptying into the Susquehanna in the County of that name) corrupted from the Nanticoke word *Tschochnot.*

CLARION RIVER,‡ (a branch of the Allegheny draining Clarion County), called by the Delawares, *Gawunsch-hánne*, i. e., *brier-stream*,—the stream whose banks are overgrown with the green-brier.

COAQUANNOCK,§ the name by which the site of Philadelphia

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* Scull's Map locates an Indian village of the same name at the mouth of the creek. "An old Shawano took us in his canoe across the creek at *Zilly-squachne*, for which service I gave him some needles and a pair of shoe-strings."—*C. Weisser's Journal to Onondaga.* March, 1737.

† On the site of the County-town of Clearfield, there stood in olden times the village of Chinklacamoose, written *Chinglecamouche*, on Scull's Map. It was the central point of the great "Chinklacamoose Path." Post lodged at this village on his way to the Ohio country in the night of August 2d, 1758. "We arrived," he writes in his Journal, "this night at *Shinglimuce*, where we saw the posts painted red and stuck in the ground, to which the Indians tie their prisoners. It is a disagreeable and melancholy sight to see the means they use to punish flesh and blood."

"July 14th, 1772. We came to the Clearfield creek, so called by the Indians because on its banks there are acres of land that resemble 'clearings;'—the buffalo that resort hither, having destroyed every vestige of undergrowth, and left the face of the country as bare as though it had been cleared by the grub-axe of the pioneer."—*John Ettwein's Journal of the Migration of the Moravian Indians to the Big Beaver.*

‡ Formerly called *Toby's Creek.*

§ "The Proprietary having now returned from Maryland to *Coaquannock*, the place so called by the Indians, where Philadelphia now stands, began to purchase lands of the Indians." *Proud's History of Pennsylvania*, Vol. 1, p. 211. Penn purchased *Coaquannock*, the site of his intended capital, from the three brothers, Andrew, Swen and Ole Swenson, early Swedish settlers on Delaware,—said brothers or other whites having bought the Indian claim, prior to his arrival in the

was known to the Indians, is a corruption of *Cuwequenáku*, signifying, *the grove of tall pines.*

Cocalico, (a branch of the Conestoga in Lancaster County), corrupted from *Achgookwalico*,* (shortened into *Chgokalico*), signifying, *where the snakes collect in dens to pass the winter.* (*Note.* This spot along the Creek was well known to the Indians.)

Cocoosing, (a branch of the Tulpehocken in Berks County,) corrupted from *Gokhosing*,† signifying, *where owls are, the place of owls.*

Conocksink, corrupted from *Cuwenhásink*,‡ signifying, *where the pines grow,—where there are pine-lands.*

Conestoga,§ an Iroquois word.

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country in October of 1682. "The Proprietor at his first arrival, finding the Swedes possessed of the most valuable tracts of land on the front of the river, without inquiring into the validity of their titles, but considering them as strangers in an English government, through his known benevolence to mankind was pleased so far to distinguish them by his favors as to confirm to all such as applied to him all their just claims, to the great disappointment of those English adventurers who embarked with him and hazarded their lives and fortunes in the commendable design of peopling this colony; or where it was found necessary to apply any of those claims to other purposes, he was pleased to make very ample compensation for them; as pregnant instance of which, is his grant of 600 acres of land to the Swensons in lieu of a very slender claim they had to about half that quantity in the place where it was judged most convenient this city should be built." *Report of Petition of the Swedes*, 1721. *Penn'a Archives, Vol.* 1, *p.* 172.

* *Ach-gook*, a snake. *Woa-luc*, a hole. *Suck-ach-gook*, a black snake—*M'bi-ach-gook*, a water-snake;—*As-gusk-ach-gook*, a green snake;—*Mach-ge-u-ach-gook*, a copper-snake.—*Zr.*

Heckewelder, in his Narrative, states that the Western Indians, who were signally defeated by Gen. Wayne at the Rapids of the Miami in August of 1794, called him *Suckachgook*, because of the caution and cunning he displayed in his movements throughout the campaign.

† *Gok-hoos*, an owl, *Gok ho-tit*, an owlet.—*Zr.* *Ink*, the local suffix *at*, or, *where.* On Dec. 28, 1742, Zinzendorf preached in a farm-house on the Cocoosing.

‡ *Cu-we*, a pine. *Ha-cki*, land.—*Zr.* *Ink*, the local suffix *at*, or, *where.*

§ On the flats east of Turkey Hill at the mouth of the Conestoga in Manor Township, dwelt the small tribe of the Conestogas, whom Wm. Penn is said to have visited in their town, and to retain whose friendship despite the machinations of French emissaries, his Lieut. Governors exercised constant precaution. Hence James Logan repaired to Conestoga in 1705, Gov. Evans in 1707, Gov. Gookin in 1710, Gov. Keith in 1717 and Gov. Gordon in 1728. *Tugadaessa*, or *Civility*, a chief of this tribe is often named in the records of those days. It was he who wrote that touching letter in which grief for the loss of a beloved child appears in almost every line. "The late death of my child causes so much trouble

CONEWANGO, (a branch of the Allegheny in Warren County), corrupted from *Guneunga*,* signifying, *they have been gone a long time, they stay a long time.*

CONEWANTA, (emptying into the Susquehanna in the County of that name) corrupted from *Guneúnga*, signifying, *they stay a long time.*

CONNEAUT, (a branch of French Creek in Crawford County), corrupted from *Gunniati*, signifying, *it is a long time since he or they are gone.*

CONOCOCHEAGUE,† (a branch of the Potomac draining Franklin County), corrupted from *Guneukitschik*, signifying, *indeed a long way!* a name expressive of impatience manifested by a company of Indians traveling along the stream.

CONODOGWINET, (a branch of the Susquehanna draining Cumberland County), corrupted from *Gunnipduckhánnet*,‡ signifying, *for a long way nothing but bends.*

CONONODAW, (one of the head branches of the Allegheny in McKean County), corrupted from *Gunniáda*, signifying, *he tarries long.* (*Note.* A name expressive of the impatience of some In-

and sorrow at this time, it puts all other thoughts out of my mind—my grief and sorrow overpower me—my eyes are full of tears for the sake of my child. My trouble is so great at this time that it puts all other thoughts out of my mind, so that I do nothing but cry every day. When my grief and sorrow are a little over, you shall hear from us, if I even do not come myself!" The Conestogas remained on their old seats long after the other Indians on the Susquehanna had been crowded by the advance of civilization, beyond Shamokin, and it was upward of sixty years after William Penn had been at their town, and full twenty-five after *Tugodalessa* has ceased grieving for his child, that they were barbarously exterminated to a man, by the Scotch-Irish partisans of Paxton.

* *Gu-ne-u*, long. *Gu-nux-u*, it is long. *Gu ni*, a long while. *Gu-na-ge u*, he stays long.—*Zr.*

† *Gu-ne-u*, long. *Hi-tschi-wi*, indeed.—*Zr.* The valley of the Conococheagne was explored and settled about 1730, by Scotch-Irish pioneers, among whom were three brothers, by the name of Chambers. The site of Chambersburg at the confluence of Falling Spring and the Conococheagne was built on by Joseph Chambers. The "Conococheagne Settlement," suffered much from the Indians, after Braddock's defeat in 1755. Moravian itinerants visited the lower valley in Maryland, as early as 1748.

‡ *Gu-ne-u*, long. *P'tuk hanne*, a bend in a river.—*Zr.* An inspection of the map, will show the appropriate application of this euphonious Indian name. When John Harris settled on Paxton Creek, (see Paxton in this register) there were Shawanese planting at the month of the Conodogwinet, on the right bank of the Susquehanna.

dians, when halting along the creek to await the return of one of their companions.)

CONOQUENESSING, (a branch of the Allegheny, draining Butler County) corrupted from *Gunachquenésink*,* signifying, *for a long way straight.*

CONOY,† (a small creek emptying into the Susquehanna in Lancaster County), corrupted from *Guneu*, signifying, *long.*

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* *Gu-ne-u*, long. *Scha-chach-ge-u*, straight.—*Zr.*

† This creek perpetuates the name of the *Conoy, Ganawese*, or *Piscatawa* Indians who in 1700 entered the Province from the South, and settled "near the head of *Potomok*." For upwards of 40 years, we find their deputies participating in conferences held with Wm. Penn, or with the Proprietaries' Governors at Philadelphia, or on the Susquehanna. In 1705, (at which time they were reduced by sickness to a small number) they requested permission of Gov. Evans, through *Manangy*, "the Indian Chief on Schuylkill," to settle among the Schuylkill Indians near *Tulpehocken*. Instead, however, they planted *some miles above Conestoga*, at *Connejahera*. Their village here was called *Dekanouga*, and the Governor states it to have been *nine miles distant from Pequea*. In 1719, the Conoy Town, we learn, was a halting-point for warriors of the Five Nations, as they returned north from marauds against the Catawbas of Virginia and the Carolinas. In June of 1733 the *Conoys* or *Ganawese* "living between Paxton and Conestoga," sent a messenger to Shikellimy of Shamokin, (for being tributaries of the Six Nations they looked to Shikellimy for counsel) to inform him of intelligence come to them, to the effect that the Governor of Virginia was about to send a party of armed men to cut them off for a murder committed within his jurisdiction, and charged to them.

In May of 1743, Gov. Thomas laid before the Board the following letter written by Thomas Cookson of Lancaster, at the instance of the Conoy Indians. "The Indians of the *Conoytown on the east side of Susquehanna*, in April last, sent me a message, signifying their having something to communicate to your Honor, and desired me to be at home on the 11th of the same month, on which day they came down to the number of fourteen. Having invited them into the house, *Old Sack*, their chief, spoke to the following purpose: We desire you to acquaint our brother the Governor, that our forefathers came from *Piscatua* to an island in Potomock, and from there down to Philadelphia in old Proprietor Penn's time (May 1701) in order to show their friendship to the Proprietor;—that after their return they brought down all their brothers from Potomock to *Conejohala*, on the east side of Susquehanna, and built a town there,—that the Six Nations had told them there was land enough, they might choose their place of settlement any where about Susquehanna,—that accordingly they thought fit to remove higher up that river to the Conoytown where they now live; and on their first settling there, the Indians of the Six Nations came down and made their fire, and all the great men declared the fire of their kindling to be in token of their approbation of the settlement; but that now the land all around them being settled by white people, their hunting is spoiled, and they have been long advised by the Six Nations to leave their place and go higher up the river either at the mouth of *Conedogwinet* or of *Ju-*

COSHECTON, (a branch of the Susquehanna in the County of that name), corrupted from *Gischiechton,** signifying, *finished, complete.*

COWANESQUE, (a branch of the Tioga in Tioga County), corrupted from *Gawunshesque,* signifying, *overgrown with briers, bricry.*

CROOKED CREEK, (emptying into the Allegheny from the South-east in Armstrong County),—in Delaware, *Woak-hánne,*† i. e., *crooked stream,* the stream with large bends.

CROSS CREEK, (a branch of the Ohio, heading in Washington County). A creek bearing the same name empties into the Ohio from the West. The two are called the Cross Creeks—in Delaware, *Wewuntschi-saquick,* words signifying, *two streams flowing into a river at the same point from opposite directions.*

DELAWARE RIVER,‡ called by the Delawares *Lenape-wihittuck,* i. e., *the river of the Lenape.* Also *Kit-hánne,* (in Minsi Delaware *Gicht-hánne*) signifying, the *main stream* in its region of country.

DUCK CREEK, (in Delaware) called in early Indian deeds *Quing Quingus,*§ corrupted from *Quiquingus,* the Delaware name for the *mallard,* or common *wild duck.*

ELK CREEK, (emptying into the Susquehanna from the South, in Lycoming County),—in Delaware *Mos-hánne* or *Moos-hánne,*‖ i. e., *Elk-stream.*

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niada, or to *Shamokin.*" In August of 1744, Shikellimy reported to the Governor, that "the Conoy Indians having moved higher up to be nearer us, we desire to inform the Governor of it, and on their behalf give this string of wampum." In 1749 the Conoys were residing "among other Indian nations at Juniata." *Conniack,* represented the Conoys, in a private conference held by the Proprietaries' agents with the chiefs of the United Nations, at the house of Adam Yohe in Easton, Oct. 24, 1758. Bainbridge, at the mouth of the Conoy in Conoy township, is said to occupy the site of the last settlement of the Ganawese in Lancaster county.

* *Gi-schiech-en,* finished, done.—*Zr.*

† *Woak-tschin-ni* to bend. *Woak-tsche-u,* crooked.—*Zr.*

‡ *Len-na-pe,* an Indian. *Len-na-pe-wak,* Indians.—*Zr.* The Dutch who were the first Europeans to sail up the Delaware named it in contradistinction from the North River, *Zuydt* or *South River.* It takes its present name from Lord de la Ware, Governor of Virginia, who passed the Capes in 1610. *Kik-hi-can* and *Kik-hit-tuk,* a large river. *Kid-hen-nünk,* in, or, at the large or main river.—*Zr.*

§ *Qui-quin-gus,* large ducks.—*Zr.* This name occurs in a deed executed to Wm. Penn, by certain Indian kings, Sachemakers (*Sa-ki-ma,* chief, king.—*Zr.*) at New Castle, the 2d day of 8 mo. 1685, for lands "from *Quing Quingus,* called Duck Creek unto Upland, called Chester Creek, all along by the west side of Delaware River, and so between the said Creeks backwards, as far as a man can ride in two days with a horse."

‖ *Moos,* a cow. *Moo-sak,* cattle.—*Zr.*

Elk Lick, (one of the sources of the Sinnemahoning in Potte County),—in Delaware, *Mosi-mahóni.*

Equinunk, (emptying into the Delaware from the south-wes in Wayne County.) The word is Delaware, and signifies, *whe articles of clothing were distributed.*

Fishing Creek, (emptying into the Bald Eagle from the Sout in Clinton County,)—in Delaware, *Namees-hánne,** i. e., *fish-strean*

Hockendauqua, (emptying into the Lehigh from the Nort east in Northampton County), corrupted from *Hackiundochure* signifying, *searching for land.* (*Note.* Probably some whites we observed by the Indians surveying or prospecting along this stream

Hoppeny Creek, (emptying into the Susquehanna from t West, in Wyoming County), corrupted from *Hobbenísink*,‡ signif ing, *where there are wild potatoes.*

Juniata,§ an Iroquois word. The Delawares say *Juchniád* or *Chuchniada.* (*Note.* The Iroquois had a path leading to Shawanese town on the Raystown branch of the Juniata, situate I am told, on the site of Bedford.)

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* *Na-mees*, a fish. *Na-me-sac* fishes. *Na-mee-si-pook*, it tastes fishy.—*Zr.*

† *Ha-cki*, land. *Un-dooch-wen*, to come for some purpose.—*Zr.* Survey General Eastburn's Map of the Forks of Delaware, drawn in 1740, notes th surveys on the Hockendauqua, one of 1800 acres, another of 1426 acres, mark *William Allen*, and a third of 1500 acres, marked *John Page.* These surveys w made prior to the walk of a day and a half in Sept. of 1737. *Lappawinzoe* (wh portrait was presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, by the l Granville Penn,) at that time king of Hockendauqua, witnessed the walk in p and expressed his dissatisfaction at the walkers in the memorable words—" sit down to smoke—no shoot a squirrel; but lun, lun, lun all day long!" village lay between Howell's grist-mill and the mouth of the Creek. Near it tired walkers passed the night of the 19th and 20th of September, on the comp tion of a twelvs hours walk, bivouacking before a blazing fire, while the Indian the village below prolonged a cantico till into the hours of the early morning.

‡ *Hobbenac*, wild potatoes.—*Zr.*

§ Written also *Scokooniady, Choniata* and *Chiniotta.* "Shikellimy then as the Proprietor (Thos. Penn) whether he had heard of a letter which he and S soonan (Allummapees) had sent to John Harris to desist from m ing a plantation at the month of *Choniata*, where Harris had built a house an clearing fields. They were told that Harris had only built the house for ca ing on his trade,—that his plantation at Paxton is his place of dwelling, and not to be supposed he will remove from thence. Shikellimy said he had n will to John Harris, it not being his custom to bear any man ill will, but I afraid that the warriors of the Six Nations when they pass that way may tal

KENJUA, (a branch of the Allegheny, heading in McKean County), corrupted from *Kéntschuak*, signifying, *they gobble*. (*Note.* The creek was evidently a resort of wild turkeys, the name it bears alluding to the *gobbling* with which the turkey-cock responds to the call of his mate.)

KIGISCHGOTAM, corrupted from *Kikischcotam*,* Delaware for *katy-did*.

KIKITSCHIMUS, (Duck Creek) corrupted from *Kikitschimus*,† Delaware for *wood* or *tree-duck*.

KISHICOQUILLAS,‡ (emptying into the Juniata from the North, in Mifflin County), corrupted from *Gischichgakwalis*, signifying, *the snakes are already in their dens;* compounded of *gischi*, already —*achgook*, snakes—and *walieu*, in dens.

KISKIMINETAS or Conemaugh, (a branch of the Allegheny dividing Armstrong and Indiana Counties from Westmoreland), corrupted from *Gieschgumanito*,§ signifying, *make daylight!* (*Note.*

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ill to see a settlement made on lands which they have always desired to be kept free." *Minutes of Prov. Council, June 19, 1733.*

"Bro. Onas! The Dutchman on *Scokooniady* claims a right to the land merely because he gave a little victuals to our warriors, who stand very often in need of it. This string of wampum serves to take the Dutchman by the arm and to throw him over the big mountain within your borders. We have given the River *Scokooniady* for a hunting-place to our cousins the Delawares, and our brothers the Shawanese, and we ourselves hunt there sometimes. We therefore desire you will immediately by force remove all those that live on the river of *Scokooniady*." *Council of Onondaga to Gov. Thomas, April 9, 1743.*

The Shawanese town alluded to in Mr. Heckewelder's note, may have been the "Shawanese Cabins," noted on Scull's Map, and situate about 8 miles west of Raystown, on the Raystown branch of the Juniata.

* *Ki-gisch-go-tum*, green grasshoppers.—*Zr.*

† *Gi-gi-tschi-mu-is*, a summer-duck.—*Zr.*

‡ In an enumeration of Indians residing within the Province, furnished to Government by Jonah Davenport and James Letort, traders, in October of 1731, *Okesson* is mentioned as an Indian town on *Choniata*, 60 miles from Susquehanna, inhabited by 20 families of Shawanese, numbering 60 men, and *Kissikahquilas*, their chief.

Conrad Weisser writes from Anghwick, Sept. 3, 1754, as follows: "I also condoled with the Indians in the name of this Government over the death of the Shawanese chief, who died at Capt. McKee's in Paxton, last month. His name was *Kissakoochquilla*.

§ *Gisch-gu*, day. *Gisch-que*, to-day. *Gi-scha-pan*, it is day-break. *Ma-ni-toon*, to make.—*Zr.* "On Conemaugh Creek there are three Shawanese towns, 45 families, 200 men, and *Okowela* their chief." *Report of Jonah Davenport and*

Probably the word of command given by a warrior to his comrades at night, to break up camp and resume the journey or war-path.)

KITTANNING,* (the County-seat of Armstrong), corrupted from *Kit-hánne*, in Minsi Delaware, *Gicht-hánne*, signifying, *the main stream*, i. e., in its region of country.

LACKAMISSA, (corrupted from *Legau-miksa*,† signifying, *sandy soil.*

LACKAWANNOCK, (emptying into the Susquehanna from the North-east in Luzerne County,) corrupted from *Lechauwáh-hannek*,‡ or *Lechau-hánnek*, signifying, *the forks of a stream.*

LACKAWAXEN, (a branch of the Delaware in Wayne and Pike Counties), corrupted from *Lechauwésink*, signifying, *where the roads part*—at the forks of the road.§

LEHIGH RIVER, called by the Delawares *Lechauwéeki*, *Lechauwiechink*, or *Lechauwékink*,‖ signifying, *where there are forks.* This

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James Letort, Oct. 29, 1731. "*Aug.* 25, 1748. Crossed *Kiskeminetas Creek*, and came to Ohio, that day traveling 26 miles."—*Weisser's Journal to Logstown.*

* On the alluvial flat on the left bank of the Allegheny, where Kittanning was laid out in 1804, there stood in Colonial times an Indian village of the same name, and through it passed a great trail called the "*Kittaning Path*," by which the Indians of the West communicated with those of the Susquehanna country. Scull's Map calls it "the Ohio Path." In August of 1756, Col. John Armstrong fitted out an expedition at Fort Shirley, and attacked and burned the 30 houses which composed the Indian town of Kittaning "on Ohio," then the head-quarters of the Delaware war-chief, Capt. Jacobs.

† *Le-kau*, sand.—*Zr.*

‡ *L'chau-hanne*, the fork of a river or stream.—*Zr.*

§ The head-line of the so-called "walking purchase," run by Surveyor General Eastburn at right angles to the line of the walk, extended from the "five chestnut-oaks cut with the Proprietaries' initials and the year 1737, at the end of the day's and a half walk through a mountainous barren country abounding in pines" to a tree *near the mouth of the Lackawaxen*, on Delaware, marked with the letter P.

‖ *Le-chau-woak*, a fork. *L'chau-wa-quot*, a sapling with a fork. *L'chau-wie-chen*, the fork of a road. *L'chau-hanne-wall*, the forks of streams. *Lal-chau-wu linscha-ja*, the forks of the fingers. *Lal-chau uch-si-ta-ja*, the forks of the toes.—*Zr.* The Lehigh River is noticed in records of the Province as early as 1701. On the 21st of March of that year, the Proprietary and Governor informed the Council "that a certain young Swede arriving from *Lechay*, brought intelligence that on 5th day last some young men going out a hunting at that place, heard the frequent report of fire-arms, which made them suspect that the Senecas were coming down among them." "*March* 31, 1701. The Proprietary and Governor acquainted the Board that despite a law prohibiting all persons to trade with the Indians in this

name was given to the River, because through it struck an Indian path or thoroughfare coming from the lower parts of the Delaware country, which thoroughfare, on the left bank of the River, *forked off into various trails,* leading North and West. The word *Lechauwékink,* was shortened into *Lecha,* the name still in use among the descendants of German settlers,—of which abbreviation *Lehigh* is a corruption.

Lechau-hánne, literally a *forked stream,* is the word also applied by the Delawares to the angle or wedge of land lying between the confluence of two streams. *The forks,* most frequently alluded to in early records of Provincial Pennsylvania, are those of the Delaware and its *West Branch* or Lehigh—called the *Forks of the Delaware.*

Lechauwítank, the place at or within the forks, was the name given by the Delawares to the site of Easton, and then to the town.

Province, but such as dwell and reside therein, and have a license from the Governor,—John Hans Stiehlman, said to live in Maryland, and to have no such license, followed a close trade with the Indians of this Province, not only at Conestoga, but had been endeavoring to settle a trade with those at *Lechay,* or ye *Forks of Delaware,* to the great prejudice of the trade of this Province, for which reason the Governor had seized such of his goods as were going to *Lechay.*" To John Hans, the Governor thereupon wrote as follows: "Thy present management of the Indian trade is directly contrary to our laws. I have therefore stopped thy goods intended for *Lechay,* till according to thy frequent engagements thou come hither thyself and give further satisfaction than thou hast yet done, to

"Thy friend, WILLIAM PENN."

"*July* 25, 1701. The Proprietary and Governor ordered that Menangy, Indian chief on Schuylkill, *Oppemenyhook, Chief on Lechay,* and Indian Harry of Conestoga be sent for to consult with about passing a law to prohibit all use of rum to the Indians of their nations."

"Last week thy son, Judge Mompesson, and myself went to Pennsbury to meet one hundred Indians, of which nine are kings. *Oppewoanumhook* (Oppemenyhook?) the chief, with his neighbors, who came hither to congratulate thy son's arrival, presented nine belts of wampum for a ratification of peace, and had returns accordingly."

James Logan to William Penn, Philadelphia, 14th 1 month, 1710.
Memoirs of the Hist'l Society of Penn'a, Vol. IX.

The "Indian Ford," alluded to above, crossed the Lehigh at the head of the island opposite the works of the "Bethlehem Iron Company," and was included in the purchase of 500 acres made by the Moravians of Abraham Taylor in February of 1756. When, in 1745, a road was laid out from the grist-mill at Bethlehem, to the terminus of the King's Road from Philadelphia at Irish's stone quarry, the "Indian Ford" was included in the survey.

Licking Creek, (a branch of the Potomac heading in Bedford County). In Delaware, *Mahonink*, signifying, *where there is a lick.*

Little Beaver, (a branch of the Ohio in Beaver County). In Delaware, *Tank-amochk-hánne*, i. e., *little beaver-stream.*

Little Brier, (in Jefferson County?) In Delaware, *Tangawunsch-hánne* i. e., *little brier stream.*

Little Conemaugh, (a branch of the Conemaugh or Kiskiminetas in Cambria County). The Delawares called it *Gunamóchki,** *the little otter.*

Little Moshannon, (a branch of the Moshannon in Centre County). In Delaware *Tankimoos-hánne*, i. e., *little elk stream.*

Little Schuylkill, Beaver, or Tamaque Creek, (a branch of the Schuylkill in Schuylkill County). In Delaware, *tamaquehánne*, i. e., *beaver stream*,—a stream across which the beaver throws a dam and builds his lodge.

Loyalhanna,† (a branch of the Conemaugh or Kiskiminetas in Westmoreland County), corrupted from *Lawel-hánne*, signifying, *the middle stream.*

Loyalsock,‡ (a branch of the Susquehanna in Lycoming County), corrupted from *Lawi-saquick*, signifying the *middle creek*, i. e., a creek flowing between two others.

Lycoming,§ (a branch of the Susquehanna in Lycoming County), corrupted from *Legaui-hánne*, signifying *sandy stream.* The Delawares called it invariably by this name.

Macungy, (a township in Lehigh County) corrupted from *Machk-únschi*,‖ signifying, *the feeding place of bears.*

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* *Gun-na-moochk*, an otter,—*Zr.* Compounded of *gu-ne-u* long and *a-moochk* a beaver.

† *Le la-wi*, the middle. *Lawi-lo-wan*, mid-winter. *La-wit-pi-cat*, mid-night. *La-wu-linsch-gan*, the middle finger. *La wu-linsch*, the middle or palm of the hand.—*Zr.*

‡ Count Zinzendorf was at the Indian town of *Ols-tou-wa-kin*, at the mouth of the Loyalsock, in October of 1742,, said town at that time being the residence of Madame Montour. (See Memorials of the Moravian Church, Vol. I, p. 80, for the Count's narrative.)

§ Written Lycaumick on Scull's Map. *French Margaret's Town*, stood on the right bank of the creek, near its outlet.

‖ *Machk*, a bear. *Mach-qui-ge-u*, plenty of bears. *Mach-quik*, there are bears plenty.—*Zr.* The region of country drained by the Little Lehigh and its tributaries (since 1812 in Lehigh County) embracing the townships of Upper and Lower Macungy and Salsburg, was called *Macaunsic* and *Macquenusic* prior to 1735, and

MEECH-HÁNNE,‖ (signifying, *the main stream;* a name applied to the *largest* of several affluent streams, prior to their confluence. This was the name given by the Delawares to the main branch of the Lehigh, (between Luzerne and Monroe), it being larger than either the *Toby-hanna*, or the *Tunk-hanna*, its other sources.

MECHEEK-MENÁTEY,* i. e., *the Great Island*, the name in use among the Delawares.

MAHANOY,† (a branch of the Susquehanna in Northumberland County), corrupted from *mahoni, a lick.*

MAHANTANGO,‡ (a branch of the Susquehanna between Dauphin and Northumberland Counties), corrupted from *Mohantango*, signifying, *where we had plenty of meat to eat.*

MAHONING,§ (a branch of the Lehigh, heading west in Carbon County), corrupted from *Mahonink*, signifying, *where there is a lick, at the lick. Mahoni* is Delaware for *a lick, mahonitty* signifies, *a diminutive lick*, and *mahon-hánne, a stream flowing from or near a lick.*

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was already then in part well settled by German immigrants. In March of that year, "sundry of the inhabitants of Bucks living near and at *Macaunsic*, in a petition to Gov. Gordon, set forth the great necessity of a public road from their settlements to *Goshen-hoppen*," a return of which road was made in January of 1736. The Moravians labored in the Gospel among the Germans of Macungy as early as 1742, in July of which year Gottlieb Pezold, of Bethlehem, occupied that field. It was one of the few outside of their own settlements in which they effected a permanent footing. In 1747 they organized a congregation among the settlers near the South Mountain, five miles South-west from Allentown, and also established a school, which was in operation until 1754. About this time Salsburg township was erected. In 1761 the Moravian village within its bounds was named *Emmaus*, now a station on the East Penn R. R.

‖ *Me cheek* and *Mach-we-u*, great, large. *Meech-gi-lük*, the large one. *Meechhan-ne*, a large stream.—*Zr.*

* *Me-na-tey*, and *Me-na-tau*, an island.—*Zr.* This island lies in the West Branch of the Susquehanna, in that long stretch of the river, called *Quenischaschachki*, not far from Dunnstown, Lycoming County. It was a favorite resort of the Indians and lay on one of the great thoroughfares of the Delaware Country.

† Zinzendorf, on his way to Shamokin in Sept. of 1742, named the Mahanoy *Leimbach's Creek*, for Henry Leimbach, of Oley, one of his fellow-travelers.

‡ The Count on the same journey named the Mahantango, *Benigna's Creek*, in honor of his daughter.

§ Compounded of *Mahoni*, a lick, and *ink* or *ing*, the local suffix. This name was a very common one for rivers and places in the Delaware country, along which or where the surface of the ground was covered with saline deposit or efflorescence, provincially called "*licks*" from the fact of deer and elk frequenting them and *licking* the saltish earth.

MAKERISK-KITTON.* This name, written also *Makeusk-kitton*, *Makerisk-hickon* and *Makeerick-kitton* in early Indian deeds, denotes, I am inclined to believe, a spot either on the bank, or in the bed of the Delaware;—which conjecture I base on the termination *kitton*, evidently intended for *kit-hánne* or *gicht-hanne*, signifying *the main stream*.

MANAHAN, (a branch of the Yellow Breeches in York County), corrupted from *menéhund*,† signifying *where liquor had been drunk*.

MANALTIN, corrupted from *menaltink*, signifying, *where we drank liquor to excess*.

MANATAWNY,‡ (a branch of the Schuylkill in Berks County), corrupted from *menháltanink*, signifying, *where we drank liquor*.

MANAYUNK,§ corrupted from *mene-iunk*, signifying, *where we go to drink—our place of drinking liquor*.

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* The name occurs in the deed executed by the Indians to Wm. Markham, (Penn's deputy,) on the 15th July, 1782, (the oldest Indian deed on record), in which indenture the tract of land conveyed to the Proprietor is described as "lying in the Province of Pennsylvania, beginning at a certain white oak on the land now in the tenure of John Wood, and by him called the Gray Stones over against the falls of Delaware River, and so from thence up by the River's side to a corner marked spruce-tree with the letter P, at the foot of a mountain, and from the said corner marked spruce-tree along by the ledge or foot of the mountains, west north-west to a corner white-oak marked with the letter P, standing by the Indian path that leads to an Indian town called *Playwickey*, and near the head of a creek called *Towsissinock*, and from thence westward to the Creek called *Neshamony's Creek*, and along by the said *Neshamony's Creek* unto the river Delaware, alias, *Makerisk-hickon*, and so bounded by the said *main river*, to the said first-mentioned white-oak in John Wood's land." This purchase situate within the great bend of the Delaware, and between the falls opposite Trenton and the Neshaminy, was made by Markham for Penn's private use, and became the seat of the *Manor of Pennsbury*.

The curious instrument from which the above recital of boundaries was taken is in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

† *Me-nee-ton*, to spend in drinking. *Me-neel*, drink. *Mee-neet*, a drunkard. *Mene-woa-can*, drinking.—*Zr*.

‡ Manatawny is mentioned in official records as early as July of 1707. In May of 1728 it was the scene of a collision between the settlers and some Shawanese who had come down from *Pechoquealin* armed, and with a Spanish Indian, as it was thought, for their Captain. Many of the back inhabitants in consequence quitted their houses, being under apprehension of numbers of foreign Indians, Twightwees or Flatheads, coming to attack them, and several Palatine families gathered together in a mill near New Hanover, there to defend themselves.

§ Occurs in the deed cited under Chester River, in this register.

MASGEEK-HÁNNE,* *swamp-stream,* the name given by the Delawares to a run flowing through the swamp of the Broad Mountain in Monroe County.

MAUCH CHUNK, corrupted from *machk-tschunk,*† signifying *bear-mountain,* or strictly, *where there is a mountain, the resort of bears.*

MAXATAWNY,‡ (a branch of Saucon Creek in Berks County), corrupted from *machksit-hánne,* signifying *bear's path stream,*—the stream along which bears have beaten a path.

MENIOLOGAMEKA,§ the name of an Indian village on the *Achquoanschicóla,* at the northern base of the Blue Mountain, near Smith's Gap.

MESHOPPEN, (emptying into the Susquehanna from the North in Wyoming County), corrupted from *maschápi,*‖ signifying, *glass-beads,* a name given by the Indians to commemorate a distribution of such trinkets, made somewhere on the bank of the stream.

MINISINK, corrupted from *Mins-ink* or *Minissink,* signifying, *where there are Minsies,* i. e., the home or country of the Minsies.¶

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* *Mas-keek,* a swamp. *Mas-ke-kunk,* in the swamp.– *Zr.*

† *Machk,* a bear. *Wach-tschu,* a mountain. *Wachtschuwall,* mountains. *Wachtschunk,* on the mountain.—*Zr.*

‡ Also the name of a township in Berks, in which, at the house of Jacob De Levan, a French Huguenot, Zinzendorf preached in 1742. Scull's Map notes Delevan on the road from Easton to Reading, about six miles West of Mertztown.

§ See Memorials of the Moravian Church, Vol. 1, p. 35. Heckewelder in his Narrative states that the word implies *a rich spot of ground surrounded by barren lands.*

‖ *Ma-scha-pi,* corals, beads. *Woop-a-schapi-all,* white beads.—*Zr.*

¶ Early records assign this division of the Lenape, to the North-eastern wilds of the Province, within the country which is called on old maps "the land abounding in the sugar tree." The upper valley of the Delaware, however, was pre-eminently the home of the Minsies, (the historic Minsinks,) where they built their towns, planted their corn and kindled their council fires, and whence they set out on the hunt or on the war-path. The *Minsies, Monseys,* or *Muncys,* were the most warlike of their people, and proverbially impatient of the white man's presence in the Indian country. The murder of one Wright at John Burt's house in Snaketown, in Sept. of 1727, was the act of *Minsies,* and subjects we are told of Kindassowa, who resided "at the Forks of the Susquehanna above Mechayomy." The following notice of the physical peculiarities and traits of these mountaineers, is copied from a paper, in the hand-writing of Mr. Heckewelder. "According to my observation and judgment of Indian tribes, the Minsies have a peculiarity which signalises them from other nations or tribes; and I have seldom failed in pointing them out among a crowd, where they, Delawares and Mohicans were to-

Mohulbucteetam, now Mahoning Creek, (a branch of the Allegheny in Armstrong County), corrupted from *Mochoclpakiton*,* signifying, *where canoes are abandoned*, i. e., the head of navigation.

Monocasy, (a branch of the Lehigh in Northampton County), corrupted from *Menágassi*, or *Menakessi*, signifying, *a stream with several large bends.*†

Monody, (a branch of the Swatara in Dauphin County), corrupted from *Menatey*, signifying, *an island.*

Monongahela, corrupted from *Menaungehilla*, a word implying *high banks or bluffs, breaking off and falling down at places.*

Moselem, (a branch of Maiden Creek in Berks County), corrupted from *Meschilameek-hánne*,‡ signifying *trout stream.*

Moshannon, (emptying into the Susquehanna from the Southwest, between Clearfield and Centre Counties), corrupted from *Mooshánne*, i. e., *elk stream.*

Muncy Creek,§ (an affluent of the Susquehanna in Lycoming

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gether. The principal distinguishing marks with me, are—robust or strong-boned, broad faces, somewhat surly countenances, greater head of hair and this growing low down on their foreheads, short, round-like nose, thick lips seldom closed, or rather having their months generally somewhat open, which, as I am inclined to believe, may be owing in some measure to an awkward custom of this people, who, instead of pointing to a thing or object with their hands or fingers, as other Indians do, generally draw out their mouths or lips in the desired direction. They are averse to manners, prone to mischief and friends of war. Their natural complexion is dark, more so than any Indians I have yet seen, but being within these twenty last years much mixed by intermarriages with other tribes, their color has become lighter or fairer."

"From the Falls of Delaware River the Indians go in canoes up the said river to an Indian town called Minisinks, which is accounted from the Falls about 80 miles; but this they perform by great labor in setting up against the stream. I have been informed that about Minisinks by the river-side, both in New Jersey and Pennsylvania are great quantities of exceeding rich open land which is occasioned by washing down of the leaves and soil in great rains from the mountains." *A* True Account of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, by Thomas Budd, 1685.

The settlement of "the Minisinks" by whites from Esopus prior to the purchase of the Indian claim, (ostensibly consummated by the "one and a half day's walk," in the autumn of 1737) was one of the grievances that alienated the Delawares from the English, and provoked the war of 1755.

* *A-mo-chool*, a canoe. *Pa-ki-ton*, to throw away.—*Zr.*

† *Menagachsink*, was the name given by the Delawares to the site of Bethlehem at the mouth of the Monakasy.

‡ *Me-schi-la-meek*, a trout. *Ma-schi-la-me-quak*, trouts.—*Zr.*

§ Called *Ocochpocheny*, on Scull's Map. Zinzendorf and his companions were

County), corrupted from *Mins-ink*, signifying, *where there are Minsies.*

NESCOPEC, (emptying into the Susquehanna from the East in Luzerne County), corrupted from *Neskchoppeek*,* signifying *black, deep and still water.*

NESHAMINY, (a branch of the Delaware in Bucks County), corrupted from *Nischam-hánne*,† signifying *a double stream*, i. e., a stream formed by the confluence of two branches.

NESHANNOCK, (emptying into the Beaver from the North in Lawrence County), corrupted from *Nishannok*, signifying, *both streams, two adjoining streams.*

NESQUEHONING, (emptying into the Lehigh from the West, in Carbon County), corrupted from *Neska-honi*, signifying, a *black lick.*

NIPPENOSE, (draining Nippenose Bottom, and emptying into the Susquehanna from the South, in Lycoming County), corrupted from *Nipeno-wi*,‡ signifying, *like the summer*, a name indicating a warm and genial situation.

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the first Moravians to cross Muncy Creek. It was in September of 1742. "In the afternoon of Sunday, Aug. 26, 1753, we launched our canoe and paddled up the river. Four miles above Shamokin we came to *Logan's* place. The few Indians who reside here informed us that he had gone to the Seneca country. In one of the cabins there lay a Shawano dying of small-pox. The poor fellow had just returned with two *Tudelars* from an unsuccessful expedition against the Catawbas, in which the captain of his company, an Oneida, and four other comrades lost their lives. On the 27th we arrived at *John Shikellimy's* hunting-lodge (*quaere*, at the mouth of Warrior's Run?). The Shawanese here gave us a friendly reception, supplying us also with bear's meat, in return for which Bro. Grubé made the children a present of dried apples. After dinner we came to the mouth of *Muncy Creek*, 40 *miles above Shamokin.* As the Susquehanna was high and the current rapid, we left our canoe in care of an Indian acquaintance, shouldered our packs, and keeping along the bank of the river, arrived at *Otstonwakin* in the evening.—*Journal of Mack and Grubé from Bethlehem to Quenischaschachki.*

* *Neesk-i-u*, black. *Tup-peek*, a spring, a well.—*Zr.*

† *Nis-chi*, two. *Ni-schi-nach-ke*, twenty. *Ni-sche-cat*, double.—*Zr.* The name occurs in the deed of July 1682, cited under *Makerisk-kitton.* When in July of 1742, Zinzendorf inaugurated a work of home-missions in the rural districts of the Province, he sent John Okely, of Bethlehem, to preach to the English settlers on the Neshaminy. His appointments were probably at Hartsville, a small village on the Willow Grove Turnpike, about six miles south from Doylestown, not far from the Neshaminy Church and the "Log College," both of which were in charge of the Rev. William Tennent.

‡ *Ni-pen*, summer. *Ni-pin-ke*, in the summer. *Ni pe-na-cheen*, the summer-hunt.—*Zr.*

NOCKAMIXON, (a township in Bucks, bordering on the Delaware), corrupted from *Nochanichsink,** signifying, *where there are three houses.*

NOLAMÁTTINK,† signifying, *where the silkworm spins,—the silkworm lands,*—was the name given by the Delawares to that part of the "Nazareth tract," on which Gnadenthal and Christian's Spring lay,—and which abounded in the mulberry.

OHIO. (*Note.* Having always failed to satisfy myself that this name was an Indian word, (excepting perhaps as an *abbreviation*), I will proceed to state my views on its probable origin, based upon observation and hearsay, during my residence among the Indians of the Ohio country. There were persons who would have had me believe that *Ohio* signified "*the beautiful river,*" and others, "*the river red with blood,*" or "*the bloody river.*" This diversity of interpretation exciting my curiosity, I took special care to arrive at a true solution of the problem, by all the means at hand,—by questioning intelligent Indians, and by giving close attention to their conversation, whenever its subject was this river, or any event that had occurred along its course. That an Indian word of but four letters should be so comprehensive as to express the complex idea *beautiful river*, or *bloody river*, I could never concede. Could it even have embraced so much, I was totally at a loss to which of the Indian languages to assign it. The latter designation, furthermore, I knew to be a figurative one, and suggestive of the bloody wars that had been conducted from time immemorial within the country washed by the Ohio and its tributaries.

Only when conversing with traders, or white travelers, to whom the word was familiar, would the Indians, in naming the river in question, call it the *Ohio;* invariably, however, emphasizing the *antepenult*, viz: *O-hi-o*, and *not the penult*, as we do. This circumstance satisfied me that the word was not in the vocabulary of the Lennape or Delawares. Among themselves, the Indians always called the river *Kit-hánne* (in Minsi Delaware, *Gicht-hánne*) which

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* *Na-cha*, three. *Wik*, a house. *Na che-nach-ke*, thirty. *Zr.*

† *Ne-le-mu-tees*, the silk-worm.—*Zr.* In June of 1752, Philip C. Bader, who was conducting the culture of the silk-worm at Bethlehem, transferred his cocooncry to Christian's Spring, where mention is made of it as late as 1755. *Quaere.* Did the Delawares name the place from this circumstance?

signifies the *main stream*, i. e., in its region of country ;*—a name which is perpetuated in *Kittanning* (once the site of an Indian town on the Allegheny,) corrupted from *Kit-hannink*, signifying *at* or *on the main stream*, i. e., the *town at* or *on the main stream* of its region of country. Thus much for the name of the river in question current among the Delawares,—which name I hold to be the *national* or *historical* one. Next, as to the origin of the name *Ohio* current with us. In tracing this it will be necessary for me to adduce a series of words from the Delaware, all of which have a bearing on the question under consideration. I borrow both from the *Unami* and *Minsi* dialects.

Unami.	*Minsi.*
Ohui, very; when prefixed, written *Ohi.*	*Áchwi*, very.
Opeu, opsit, white.	*Wapeu, wapsit*, white.
Opiechen, it looks white.	*Wapiechen*, it looks white.
Ohiopiechen, it is of a whitish color.	*Wahewapiechen*, it is of a whitish color.
Opeléchen, white, bright.	*Woapeléchen*, white, bright.
Opeek, white with froth.	*Wapeek*, white with froth.
Ohiópeek, very white with froth, or white-caps.	*Achwiwápeck*, very white with froth, or white-caps.
Ohiophánne, a very white stream.	*Achwiwoaphánne*, a very white stream.
Ohiopeekhánne, a very deep and white stream, whitened all over with white-caps.	*Achwiwapeekhánne*, a very deep and white stream, whitened all over with white-caps.

These words, in connection with what I shall proceed to relate, will, I think, be sufficient to convince the reader of the plausibility if not of the correctness of my theory, that the name *Ohio* is only the fragment of an Indian word or words, which in their entirety were used by the Delawares, to describe *a certain condition* of the *main river* (*kit-hanne*) of their western country,—but *not as its name*. The Ohio being often wide, deep and with no perceptible current in its course for miles, the slightest wind that blows up stream, invariably covers its surface with what are provincially called *white-caps*. I have seen the river, when under the influence of a westerly or south-westerly wind, (the prevailing winds of the country) in

* See *Kittanning*, in this register.

this condition for several days in succession, so that my Indian companions and myself would be obliged to haul our canoes on shore, well knowing that navigation on the river, when covered with white-caps, was perilous. On such occasions the Indians never failed to apply one or another of the above quoted words to the condition of the river—ejaculating "*juh Ohiopiéchen!*" "Lo! it is of a whitish color!" or, "*Ohiopeek!*" "it is very white!" or "*Ohiophanne!*" "the stream is very white!" and at points where they supposed the river to be very deep, they would exclaim "*Kitschi Ohiopeekhanne!*" i. e., "verily this is a deep and white stream!"

Thus much for the derivation of Ohio. Its fragmentary form is easily accounted for. We owe it to the traders and settlers along the frontiers. The former penetrated the Indian country solely for gain; the latter were generally an illiterate class, and both were satisfied in communicating with the natives, by words (however incorrectly or carelessly spoken) which sufficed to render themselves intelligible. Whenever possible, they would abbreviate Indian words, or adapt them to their powers of enunciation. To such a degree was this corruption of language practised, that the Indians would even indulge in incessant laughter at the quaintness and impropriety of speech made use of by their white visitors.

On their return to the settlements, the traders would report where they had been, and thus ingraft *their* names of streams and places upon the vocabulary of the whites. In this way, I presume to account for the origin of the name *Ohio*.

Ohiopile, (the falls or rapids of the Youghiogheny in Fayette County), corrupted from *Ohiopéhelle*, signifying, *water whitened by froth* by its rapid descent over rocks and stones.

Oley, (a township in Berks County), corrupted from *Olink*, or *Olo* (also *Wahlink*, or *Wahlo*,* signifying *a hole, a cavern, a cell*, or "*cache;*" also a *cove*, that is, a tract of land encompassed by hills.

Oswaya, (a tributary of the Allegheny in Potter County), corrupted from *Utschéja*,† signifying, *the place of flies*.

Paint Creek, (a branch of the Conemaugh or Kiskiminetas,

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* *Woa-lac*, a hole. *Wal-he-u*, he is digging a hole.—*Zr*.

Oley was one of the first fields of Moravian religious activity in the Province of Pennsylvania.

† *Ut-schè* a fly, *ut-sche-wak*, flies.—*Zr*.

in Cambria County), called by the Delawares *Wallamink*, signifying *where there is paint.*

PAXTON, (emptying into the Susquehanna from the East, at Harrisburg), corrupted from *Peekstank*,* signifying, *where the waters stand*—the place of dead water, whether in a stream, or pool, or lake.

PENNYPACK,† (emptying into the Delaware in Philadelphia County), corrupted from *Pemápeek*, signifying, *a body of water with no current*, whether a stream, a pool, or lake.

PEQUEA,‡ (emptying into the Susquehanna in Lancaster County), corrupted from *Piequeu*, a Shawano word.

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* *Tup-peek*, a spring, a well, standing water. *Hanne*, a stream. *Onk*, *unk*, *ink*, *nk*, and *k*, local suffixes.—*Zr.* The name is written also *Peshtang* and *Pestank* in early official papers. "*July* 25, 1709, the chiefs of several nations living on the Susquehanna at *Peshtang*, *above Conestoga*, met Gov. Gookin in council at Philadelphia." In 1726 John Harris, a Yorkshireman, settled at the mouth of Paxton Creek, traded largely with the Indians by whom he was surrounded, cleared a farm, and kept a ferry. "Harris' Ferry over the Susquehanna," became an important outpost in the Province. John Harris, Jr., born on the Paxton in 1726, inherited from his father 700 acres of land, on a part of which Harrisburg was laid out in 1785. Paxton Township was erected in what was then Lancaster County, in 1729. Its first settlers were Scotch immigrants from the north of Ireland (Scotch-Irish), who, in order to protect their frontier-places against the Indians, on the opening of hostilities, organized a company of rangers. To these belonged the "Paxton Boys" who exterminated the last of the Conestogas on their hereditary seats in Manor Township, Lancaster County, in December of 1763.

† In a letter to James Logan, written at Pennsbury House, the 22d day of 6th month, 1700, Penn directs him in these words, "Urge the Justices about the bridge at *Pemepecka* and *Poquessin* forthwith for a carriage, or I cannot come to town."—*Memoirs of the Historical Society of Penn'a., Vol. IV.*

The name of this stream occurs for the first time in deeds, in one executed by four Indian Shakamakers on the 14th day of the 5th month, 1683, to Wm. Penn, for "lands lying between Manaiunk, alias Schuylkill, and *Pemmapeka Creek.*"

‡ Written in early records *Pequehan*, and *Peckquea*, was already before 1707 a settlement of Shawanese (*Southerners* or *South-men*; *Scha-wa-ne-u*, south, *Sha-wa-ne-munk*, southward, *Sha-wa-noch-que* a Shawano woman.—*Zr.*,) at the mouth of the Creek of that name, and the residence of Martin Chartiere, a well-known trader and interpreter, but "late French glover of Philadelphia." When Gov. Evans, in June of 1707, visited the Indians on the Susquehanna, he was conducted to *Pequea* by *Opessah*, the Shawano Chief, and on his entrance into the town saluted by a volley of small arms. Swiss immigrants settled a tract of 10,000 acres on the North side of Pequea Creek in 1710. In order to secure the good will of the neighboring Indians for these strangers, Gov. Gookin met them in conference at Conestoga in June of 1711, and addressed them through Indian Harry, as follows:

PERKIOMEN, a branch of the Schuylkill in Montgomery County), corrupted from *Pakihmonink,** *Pakiomink,* signifying, *where there are cranberries,* the place of cranberries. *Pakihm,* in Delaware, a *cranberry.*

PINE CREEK, (a branch of the Susquehanna between Lycoming and Clinton Counties.) In Delaware *Cuwenhánne,* i. e., *pine stream* —a stream flowing through pine lands.

PITTSBURG. The Delawares called the site of this city, after its occupation by the French, *Menachk-sink,* which signifies, *where there is a fence,* or an *enclosure. Menachk,*† is an enclosed spot of ground, a place secure against entrance, hence equivalent to a *fortification.*

PLAYWICKY,‡ corrupted from *Plaeuwikichtit,* signifying, *the home or habitation* of Indians of the *Turkey tribe.*

PLUM CREEK, (the North branch of Crooked Creek in Armstrong County.) In Delaware, *Sipuas-hánne,* i. e., *plum stream. Sipuássink,* signifies, *where there are plums.*§

POCONO, (emptying into McMichael's Creek in Monroe County), corrupted from *Poco-hánne* signifying, a *stream between mountains.*‖ Broad Mountain received the name *Pocono,* from this creek.

POHOPOCO, or Big Creek, (emptying into the Lehigh from the North-east, in Carbon County), corrupted from *Pochkapochka,* sig-

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"Gov. Penn on all occasions being willing to show how great a regard he bears to you has sent this small present (50 lbs. of powder, 1 piece of Stroudwaters, 1 piece of duffels and 100 lbs. of shot) to you, and hath required me to acquaint you that he is about to settle some people upon the branches of Potowmack, and doubts not but that the same mutual friendship which has all along as brothers passed between the inhabitants of this government and you, will also continue betwixt you and those he is about to settle. Furthermore he intends to present five belts of wampum to the Five Nations, and one to you of Conestoga, and requires your friendship to the *Palatines settled near Pequea.*"

* Occurs the first time in a deed executed by *Manghoughan,* at Philadelphia, the 3d day of 4th month, 1684, in which he makes over all his land on *Pahikihoma* to William Penn, "in consideration of two matchcoats, four pair of stockings, and four bottles of cydar."

† *Mee-nachk,* a fence, a fort. *Me-nach-gink,* in the fence. *Me-nach-gak,* a fence-rail.—*Zr.*

‡ Occurs in the deed of July, 1684, cited under *Makerish-kitton. Pla-e-u,* a turkey. *Wik,* a house.

§ *Si-pu-o-man-di-can,* wild plums.—*Zr.*

‖ *Pock-a-wach-ne,* a creek between two hills.—*Zr.*

nifying, *two mountains bearing down upon each other with a stream intervening,*—as is the case at the *Water-gap.**

Poketo, (emptying into the Allegheny from the South, in Allegheny County,) corrupted from *pach gita,*† signifying, *throw it away, abandon it.*

Poponoming, (a pond, or small lake in Hamilton township, Monroe County), corrupted from *Papennámink,* signifying, *where we are gazing.*

Poquessing, (emptying into the Delaware between Philadelphia and Bucks Counties), corrupted from *Poquesink,* signifying, *where there are mice,*—the place of mice.‡

Pymatuning, (a branch of the Chenango in Mercer County), corrupted from *Pihmtomink,*§ signifying *where the man with the crooked mouth resides,*—the home of the man with the crooked mouth. (*Note.* I was acquainted with the person to whose deformity there is allusion in the name of the creek.)

Quakake, (emptying into the Lehigh from the West, in Carbon County), corrupted from *Cuwenkeek,*‖ signifying *pine lands. Cuwen-hánne* signifies, *pine-land stream,* i. e., a stream flowing through pine-lands.

Quemahoning, (a branch of the Conemaugh or Kiskiminetas, heading in Somerset County), corrupted from *Cuwéi-mahóni,* signifying *pine-tree lick,* i. e., a lick in among pines.

Quenischaschacki.¶ This name was given by the Delawares

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* It is inferable from remarks recurring in diaries kept by the Brethren, that the name *Pohopoco* or *Buch-ka-buch-ka* (rock aside of rock, from *gan-scha-puchk,* a rock, in composition abbreviated into *puchk*) was applied to *the region of the Lehigh Water Gap, running back east of the river, and north of the mountain.* Hence it was applied to *the main stream of that region,* now called Big Creek.

† *Pa-ki-ton,* to abandon.—*Zr.*

‡ *Ach-po-quees,* a mouse.—*Zr.* This name occurs in the Record of Upland Court, in a minute of Oct. 8, 1678, recording the survey of a tract of 417 acres of land, situate at the mouth of Pont Qnesink Creek, to James Sandelands and Lassie Cock. Also in a release executed by King *Tamanend,* i. e., "the affable," and three other kings, June 15, 1692, at Philadelphia, in which they release to Wm. Penn and his heirs, any further claims on their part to a tract of land situate between Neshaminah and *Poquessing* upon the River Delaware, *claimed by them from the beginning of the world until the aforesaid day.*

§ *Pim-e-u,* slanting. *Pi-moch-que-u,* twisted. *W'doon,* the mouth.—*Zr.*

‖ *Cu-we-u-chae,* pine wood.—*Zr.*

¶ *Quin,* long. *Que-nek,* length. *Schaschack-ki,* straight.—*Zr.* The Delawares

to the *long reach* in the West Branch of the Susquehanna in Lycoming County. Hence, they called the West Branch *Quenischächachgek-hánne*, which word has been corrupted into Susquehanna.

QUILUTAMEND, signifying, *we came unawares upon them*, is the name given by the Delawares to a spot, a short distance above the mouth of the Lackawannock in Luzerne County, situate between a steep mountain and the Susquehanna, where, they told me, their people had surprised and captured a body of Five Nation Indians (*Mengwe*) in their early wars with that confederacy.

QUITOPAHILLA, (a branch of the Great Swatara in Lebanon County), corrupted from *Cuitpehelle*, or *Cuwitpchelle*, signifying, *a spring that flows from the ground among pines.*

RACCOON CREEK, (emptying into the Ohio from the South in Beaver County). In Delaware, *Nachenum-hanne*,* i. e., *raccon stream.*

REDSTONE CREEK, (a branch of the Monongahela in Fayett County). In Delaware, *Machkachsen-hánne*, i. e., *redstone stream.* *Machkachsinnink*, signifies, *where there are red stones.*

SALT LICK, (a branch of the Youghiogheny in Fayette County. In Delaware *Sikhéwi-mahóni.*‡ *Sikei-hánne* signifies a *stream flowing from a salt lick.*

SANDY LICK, (emptying into the Allegheny from the West, in Venango County.) In Delaware, *Legauwi-mahóni.*

SANKINACK,§ corrupted from *Sank-hánne*, signifying, *flint stream* i. e., a stream in or along which flint abounds.

SAUCON, (emptying into the Lehigh from the South-west, in

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had a town of this name on the *long reach* of the river, said to have stood on the site of Linden, 6 miles east from Jersey Shore. It was repeatedly visited by missionaries from Bethlehem, prior to 1754. Scull's Map notes it.

* *Na chenum*, a raccoon. *Na-che-num-mook*, raccoons.—*Zr.*

† *Machk-e-u*, red. *Mach-zum-men* to dye red—*machk-te-u*, morning-red—*machgen-uch-gook*, the copper snake. *Ach-sin*, a stone.—*Zr.*

‡ *Si-key*, Salt.—*Zr.*

§ Probably the Delaware name of *Tar Run*, a small stream that empties in the Lehigh from the West below Weissport, in Carbon County, as may be inferred from the following extract of a letter written from Bethlehem to Count Zinzendorf in June of 1747. "As to the improvements at Gnadenhütten—besides completing the mill-dam and race on the Mahoning, the brethren have thrown a foot-bridge 120 feet long across the *Sankinac, two miles below Gnadenhütten.* By this means we can communicate with the Mission even in times of freshets, when the Creek runs wild down the gorge and its passage by raft or canoe is extremely perilous

Northampton County), corrupted from *Sakunk*,* signifying, *where a smaller stream empties into a larger*, hence, its *place of outlet*. (*Note.* The *outlet of the Big Beaver* into *the Ohio*, a point well known to all Indians,—to warriors of different and of the most distant tribes, as well as of those of the vicinity,—their rendezvous in the French wars,—their thoroughfare and place of transit—a point of observation, and the scene of frequent contest and bloodshed, was the best known of the many *Sakunks*† in the Indian country.)

SCHUYLKILL. The Delawares called the river *Ganshowe-h'inne*,‡ i. e., *the roaring stream*,—the stream that is noisy in its course over rocks and stones.

SERECHEN, corrupted from *Seléhend*, or *Sinuéhund*, signifying, *where milking is done*,—the place of milking.

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* *Sa-ku-wit*, the mouth of a creek or river.—*Zr.*

† Conrad Weisser in his Journal to the Ohio mentions *Sakunk* under the name of *Beaver Creek*. "August 23, 1748," he writes, "I went to an Indian town *about eight miles below Loystown*, (chiefly Delawares, the rest Mohawks) to have some belts of wampum made." Barbara Lingaree and Mary Roy, who were taken prisoners on John Penn's Creek in Snyder County, in October of 1755, by French Indians, state, in a deposition made on their release from captivity, that they had first been carried to *Kittanning*, thence were removed to Fort Duquesne, thence to *Sakunk*, twenty miles below *at the mouth of the Big Beaver*,—and in the spring of 1757, to *Kaskaskie, up Beaver Creek twenty-five miles*." Post, in his Journal to the Ohio records his experience at *Sakunk*, in these words: "Aug. 20, 1758, we set out from *Kaskaskie* for *Sakunk*. My company consisted of twenty-five horsemen and fifteen footmen, and arrived there in the afternoon. The people of this town were very dissatisfied at my coming, and received me in a rough manner. They surrounded me with drawn knives in their hands, so that I could hardly get along, running up against me with their bare breasts, as if they wanted some pretence to kill me. I could read a desire of my life in their countenances,—their faces were quite distorted with rage, and they went so far as to say that I should not live long."

Evans' Map locates *Shingas' Town* at the outlet of the Big Beaver.

‡ *Gau-sche-wee-u*, it roars. *Gans-chi-hit-ta-quot*, it makes a terrible noise. *Gau-schi-hi-ta-xen*, a roaring noise.—*Zr.* In old deeds the Schuylkill was called *Manaiunk*. Gerrit van Sweeringen, in his "Account of the settling of the Dutch and Swedes at the Delaware," assigns a reason for the name Schuylkill, by stating "that the Swedes' ship sailed up as high as Tinicum, hiding themselves in a creeke, which is called to this day the Schuyl-kill, from *schuylen* to hide, that is, in English the *Hiding Creek*."—*Record of Upland Court.*

Again it is said, that when the Dutch under Capt. Hendricks, sailed up the Delaware in 1616, not knowing whence the river came whose outlet they were passing, they named it Schuylkill, i. e., the hidden kill or stream.

SHACKAMAXON, corrupted from *Schachamesink,** signifying *where there are eels,* the place of eels. *Schachameek,* an eel.

SHAMOKIN† (Sunbury) written *Schahamóki,* or *Schahamókink* by the Delawares. In early times the place was called *Schachaméki, the place of eels,* and the creek *Schachamékhan,* i. e., *eel-stream.* It was next called *Schachhenamendi,* signifying, *the place where gun barrels are straightened,*‡ because it had become the residence of an ingenious Delaware, *Nutamees*§ by name, who undertook to repair the bent fire-arms of his countrymen.

SHOHOLA, (emptying into the Delaware from the South-west in Pike County) corrupted from *Schauwihilla,*‖ signifying, *weak, faint, depressed.*

SHOHOKIN, (emptying into the Delaware from the South-west in Wayne County,) corrupted from *Schohácan,*¶ signifying *glue. Schohacanink, where there is glue,* where glue is made.

SHUMMONK,** signifies, *where there is a horn,* the place of the horn.

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* *Scha cha-meek,* an eel, compounded of *Scha-chach-ge-u,* straight, and *na-mees* a fish,—*the straight fish.—Zr.* Others derive the word from *Sa-ki-ma,* a chief, a king, with the local suffix *ink,* giving it the meaning of *the place of chiefs or kings,* i. e., where sachems meet in council.

† See *Memorials of the Moravian Church, Vol.* 1, *p.* 66, for a further notice of Shamokin, and of the Moravian Mission at that town Pyrlaeus, the Iroquois scholar, in a collection of vocables taken from the mouth of the Oneida sachem Shikellimy, while on a visit to Bethlehem in April of 1745, gives *Ot-ze-nach-se,* as the name of the place, in the Maqua, or language of the Six Nations.—*MS. of Iroquois vocables* in possession of the editor.

‡ *Schach-ach-ge-ne-men,* to straighten. *Schach-ach-ga-gee-chen,* a straight road. *Scach ach-ga-me-u,* a straight row.

§ Probably, *old Nutimaes,* one of the signers of "the release for lands on Delaware," executed August 25, 1737, which lands were measured off by the one and a half day's walk in September following. This same Nutimaes, at the time king of Nescopeck, was courteously entertained at Bethlehem in March, 1754, then on his way with his two oldest sons, and negro servants, to the Jerseys. *Pontius Nutimaes* the older son, was born near the site of Philadelphia. Together with his brother *Isaac,* he removed to the Ohio, after the war, and deceased on the Muskingum in 1780. *Nutimaes,* according to Heckewelder, signifies a *spearer of fish. Quaere.* Were not perhaps the smithy built at Shamokin by Joseph Powell and John Hagen of Bethlehem in July of 1747, and the blacksmiths Schmid, Wesa and Kieffer, who wrought in iron at that place until in October of 1755,—suggestive of the name *Schach-he-na-men-di?*

‖ *Schau-we-wi* and *Schau-wi-hil-le-u,* weak. *Shau-wus-su,* he is weak. *Shau-wi-na-xu-woa-gan,* weakness.— *Zr.*

¶ *Sco-ha-can* and *Me-suk-hoa-can,* glue.—*Zr.*

** *W'schum-mo,* a horn. *We-uch-schum-mu-is,* cattle.—*Zr.*

SINNEMAHONING, (emptying into the Susquehanna from the North, in Clinton County), corrupted from *Achsinni-mahoni,** signifying, *stony lick.*

SKIPPACK, (a branch of the Perkiomen in Montgomery County), corrupted from *Schki-peek,*† signifying, *a pool of stagnant, offensive water.*

SLIPPERY ROCK, (emptying into the Big Beaver from the North-east, in Lawrence County.) In Delaware, *Weschachachâpochka,*‡ i. e., a *slippery* rock.

STANDING STONE, (emptying into the Juniata from the North, in Huntingdon County) called by the Delawares *Achsinnink, where there is a large stone,*§—the place of the large stone. *Achsinnessink* signifies, *where there is a small stone,*—the place of the small stone. (*Note.* I know of four places within 500 miles called *Achsinnink,* where large stones or rocks stand isolated either on the margin or in the bed of streams.)‖

STONY CREEK, (a branch of the Quemahoning in Somerset County). In Delaware *Sinne-hánne,* or *Achsin-hánne,* i. e., *stony stream.*

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* *Ach-sūn,* a stone, *Ach-sūn-nall,* stones.—*Zr.*

† *Me-nūp-peek,* a pool or pond. *Tup-peek,* a spring or well.

‡ *W'scha-che-u,* slippery.—*Zr.*

§ *Chot-ach-sūn,* a large rock.—*Zr.*

‖ The *Standing Stone,* a landmark for trader and Indian traveling through the wilds of Western Pennsylvania in the middle of the last century, is first mentioned in records by Weisser in his Journal to Logstown. "Aug. 18, 1748," he writes, "had a great rain in the afternoon, and came within two miles of the Standing Stone." John Harris, in a "report of distances on the road to Logstown," drawn up in 1754, allows "24 miles from Aughwick to the Standing Stone," and observes that "the stone is 14 feet high and 6 inches square." Scull's map locates the pillar on the right bank of the *Achsinnink,* near its outlet, where also stood the Indian village of Standing Stone. When the town of Huntingdon was laid out a few years prior to the Revolution, this historic column was still, though mutilated, at its place. Tradition says that it was a memorial stone, and that on its preservation depended the existence of the tribe who had set it up. Hence when a hostile people once came down the Tuscarora valley, and in the absence of the warriors of Standing Stone carried off their pillar, fierce battles ensued, and there was no peace until the sacred palladium had been restored, and again placed on the flats of the Achsinnink. Three Indian trails diverged from the Standing Stone, one leading to Aughwick, one to Frankstown, and the third to the great Chinklacamoose Path.

There is a Standing Stone in the Susquehanna, opposite the village of that name, in Bradford County.

TAMAQUA. (See Little Schuylkill.)

TIOGA, (one of the tributaries of the Susquehanna, draining Tioga County), corrupted from *Tiaóga*, an Iroquois word, signifying *a gate, a place of entrance.* (*Note.*) This name was given by the Six Nations to the wedge of land lying within the forks of the Tioga and North Branch of Susquehanna,—in passing which streams, the traveler *entered* their territory *as through a gate.* The country south of the forks, was Delaware country. David Zeisberger, who traveled that way to Onondaga in 1750, told me that at *Tiaoga,* or the *Gate,* Six Nation Indians were stationed for the purpose of ascertaining the character of all persons who crossed over into their country, and that whoever entered their territory by another way than through *the Gate,* or by way of the Mohawk, was suspected by them of evil purpose, and treated as a spy or enemy.)*

TOBYHANNA, (emptying into the Lehigh from the North-east in Monroe County, corrupted from *Topi-hánne,* signifying *alder-stream,* i. e. a stream whose banks are fringed with alders.

TOHICKON, (emptying into the Delaware from the West, in Bucks County), corrupted from *Tohickhan,* or *Tohickhánne,* signifying *the drift-wood stream,* i. e., the stream we cross on drift-wood.†

TOWANDA, (emptying into the Susquehanna from the South-west in Bradford County), corrupted from *Tawandenuk,* signifying

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* Bishop Spangenberg, accompanied by David Zeisberger and John Shebosh, passed through the Gates of Tioga, on the 12th of June, 1745, on the way to Onondaga. They were the first Moravians to enter the country of the Six Nations at this point of ingress. Spangenberg states, that they were there distant from Shamokin, about 180 miles by water, and were come to a Mohican town.

† This stream, heading not far below the outliers of the South Mountain or "Lechay Hills," (up to which point the Indian claims had been extinguished) was repeatedly declared by Teedyuscung, the Delaware King, to be the southern limit of the white man's country, and he furthermore asserted that all lands lying between the Tohickon and Wyoming had been fraudulently taken from him and his people, and were in the occupancy of intruders.

"I desire to see T. Fairman, for that I hear an Indian township called *Tohickon,* rich land, and much cleared by the Indians, he has not surveyed to mine and children's tracts, as I expected. It joins upon the back of my manor of Highlands, and I am sorry my Surveyor-general did not inform me thereof. If it be not in thy warrants, put it in, except lands already or formerly taken up, or an Indian township. The Indians have been with me about it." *Wm. Penn to James Logan, Pennsbury, 6th day, 7th month,* 1700. Penn and Logan correspondence.

where we bury the dead. (*Note.*) Here the Nanticokes buried the bones of their dead.

TOWSISSIMOCK,* corrupted from *Dawá-simook*, signifying, *the feeding place of cattle*, i. e., pasture grounds.

TOMBICON,† corrupted from *Tombic-hanne*, signifying, *crab-apple stream.*

TUCQUAN, corrupted from *P'duc-hanne*,‡ signifying, a *winding stream;* corrupted from *p'ducquan*, round, and *hanne* a stream. *P'ducachtin* signifies a *round hill* or *knoll.*

TULPEHOCKEN, (a branch of the Schuylkill in Berks County), corrupted from *Tulpewi-hacki*,§ signifying, *the land of turtles.*

TUNKHANNA, (a branch of the Tobyhanna in Monroe County),

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* The name occurs in the deed of July, 1682, cited under *Makerisk-kitton.*

† *Tom-hi-ca-nall*, crabs, or wild apples.—*Zr.* Tombican Creek occurs under the head of Berks and Schuylkill in Heckewelder's arrangement. *Quære.—Tumbling Run*, a branch of the Schuylkill at Pottsville?

‡ *P'tuck-hi-can*, a ball. *P'tuck-han-ne*, a bend in a stream. *P'tuck-quin-schu*, a round bowl.—*Zr.*

§ *Tul-pe*, a water or sea-turtle. *Tuch-quoch*, a land-turtle. *Huc-ki*, the earth, the land.—*Zr.* During Mr. Heckewelder's stay among the Delawares of the Muskingum in the summer of 1762, he received the name of *Pi-se-la-tul-pe. Quære*, compounded of *Pi-se-läs-so*, wrinkled, and *tul-pe*, a turtle?

In March of 1705 the Conoys requested permission of Geo. Evans to remove from their towns on the Susquehanna to *Tulpehocken.* In July of 1707 the Governor visited the Indian town of Tulpehocken, which tradition locates near the site of Womelsdorf, in Berks County.

The lands watered by Tulpehocken Creek and its tributaries, were settled by Germans from Scoharie (without the knowledge of the Proprietaries' agents, and before the Indian claim had been bought) in 1723. Among these Palatines were the Weisser's and George Loesch, the ancestor of the Moravian family of Loesch or Lash. This unwarrantable occupation much dissatisfied the Indians, and was made a matter of complaint by the Delaware chiefs Sassoonan and Opekasset, at a conference with Gov. Gordon, held at Philadelphia in June of 1728. The Indian claim was bought by Thomas Penn soon after his arrival in the country, in 1733. Tulpehocken was one of the rural districts of the Province in which the Brethren labored in the Gospel, with marked success. Zinzendorf preached there frequently, and in the spring of 1742, Gottlieb Büttner of Bethlehem, was on his recommendation accepted by the settlers as their minister. They hereupon built him a church. Philip Meurer succeeded Büttner in the autumn of the year, and the Brethren were inclined to believe that they had now effected a permanent footing; but as a Lutheran church was organized in the neighborhood (this was in 1743) they lost influence, were regarded with distrust, and then with displeasure, and finally (in January of 1747) deprived of the building in which they worshipped. Meurer was accordingly recalled to Bethlehem.

corrupted from *Tank-hanne*,* i. e., *the small stream.* (*Note.* The smallest of two or more confluents or sources of a river is always called *tank-hanne* by the Delawares.) *Tunkhannock* is a corruption of the same.

TUPPEEKHÁNNA, (one of the sources of the Little Lehigh at Trexlertown, in Upper Macungy, Lehigh County). The word signifies *the stream that flows from a large spring.*

TURTLE CREEK, (emptying into the Monongahela from the East, in Allegheny County). The Delawares called it *tulpewisipu*, i. e., *turtle river.*

TWO LICKS, (a branch of the Conemaugh in Indiana County). In Delaware *Nischa-hóni*, i. e., *two licks.*

VENANGO. The Delawares called French Creek *Attike.* (*Note.* The name was sometimes written *Onenge.*)

WAPPASUNING, (a branch of the Susquehanna in Bradford County), corrupted from *Wapachsinnink*,† signifying, *where there are white stones*, alluding to a deposit of silver ore—the Delaware for silver being *Woap-áchsin*, i. e., *the white stone.*

WAPWALLOPEN, or Whopehawly,‡ (emptying into the Susquehanna from the East in Luzerne County), corrupted from *Woaphallách-pink*, signifying, *where the white hemp grows*, i. e., the kind, which when dressed, is whitest.

WAULLENPAUPACK, or Paupack, (a branch of the Lackawaxen, dividing Wayne and Pike Counties,) corrupted from *Walinkpapeek*,§ signifying, *deep and dead water.*

WECHQUETANK, for *Wekquitank*, the Delaware name of a species of willow, growing in the neighborhood of the Indian town of that name, once on Head's Creek, (*Hoeth's* Creek) in Monroe County.‖

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* *Tang-han-ne-u*, a little stream, or run.—*Zr.*

† *Woap*, white. *Woap-ach-poan*, white-bread. *Woap-i-min-schi*, the white tree, i. e., the chestnut tree, because white when covered with blossoms.—*Zr.*

‡ This name is invariably written *Wambhallobank* by Moravian Missionaries. Gottlieb and Mary, the first converts from the Delawares, who were united with the Church by baptism, administered at Bethlehem, in April of 1745, resided on the Wapwallopen.

§ *Woa lac*, a hole. *Me-nū-peek*, a pool.—*Zr.*

‖ The seat of a Moravian Mission, between April of 1760, and October of 1763, part of the Christian Indians at Bethlehem, last from Gnadenhütten, having been transferred thither, at the first named date.

WELAGAMIKA,* signifying, *rich soil,* was the name of a Delaware town on the "Nazareth tract," when the Moravians came there in 1740. The Indians applied the name to the entire tract.

WHEELING CREEK, (heading in Washington County), corrupted from *Wihling,* or *wih-link,* signifying, *where the head is,* or *the place of the head.*† (*Note.* The Indians state that along this creek they had decapitated a prisoner, and then impaled his head).

WHITE DEER, (emptying into the Susquehanna from the West, in Union County). In Delaware, *Woap'tuchánne,* i. e., *white-deer stream.*‡

WICONISCO, (emptying into the Susquehanna from the East in Dauphin County), corrupted from *Wikenknískeu,* signifying, a *wet and muddy camp.*§ (*Note.* Probably some Indians encamped along the creek, where the bank was wet and muddy.)

WINGOHOCKING, (the South branch of Frankford Creek), corrupted from *Wingehacking,*‖ signifying, *a favorite spot for planting.*

WISSAHICKON, corrupted from *Wisameckhan,*¶ signifying, *catfish stream.*

WISSINOMING, (the Tacony, or North branch of Frankford Creek), corrupted from *Wischánemunk,*** *where we were frightened.*

WOLF CREEK, (a branch of the Slippery Rock in Mercer County), called by the Delawares *Tummeink,* signifying,†† *where there is a wolf,* i. e., *the place of wolves.*

WYALUSING, (emptying into the Susquehanna from the Northeast in Bradford County), corrupted from *M'chwihilusing,*‡‡ signifying, *the place of the hoary veteran.*

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* *Weh-lick,* the best. *Hacki,* land. *Ha-cka-mi-ga,* a small tract of land. *Ha-gi-ha-can,* a plantation. *Linn-ha-cka-mi-ga,* common land, *Kit-ha-cka-mi-ga,* upland, *Si-ap-ha-cka-mi-ge-u,* wet land.

This village was reluctantly abandoned by *Captain John* in the autumn of 1742.

† *Wihl,* the head. *Wi-tünk,* on the head.—*Zr.*

‡ *Woap-su* and *Woa-peek,* white. *Ach-tu,* a deer. *Ach-tu-hu,* where deer are plenty.—*Zr.*

§ *Wik* and *wi-quoam,* a house. *Wi-quoam-til,* a small house. *Nisk-us-sis-ku,* muddy. *Nisk-su,* nasty. *Gun-das-sis-ku,* mire.—*Zr.*

‖ *Win-gan,* sweet. *Ha-gi-ha-can,* a plantation.—*Zr.*

¶ *Wi-su,* fat, fleshy. *Na-mees,* a fish.—*Zr.*

** *Wi-schas-sin,* to be afraid.—*Zr.*

†† *Tim-me-u* and *Me-tum-me-u,* a wolf.—*Zr.*

‡‡ *Mi-hi-lu-sis,* an old man. *Mi-hi-lu-sac* and *Mi-hil-lu-sis-sac,* old men.—*Zr.*

The first Moravians to cross the Wyalusing in "the land abounding in the

Wyoming,* corrupted from *M'cheuomi*, or *M'cheuwami*, signifying *extensive flats*. The North Branch of Susquehanna was in consequence called *M'cheuwcami-sipu*, i. e., *the river of the extensive flats*. The Iroquois called it *Gahonta*, a word of like signification.

Wyson, or Wysaukin, (emptying into the Susquehanna from the North-east in Bradford County), corrupted from *Wisachgimi*,† signifying, *the place of grapes*.

Yellow Breeches, (a branch of the Susquehanna dividing

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sugar tree" (*ach-sūn-na-minschi*), were Bishop Cammerhoff and David Zeisberger, on the way to Onondaga in the summer of 1750. In July of 1759, a Monsey of Wyalusing, one *Papoonhank*, while visiting acquaintances at Nain, near Bethlehem, was deeply impressed by the preaching of the Gospel, so that on his return to his people, (with whom he stood in high repute as a teacher of morality), his representations of what he had lately heard, prepared their minds for the reception of Christianity. Thus it came to pass that David Zeisberger missionated at Wyalusing in 1763, and that Papoonhank was admitted into the Christian Church, by baptism, on the 26th of June of that year. The Monsey village of Wyalusing, or Papoonhank's town, is thus described by John Hays in his Journal to Tioga: "*May* 19, 1760. Arrived at a town called *Quihiloosing*. The captain's name is *Wampomham*, a very religious civilized man, in his own way, who showed us a great deal of kindness. The town is on the Susquehanna, east side, about twenty houses full of people, very good land and good Indian buildings, all new." Post, who accompanied Hays, writes in his report, "which is endorsed," Frederic Post's relation of what passed between him and the Quaker or religious Indians at *Monmuchlooson* on the Susquehanna," as follows: "Dear Sir,—It gives me great pleasure to inform your honor of our arrival at *Muchhuchlosung*, an Indian town *newly laid out*, where there dwells a company of Monseys, a religious people in their way. It is about eight years since they were gathered together by *Papoonhang*, who is their leader and teacher."

In Dec. of 1763, Papoonhank (who in baptism had received the name of *John*) came to Bethlehem with twenty-one of his Monsey adherents, desirous of sharing the protection which Government was in that perilous time extending to all friendly Indians. In this way the chieftain and his company came to be incorporated with the Moravian Indians, whom they cheerfully followed into exile to Philadelphia. On the return of peace, it was John Papoonhank, who offered to intercede in person with the Six Nations, in behalf of his Christian brethren for permission to plant on the site of the Monsey town on the Wihilusing. This was granted, and so it came to pass that in the spring of 1765, *Friedenshütten* (huts of peace) was built by the Moravian Indians under Schmick and Zeisberger. Wyalusing was deserted by the Moravian Indians in June of 1772.

* For a further notice of Wyoming, see *Memorials of the Moravian Church, Vol* 1, *p.* 69.

† *Wi-sach-gan*, bitter, pungent. *Wi-sach-gim*, grapes. *Wi-sach-gi-min-schi*, the grape-vine. *Wi-sach-gank*, rum.—*Zr.*

Cumberland and York Counties). The Delawares called it *Callapátschink*, signifying, *where it returns*, in allusion to a point in the creek's course where it bends back.

YOUGHIOGHENY, (a branch of the Monongahela in Fayette County), corrupted from *Juh-wiah-hanne*, signifying, *a stream flowing in a contrary direction*, or in a circuitous course.

2. DELAWARE NAMES

OF RIVERS, STREAMS AND LOCALITIES IN NEW JERSEY.

ACHQUAKENUNA, corrupted from *Tachquahacanúna*, signifying, *where pounding-blocks or mortars, are made*,—where the gum tree (*Tachquachcaniminschi*) grows, of whose wood hominy-blocks are made.

AMBOY, corrupted from *Emból*i, signifying, *round, hollow*. *Emboolhatton*, signifies, "*hollow it out*." When speaking of this place, the Indians would say *Embolink*, i. e., *where* there is a hollow, or *at* the hollow place. (*Note*. An old Indian, born on the site of Amboy, about 1680, with whom I was acquainted for upwards of twenty years, informed me, that as the spot resembled a *bowl*, it was called *Emboli*.

CHYGOES, (the island in the Delaware opposite Burlington), called by the Indians *T'schichopacki*, signifying, *the oldest planted ground*. *Note*. The Delawares state that their first settlement so far east, was on this island.

HACKENSACK, corrupted from *Hackinksaquik*, signifying, *a stream that unites with another on low ground*, or *imperceptibly*.

HOBOKEN, corrupted from *Hopócan*,* *a tobacco-pipe*.

MACKIAPIER, corrupted from *Machkkiábi*, signifying, *reddish water*.†

MUSCONETCONG, corrupted from *Maskhanneunk*, a *rapid stream*.

PASSAIC, corrupted from *Pasáic*, or *Passajeck*, signifying, a *valley*.

* *Ho-poa-can*, a pipe.—*Zr*.

† *Mach-ke-u*, red. *Wbi*, water.—*Zr*.

PISCATAWAY, corrupted from *Pisgattauwi*, signifying, *it is growing dark.**

POGUNNOCK, corrupted from *Peek-hanne*, signifying, *the dark stream.*†

POMPTON, corrupted from *Pihmtoon*, signifying, *crooked-mouthed.*‡

ROMOPACK, corrupted, probably, from *Wulumipeek*,§ *a round pond, or lake.*

SUSPECAUGH, corrupted from *Sispeckh*,‖ signifying, *muddy standing water.*

TAPPAN, corrupted from *Tuppeek-hanne*, signifying, *a stream issuing from a large spring.*

TOTAWA FALLS. Totawa corrupted from *Totauwei*, signifying, *to dive and reappear.*

WALPACK, corrupted from *Wahlpeek*,¶ signifying a *turn-hole.*

WANTAGE, corrupted from *Wundachqui*,** signifying, *that way.*

WHIPPANY, corrupted from *Wip-hanne*, signifying, *arrow-stream*, i. e., a stream along which the *arrow-wood* grows.

WISCONK, corrupted from *Wis-quonk*, signifying, *where there is an elbow. Wisquoan* signifies a *twist*, anything *twisted*, as a *twist* of yarn, or a *twist* of tobacco.

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* *Pis-ge-ke*, night. *Pis-ge-u*, it is night. *Piskk*, the night-hawk.—*Zr.*

† *Pe-ge-nünk*, in darkness.—*Zr.*

‡ See *Pymatuning* in this Register.

§ *Woa-lac*, a hole, *Wu-lum-eu*, round. *Tup-peek*, a pool.—*Zr.*

‖ *Nisk-as-sis-ku*, muddy. *Tuppeek*, a pool.—*Zr.*

¶ Compounded of *Woa-lac*, a hole, and *tuppeek*, a pool. The name *turn-hole*, a provincialism now obsolete, was used to designate a sudden bend of a stream around the base of a rock, by which means the water when deep was turned upon itself into an eddy. Sixty years ago the *Turn Hole* in the Lehigh, above Mauch Chunk, was one of the objects of interest, which attracted the attention of travelers in that then wild region of country.—Howel's Map of 1792, indicates the spot.

** *Wu-li*, yonder. *Wum*, he came thence. *Wun-dach-al*, come here.—*Zr.*

3. DELAWARE NAMES

OF RIVERS, STREAMS AND PLACES IN MARYLAND.

ACQUIA, corrupted from *Equiwi*,* signifying, *between.*

AQUAKIK, corrupted from *Áchowékik*, signifying, *a thicket.*

AQUÁSQUIT, corrupted from *Achowasquit*, signifying, *grassy, overgrown with grass.*

CHESAPEAKE, corrupted from *Tschischwapeki*, or *K'tschischwapeeki*,, compounded of *Kitschi*, signifying, *highly salted*, and *peek*, a body of *standing water, a pond, a bay.*

CHICKNICOMIKA, corrupted from *Tschikenumiki*,† signifying, *the place of turkeys.*

CORAPECHEN, corrupted from *Colapéchen*, signifying, a *fine running stream.*

MAGOTTY, corrupted from *Megukty*, signifying a *small plain destitute of timber*, a *meadow*, or *prairie.*

MANOKIN, corrupted from *Menáchkink*,‡ signifying an *enclosed spot*, whether a fort, or a town.

MESONGO, corrupted from *Meschánge*,§ signifying, *where we kill deer.*

NANTICOKE, corrupted from *Néchticok.* (*Note.* Along this stream the Nanticokes, who are descendants of the Delawares, had their settlements.)

OCCOQUAN, corrupted from *Okhucquoan*,‖ *a hook, a pot hook.*

OPICON, corrupted from *Opeekhan*, signifying, *a stream of whitish color.*

PAMUNKY, corrupted from *Pihmunga*,¶ signifying, *where we sweat*, viz: in the sweat-house.

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* *Equi-wi*, under.—*Zr.*

† *Tschi-ke-num*, a turkey.—*Zr.*

‡ *Me-nach-günk*, within the fence.—*Zr.*

§ *Me-scha-can*, to wound.—*Zr.*

‖ *Hoc-quoan*, a pot-hook.—*Zr.*

¶ *Pihm*, to sweat. *Pomo-a-can*, a sweat-house. *Pimook*, go to sweat. *Pim-hottin*, they are sweating.

"The Indians are remarkably addicted to the use of sweating-baths, made of earth and lined with clay. A small door serves as an entrance. The patient

creeps in, seats himself and places heated stones around the sides. Whenever he has sweated a certain time, he immerses himself suddenly in cold water; from which he derives great security against all sorts of sickness."—*Beschryving von America on 't Zuidland, door Arnoldus Montanus, Amsterdam* 1671.

"Their physic is scarcely anything beyond a hot-house or a powaw. Their hot-house is a little cave, where, after they have terribly heated it, a crew of them go and sit and sweat and smoke for an hour together, and then immediately run into some cold adjacent brook, without the least mischief to them."—*Increase Mather.*

"The sweating-houses of the Indians of Carolina and Florida, are usually placed on the banks of rivers, and are some of stone and some of clay. In form and size they are like a large oven, into which they roll stones heated very hot. The patient creeps into the chamber thus prepared, and is closely shut up. After about an hour's confinement in this warm situation, he comes forth all reeking in torrents of sweat and plunges into the river. Among the benefits which they receive by this sweating, they say it cures fevers, dissipates pains in the limbs contracted by colds, also rheumatic diseases, and creates fresh spirits and agility, enabling them the better to hunt."—*Catesby's Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands.*

"In those complaints which proceed from rheumatic affections, bleeding and *sweating* are always the first remedies applied. The *sweat-oven* is the first thing an Indian has recourse to, when he feels the least indisposed; it is the place to which the weary traveler, hunter or warrior looks for relief from the fatigues he has endured, the cold he has caught, or for the restoration of his lost appetite.

"The oven is made of different sizes so as to accommodate from two to six persons at a time, or according to the number of men in the village, so that they may be all successively served. It is generally built on a bank or slope, one half of it within and the other above ground. It is well covered on the top with split planks and earth, and has a door in front, where the ground is level, to go or rather creep in. Here, on the outside, stones, generally of about the size of a large turnip, are heated by one or more men appointed each day for that purpose. While the oven is heating, decoctions from roots or plants are prepared either by the person himself who intends to sweat, or by one of the men of the village, who boils a large kettleful for general use, so that when the public crier going his rounds, calls out "*Pimook!*" "*go to sweat!*" every one brings his small kettle which is filled for him with the potion, which at the same time serves him as a medicine, promotes a profuse perspiration, and quenches his thirst. As soon as a sufficient number have come to the oven, hot stones are rolled into the middle of it, and the sweaters go in, seating themselves or rather squatting around the stones, and there they remain until the sweat ceases to flow; then they come out, throwing a blanket or two about them that they may not catch cold. In the meantime, freshly heated stones are thrown in for those who follow them. While they are in the oven, water is now and then poured on the hot stones to produce steam, which they say increases the heat, and gives suppleness to their limbs and joints. In rheumatic complaints, the steam is produced by a decoction of boiled roots and the patient during the operation is well wrapped up in blankets to keep the cold from him, and promote perspiration at the same time.

Sweat-ovens are generally at some distance from the village, and where wood

PATAPSCO, corrupted from *Petapsqui*,* signifying, *back-water*, or *tide-water covered with froth.*

PICCOWAXEN, corrupted from *Pixúwaxen*,† or *Pikiwaxen*, signifying, *torn-shoes.*

POKOMOKA, corrupted from *Pocquemoke*, the place of shell-fish.‡

POTOMAC, corrupted from *Pethamook*, signifying, *they are coming by water.*

QUENTICO, corrupted from *Gentican*,§ signifying, *dancing*, the place of dancing.

QUEPONCO, corrupted from *Cucenpónga*,‖ signifying, *ashes of pine-wood.* (*Note.* Probably some Indians encamping on the bank of this stream, were necessitated to bake their bread in such ashes.)

SASSAFRAS RIVER. In Delaware, *Winak-hánne*,¶ i. e., sassafras stream.

SENEGAR CREEK, corrupted from *Sinnike*, signifying, *stony*, *Sinni-hanne*, a *stony stream.*

SENEGAR FALLS. In Delaware, *Sinnipehelle*, i. e., *water running over stones.*

SHENANDOAH, corrupted from *Schindhandowi*, or *Schindhandowik*,** signifying, *the spruce stream*, i. e., a stream flowing past spruce-pines.

TUCKAHOE, corrupted from *Tuchúchowe*, signifying, *deer are shy. Tuchá-uchoak, the place where deer are shy.*

WILIPQUIN,†† right Delaware, signifying, *the place of interring*

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and water are at hand. The best order is preserved at these places. The women have a separate oven in a different direction from that of the men, and subjected to the same rules. The men generally sweat themselves once and sometimes twice a week; the women have no fixed day for this exercise, nor do they take it as often as do the men."—*Heckewelder's Indian Nations*, p. 219.

* *Pe-ta quic-chen*, the water is rising.— *Zr.*

† *Pix-u*, ragged. *Mack-sen*, a shoe or sock.—*Zr.*

‡ *Poc-que-u*, a clam, a mussel.—*Zr.*

§ Hence, *cantico*, an Indian dance. See note under *Huscanawpen*, in this register.

‖ *Pongus*, the sand-lly,—ashes.—*Zr.*

¶ *Wi-nakch*, the sassafras tree.—*Zr.*

** *Schind*, the spruce tree. *Schin-di-ke-u*, where spruce is plenty.—*Zr.*

†† *Wihl*, the head.—*Zr.*

skulls. (*Note.* The Nanticokes had a custom of carrying the *skulls* and even the bones of their deceased to certain places, where they buried them in caverns or holes.)

WICOMICO, corrupted from *Wikcomika,** signifying, *where houses are building.*

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4. INDIAN NAMES

OF RIVERS, STREAMS, LOCALITIES AND PERSONS,

COPIED FROM AN EARLY HISTORY OF VIRGINIA,† ALL WHICH NAMES, BEING DELAWARE, ARE EVIDENCE THAT THE LENNAPE WERE IN POSSESSION OF THAT COUNTRY WHEN FIRST OCCUPIED BY THE ENGLISH.

ACCOMACK, corrupted from *Achgameek,* signifying, *a broad bay.*

ARRAHATUK, corrupted from *Allahatteek,* signifying, *empty, there is no more of it;* spoken probably of a bottle, keg or vessel, *emptied* of its liquor.

CHAPACOUR, corrupted from *Tschâppichk,* a medicine prepared from *roots,—tschâppick,* signifying, *a root.*

CHICKAHOMINY, corrupted from *Tschikenemahoni,* signifying, *a turkey-lick, a lick* frequented by *turkeys.* (*Note.* I know several places that bear this name.)

CHICONNESSE, corrupted from *Chiconâsink,* signifying, *where it was forcibly taken from us."*

CHISSENESSICK, corrupted from *T'schuissenetschik,* signifying, *the place of blue birds.*‡

GANGASCOE, corrupted from *Shingâscui,* signifying, *level and boggy.*§

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* *Wik* and *wi-quoam,* a house. *Wik-i-a,* my house. *Wi-kich-tid,* their house. *Wi-ke-u,* he is building a house.— *Zr.*

† *The History of Virginia, in four parts, by a native and inhabitant of the place. London,* 1705.

‡ *Tschi-ma-lus,* and *Tschi-hoa-pe-ke-lis,* the blue bird.—*Zr.*

§ *Shin-ge-u,* level. *Shin-gas-gunk,* a bog-meadow.—*Zr.* Shingas was the name of a brother of King Beaver, one of the ablest war-chiefs of the western Delawares, between 1755 and 1763.

GINGOTEQUE, corrupted from *Shinghattéke*, signifying, *he rejects it, he despises it.**

HUSCANAWPEN, corrupted from *Hus-ca-na-pe-i*, or rather, *husca n'lenapewi*, signifying, *Indeed I am a Lennape!*† an *Indian of the original stock!*—an exclamation or refrain I often heard the Delawares use at their *Canticoes* or festive dances.‡

KIEQUOTANK, corrupted from *Kiwiquótank*, signifying, *a visitor.*§

KIQUOLAN, corrupted from *Kiquatank*, signifying both, *one who heals*, and *the place where the sick are healed.*‖

MACOCK, corrupted from *Mitzhack*, the name given by the Delawares to the edible kinds of hard-shelled fruits or pepones, such as the *pumpkin*, the *cashaw*, &c., compounded of *mitz*, (from *mitzin*, to *eat*) and *hack*, *rind* or *shell*. *Hackhack* is their word for *gourd*. Each variety of pepo has its specific name. *Geskondháckan* is the generic name. (*Note*. The boxes made from the inner bark of the elm or birch, in which the Indians pack maple-sugar for transportation, are also called *macocks*.)¶

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* *Schin-gat-tam*, to dislike. *Shin-ga-lend*, one who is disliked.—*Zr.*

† *Le-na-pe*, an Indian. *Lenapewak*, Indians. *Lin-ni le-na-pe*, Indians of the same nation.—*Zr.*

‡ "Their *Canticoes*, as they call them, are performed by round dances, sometimes words, then songs, then shouts,—two being in ye middle that begin and direct ye chorus. This they perform with great fervency and appearances of joy." *Wm. Penn to Henry Savell, Phil'a.*, 30*th day*, 5*th month*, 1683.

"It is a pleasing spectacle to see the Indian dances, when intended merely for social diversion and innocent amusement. I acknowledge I would prefer being present at them for a full hour, than a few minutes only at such dances as I have witnessed in our country taverns among the white people. Their songs are by no means unharmonious. They sing in chorus, first the men and then the women. At times the women join in the general song, or repeat the strain which the men have just finished. It seems like two companies singing in questions and answers, and is upon the whole very agreeable and enlivening. After thus singing for about a quarter of an hour, they conclude with a loud yell, which I confess is not in concord with the rest of the music. One person always begins the singing; others fall in successively, and then comes the chorus, the drum beating all the while to mark the time. The voices of the women are clear and full, and their intonations generally correct."—*Heckewelder's Indian Nations.*

§ *Ki-wi-ke*, to visit. *Ki-wi-ke-u*, he visits. *Ki-wi-ka-mell*, I visit you. *Ki-wi-ka-mi*, visit me.—*Zr.*

‖ *Ki-ke-woa-gan*, a cure.—*Zr.*

¶ *Mit-zin*, to eat. *Mitz-u*, he eats. *Mit-zit te*, if he eat. *Mi-ziech-tit*, their victuals. *Ge-scund-hac*, pumpkins.—*Zr.*

MATCHACOMOCA, corrupted from *Matachgenimoah*, signifying, *they are counselling about war,—they are holding a council of war,*—hence also a *council of war.*

MATCHOPUNGO, corrupted from *Matschipungo*, signifying *bad powder*, or *bad ashes* (i. e., ashes unfit for the baking of bread).*

MATOMKIN, corrupted from *Mattemikin*, signifying, *to enter house.*†

MATTAPONY, corrupted from *Mattachpóna*,‡ signifying, *no bread at all—no bread to be had!*

MENHEERING, corrupted from *Menhattink*, signifying, *on the island.*§

MOCCASIN, corrupted from *Macksen*, Delaware for *shoe* or *soc*

MONACAN, corrupted from *Monhácan*, a *spade*, or any implement used for digging the soil.

NANSAMOND, corrupted from *Neunschimend*, signifying, *where we fled.*

NEMATTANO, corrupted from *Nimmattima*, signifying, *brother. Ni-mat*, a brother.

OAKSUSKIE, corrupted from *Woak-as-siska*, signifying, *a winding marsh or bog.*¶

OANANCOCK, corrupted from *Auwannáku*, signifying, *foggy.*

OCCOHANNOCK, corrupted from *Woak-hanne, a winding stre*

OPPEEHANEANOUGH, corrupted from *Opeek-hánne, a froth-s stream*, or from *Huppeechk-hanne, the rain-worm stream, huppe* signifying, *a rain worm.*

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* *Mach-tis-s-isu*, and *mach-tit-su*, bad. *Pongus*, ashes.—*Zr.* The bread u the Indians is of two kinds; one made of green corn while in the milk, a other of the same grain when fully ripe and dry. This last is pounded as possible, then sifted and kneaded into dough, and afterwards made up int of six inches diameter, and an inch in thickness rounded off on the edg baking these cakes, they are extremely particular. *The ashes must be cle hot, and if possible come from good dry oak bark, which they say gives a good rable heat.* The Indians laugh at the white hunters for baking their b dirty ashes."—*Heckewelder's Indian Nations.*

† *Mat-te-mi-geen*, to enter in.—*Zr.*

‡ *Met-ta*, no. *Ach-poan*, bread.—*Zr.*

§ *Me-na-tey*, an island, *ink*, the local suffix.—*Zr.*

‖ *Wusk-ha-xen*, new shoes; compounded of *wus-ken*, new, and *mack-sen*, *Zr.*

¶ *Woak-tschin-i*, to bend. *Woak-tsche-u*, crooked. *Woak-tschack-ne*, com of *Woaktschen* and *hanne*, a bend in a river. *Nisk-as-sis-ku*, muddy.—*Zr.*

** *A-wonn*, fog.

PAMUNKY, corrupted from *Pihmunga*, signifying, *where we sweat.*

POCCOSEN, corrupted probably from *P'duckassin*,* signifying, *a place where balls, bullets or lead are to be had.*

POCOHONTAS, corrupted from *Pockohantes*, signifying, *a streamlet or run between two hills*, compounded of *pochko*, a rock, or rocky hill, and *hanne*, a stream, the latter word made a diminutive by the suffix *tes.*†

POCOMOKE, corrupted from *Pockhammókik*, signifying, *broken* or *diversified by knolls and hills.*

POWHATÁN, corrupted from *Pawat-hánne*, i. e., *the stream of wealth* or *fruitfulness*,‡ the name of *James River* as well as of the historic sachem of the allied Powhatans.

PUNGOTEQUE. (*Note.* The Delaware word *pung*, signifies, *powder*, and also, *ashes, dust* and *fine sand.* The word as above *incorrectly* written may denote a locality where either of those substances abound. Written *Punghatteke*, it denotes *the place of powder.*

RAPPAHANNOCK, corrupted from *Lappi hánne*,§ signifying, *the stream with an ebb and flow. Lappahannink*, signifies, *where* the tide-water flows and ebbs.

TANGOMOCKONOMINGO, corrupted from *Tangamochkomenúnga*, signifying, "the *bark* for the *medicine*," which was brought from Little Beaver Creek, (*Tangamochke*).

TOMAHAWK, corrupted from *Tamahican*, an *axe* or *hatchet.*

UTTAMACCOMACK, corrupted from *Uchtamáganat*, signifying, *a path maker, a leader.* (*Note.* The name of a well known war-chief.)

WASEBUR, corrupted from *Waschábuck*, signifying, *a physic.*

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* *Al-uns* and *P'tuck-a-luns*, a bullet. *Al-uns-hi-can*, a bullet mould.—*Zr.*

† *Poch-ka-wach-ne*, a stream between two hills.—*Zr.*

Pocohontas, daughter of Powhatan, well-known for her friendship to the early colonists of Virginia, was born about 1595. Soon after her baptism, in which she received the name of *Rebecca*, she married John Rolfe, of Jamestown, in April of 1613. In 1616 she went to England, where she was an object of great interest to all classes, and was presented at Court by Lady De la Ware. When on the point of embarking on her return to America, she died at Gravesend, in March of 1617. She left one son. John Randolph of Roanoke, was descended from Pocahontas on his father's side,—other descendants are still found in Virginia.

‡ *Pa-wall-si*, to be rich.—*Zr.*

§ *Lap-pi*, again. *Lap-piech-si*, to tell it over again.—*Zr.*

WERAUWANO, corrupted probably from *Wajaúwi*, Minsi Delaware for *chief*.

WIGHSACAN, corrupted from *Wisachgim, sour grapes*, or from *Wisachgank, rum*, or *whiskey*, *wisachk* signifying, *pungent* to the taste.

WIGWAM, corrupted from *wiquoam, a house.*

WINANK, corrupted from *winaak*, the *sassafras tree.*

WISOCCON, corrupted from *wisachcan*, signifying, anything *bitter* or *pungent* to the taste.

WYANOKE, corrupted from *Wigunáka*, signifying, *the point of an island—the land's end.*

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

MORAVIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

PART VII.

The Members are requested to preserve this number in order that with the succeeding ones, it may be bound in the Volume designed to be completed in 1876.

A REGISTER

OF

MEMBERS OF THE MORAVIAN CHURCH,

AND OF PERSONS ATTACHED TO SAID CHURCH
IN THIS COUNTRY AND ABROAD,
BETWEEN 1727 AND 1754.

TRANSCRIBED FROM A MS. IN THE HANDWRITING

OF THE

REV. ABRAHAM REINCKE,

TO BE FOUND IN THE ARCHIVES OF THE MORAVIAN
CHURCH AT BETHLEHEM, PA.

AND

Illustrated with Historical Annotations,

BY

W. C. REICHEL.

NAZARETH.
1873.

THIS contribution to the early history of the Moravian Church in the northern British Colonies of America, is based upon a record of members of its congregations, which the Rev. Abraham Reincke made, in the course of his ministry in this country, between the years 1744 and 1760. The record, though meagre, is an unusually interesting one, in as far as in its entirety it acquaints us with the men and women, who, in various ways, wrought together in the beginnings of a religious movement, which, with remarkable singleness of purpose, aimed at the extension of Christ's kingdom upon earth. It carries us back, in fact, to the very origin of the Renewed Church of the United Brethren (better known in this country as the Moravian Church)—to that time, when among the Moravian and Bohemian refugees settled in the village of Herrnhut, in Saxony, there was a blending of spirits by which they were knit together into a brotherhood and thereby strengthened to enter upon a mission for which they believed themselves to have been specially called.

It was from Herrnhut that the infant Church sent out her first evangelists. Thence, too, her religious teachers went forth, seeking, wheresoever they came, those who were in spiritual darkness or doubt or in bondage to sin, that they might instruct them in the way of salvation. From Saxony they passed into the other states of Germany and the Continent; next into Great Britain, and then into the North American Colonies of the British Crown.

The Province of Pennsylvania, which since 1718 had been annually receiving large accessions to its population from the states of Germany, chiefly from the Rhineland, was, we are told, one of the first foreign fields which arrested the attention of the Moravians of Herrnhut as having a claim upon their Christian philanthropy. And it was, in fact, the necessitous condition in spiritual things of the Pennsylvania Palatine, as much as the heathenism of the North American

Indian which induced the Moravians to send evangelists and then colonies into the New World. Such was the beginning of the Moravian Church in America. With the agents in this transatlantic movement inaugurated by the Brethren, and with those who were brought under its influence, the major part of the register which constitutes the subject-matter of this paper is concerned. The spirit which pervaded this movement, the policy and mode according to which it was prosecuted, and its success, are matters of history. No farther comment on either is necessary, save such as may serve to elucidate terms employed occasionally by the recorder, in the rubrics of his several enumerations, and allusions made by the editor, in the course of his necessarily brief historical introductions.

As was intimated above, the early Moravians were deeply impressed with the belief that it was their Church's mission to extend the Redeemer's kingdom. Hence they not only obeyed the last injunction of their Divine Master to his disciples literally, as often as they sent out missionaries into the dark corners of the earth, but they also sought, wherever occasion offered, to preach and teach Christ in Christian countries to those who were ignorant of him, or who, as they believed, failed to apprehend him aright. No wonder, then, that on their arrival in this country the condition of the religiously destitute Germans of this and the adjacent Provinces enlisted their sympathies. They found them without church organizations, without places of worship in the rural districts, and without a stated ministry;—themselves become neglectful of, or indifferent to the things of God, and their children growing up in ignorance. These they now visited in the character of evangelists, preaching the Gospel and administering the sacraments to them in houses or in barns, and gathering their children together in schools. At some points they organized congregations and then incorporated them with their Church, at others they formed the attendants upon their ministry into "Societies," content to have the members of these adhere to the tenets of Luther or Calvin and to the churches of their birth and education, provided such a course would only secure them willing hearers of the Word of God. For ten years this catholic work, on the part of the Moravian Church, was carried on with surprising energy, and whether we consider the men who engaged in it, the field in which they wrought, the difficulties under which they labored, the activity which they displayed and the faith by which they were actuated—it will always remain an interesting chapter in the early annals of that Church in America.

Abraham Reincke, a son of Peter Reincke, merchant, and Magdalene, m. n. Petersen, his wife, was born on the 17th of April, 1712, in Stockholm, Sweden. In his eighteenth year, at the instance of his mother who designed her son for the Church, he was sent to Wollmirstadt, near Magdeburg, in Prussia, to pursue a course of liberal studies under the direction of his uncle, Pastor Jacob Petersen, who was a Lutheran clergyman in that place. In his house he remained two

years, and then entered the gymnasium or high-school in Brandenburg, old town. Here, he tells us, he became deeply concerned about the welfare of his soul, having been moved to a serious consideration of spiritual things by the godly walk and conversation of the co-rector of the academy. In this frame of mind young Reincke, in 1735, repaired to Jena. It was at the time of a religious revival among the students of that then world-famed University. Peter Boehler, from Frankfort-on-the-Main, was one of these, and by him the subject of this notice was counselled in his distress, and led eventually to unite with a brotherhood of young disciples of Christ, which included in its ranks men who subsequently became shining lights in the Moravian Church. To this brotherhood belonged Christian Renatus, the son of Count Zinzendorf, after whom it was named "Christian's Economy." Accompanying this association in its movements, in 1738, we find him in Berlin engaged with several of his comrades in reporting a series of discourses* which the Count held in that capital,—and subsequently, a second time in Jena. In the autumn of the last mentioned year he was admitted to church fellowship with the Brethren, at the castle of Marienborn, in consequence of which step he incurred the sore and lasting displeasure of his father.

Having spent upwards of a year in St. Petersburg, where he preached the Gospel and acted as tutor in the family of Baron von Nolken, counsellor for the Swedish Legation in that city, he returned to Marienborn in June of 1741. In December following he was sent to England and labored in the Gospel in London and Yorkshire. In 1744 he returned to the Continent, and in July of that year, at Herrndyk, Utrecht, married Susan Stockberg, from Sunmoer, Norway. This was preparatory to his departure to the New World, whither he had been called by the authorities of the Church of his adoption.

In company with Bishop Spangenberg, accordingly, he sailed from Amsterdam in the autumn of 1744, for New York, and arrived at Bethlehem on the 9th of November. Of Mr. Reincke's career in the ministry in this country, we will state the following facts: Having itinerated in West Jersey among the descendants of the early Swedish settlers to whom he preached in their native tongue, he was, in November of 1745 settled at Nazareth, where he filled the office of "Ordinary" until in May of 1747. Thence he removed to Philadelphia, preached in the Moravian church in that city, and for a second time itinerated in West Jersey and along the shores of Delaware bay. We find him next in Lancaster, then at Bethlehem, and in the summer of 1751 a second time in Philadelphia. The following years were spent by him in visiting the rural congregations of his Church, during which period he dedicated a house of worship in the Pennsylvania Minisinks and

* "*Des Herrn Grafen von Zinzendorfs einiger offentlichen Reden, welche im Jahr 1738 vom Januario bis zu Ende des Aprils in Berlin an die Frauens Personen daselbst gehalten worden.*" Leipsic und Altona 1749.

also opened a door for the Moravian Gospel ministry in "The Oblong," on the eastern confines of the Province of New York. His last charge was the Moravian congregation in New York city. In consequence of failing health, he retired to Bethlehem in 1754, where, in addition to assisting in the ecclesiastical affairs of that Church, he was employed as a copyist, a writer of diaries, and appointed custodian of the Archives. His wife died on the 31st of August, 1758. He followed her to the eternal world on the 7th of April, 1760.

Abraham Reincke was the father of two children, one of whom, Abraham, born in June of 1752, in Philadelphia, survived him and entered the Church. He was settled at Heidelberg, Hebron, York, Litiz, Lancaster, Hope and Nazareth, during his long ministry, and died at Litiz, in February of 1833. Abraham Reincke, Jr., was the father of five children, to wit: Abraham, who died while a tutor in Nazareth Hall, in 1806; Mary Susan, who died in Lancaster in 1793; Mary Theresa, who married the late Christian Busse of Nazareth, and who is still living; Johanna Augusta, who married the late John Beck of Litiz, and who is still living; Benjamin Rudolph, who died while a pupil at Nazareth Hall, in 1810—and Samuel, born at Litiz, 12th Aug., 1791—ordained a Bishop of the Moravian Church in October of 1858, and residing at Bethlehem, Pa. His three sons, Amadeus A., Edwin E. and Clement L. are all in the ministry—the first, pastor of the Moravian congregation in New York city (he was ordained a Bishop in August of 1870)—the second, Superintendent of the Jamaica Moravian Mission—and the third, a Professor in the Moravian Theological Seminary at Bethlehem, Pa.

In annotating this register, the editor has availed himself of material he drew from various authorities in the course of researches conducted by him in the field of early Moravian history. He trusts that this essay at illustrating some of its pages, may gratify the antiquarian student—and should its perusal induce such a one, or others, to prosecute farther research in the almost inexhaustible mine in which he has occasionally wrought, the time and labor expended upon this effort will cause him no regret. W. C. R.

Bethlehem, Pa., 1 Oct., 1873.

A REGISTER

OF MEMBERS OF THE MORAVIAN CHURCH AND OF PERSONS ATTACHED TO SAID CHURCH, IN THIS COUNTRY AND ABROAD, BETWEEN 1727 AND 1754.

SAXONY.

NAMES OF MORAVIAN IMMIGRANTS AND OF OTHERS, WHO PARTOOK OF THE SACRAMENT OF THE LORD'S SUPPER, WHICH WAS CELEBRATED IN THE LUTHERAN CHURCH AT BERTHELSDORF, NEAR HERRNHUT, IN UPPER LUSATIA, ON WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 13, 1727, A DAY WHICH IS HELD IN REMEMBRANCE AS AN EVENTFUL ONE IN THE HISTORY OF THE RENEWED CHURCH OF THE UNITED BRETHREN.*

BEYER, ANDREW, from Moravia, and Rosina, his wife. (He died at Herrnhut in 1729).

BOEHNISCH,† GEORGE, from Moravia.

DAVID, ANN ELIZABETH, wife of Christian David, *carpenter*, the founder of Herrnhut.

DEMUTH, CHRISTOPHER, from Moravia, and Ann Mary, his wife.‡

DOBER, LEONARD, from Swabia, (*potter*, first missionary and first Elder of the Renewed Church. Ordained a Bishop in 1747. Died at Herrnhut in 1766).

DOBER, J. MARTIN, from Swabia, (*potter*, brother of the above, and —— his wife. (Ordained a Bishop in 1744. He died at Herrnhaag, near Frankfort-on-the-Main, in 1748.

FIEDLER, TIMOTHY, and —— his wife.

* For a narrative of the occurrences of this day the reader is referred to "*E. W. Cröger's Geschichte der erneuerten Brüderkirche. Gnadau*, 1852. *Vol. I., p.* 108 *et seq.*

† Came to Pennsylvania in September of 1734, with a colony of Schwenkfelders, and settled in Towamensing township, Montgomery County. He was, therefore, the first Moravian in Pennsylvania. Returned to Europe in December of 1737. See *Memorials of the Moravian Church, vol. I. p.* 157.

‡ Members of the Second Colony of Moravians, organized abroad for Pennsylvania (called in Moravian parlance "The Second Sea-congregation,") which arrived at New York, in the "Little Strength," in November of 1743.

FIEDLER, ANN. (md. George Boehnisch.)

FRIEDRICH,* TOBIAS. (Some time Zinzendorf's amanuensis, and Director of church music at Herrnhut. Died there in 1736.)

FRIEDRICH, GEORGE, from Moravia, Ann his wife, John, their son, and Ann, their daughter.

FRITSCH, DAVID, from Moravia, Ann, his wife, and one daughter.

GUTBIER, JOHN CHRISTIAN, *physician*, and —— his wife. (He died at Herrnhut in 1759.)

HEINTSCHEL, CATHERINE ELIZABETH. (md. Tobias Friedrich).

HAHN, GOTTLOB.

IMMIG,† EVE MARY, (m. n. Ziegelbauer. Md. Spangenberg in March of 1740.)

KLEMM,‡ JOHN G., *organ-builder*, and —— his wife.

KLOSÉ, MICHAEL, from Moravia.

KNESCHKE, CHRISTOPHER, from Moravia.

KUEHNEL, FREDERIC, *linen-weaver*, from Oderwitz.

LEOPOLD, ——.

LEUPOLD, AUGUSTINE, from Moravia.

MUENSTER, ROSINA, do.

NEISSER, AUGUSTINE, *cutler.*
NEISSER, JACOB, *cutler.*
NEISSER, WENCESLAUS.
NEISSER, HANS.
NEISSER,§ GEORGE.
} Five brothers from Moravia.

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* For a biographical sketch of this gifted "farmer's boy," see Zinzendorf's "*Naturelle Reflexionen*," *Appendix*, p. 17.

† Accompanied her husband to Pennsylvania in the autumn of 1744, and assisted him in superintending the Economy at Bethlehem. Returned with him to Europe in October of 1749, and died at Herrnhut in March of 1751.

‡ Born near Dresden in 1690. Immigrated to Pennsylvania in September of 1733, and settled in Philadelphia. In 1745 removed to New York, and resumed connection with the Brethren. Thence to Bethlehem in 1757, where he died in May of 1762.

§ Father of George and Augustine Neisser, who came to Georgia in February of 1736, with the second company of Moravians fitted out abroad for that colony. From Georgia the two brothers removed to Pennsylvania. George, the oldest, born at Sehlen, Moravia, April, 1715, subsequently entered the ministry, died in Philadelphia in November of 1784, and lies buried in the yard of the Moravian church on Franklin street. He left no male issue. Augustine, settled in Germantown, was a cutler and clock-maker, and died there in March of 1780, leaving three sons, George Henry, Augustine and Jacob, descendants of whom are living at Bethlehem and in Philadelphia. See *Mem's of the M. C.*, vol. I. p. 159.

NITSCHMANN,* DAVID, Sr., *wheelwright*, from Moravia, and Ann, m. n. Schneider, his wife.

NITSCHMANN,† DAVID, *carpenter*, from Moravia.

NITSCHMANN,‡ DAVID, Jr., *weaver*, from Moravia, and Ann Helena, m. n. Anders, his wife. (Ordained a Bishop in 1746. called by Moravian writers Nitschmann *the Syndic*.)

NITSCHMANN, DAVID, *shoemaker*, from Moravia, and —— his wife.

NITSCHMANN, GEORGE, *cabinet-maker*, from Moravia, and —— his wife.

PIESCH,§ GEORGE, from Moravia, and Rosina, m. n. Nitschmann, his wife.

QUITT, DAVID, *weaver*, from Moravia, Judith his wife, and their two daughters.

QUITT, HANS, from Moravia, and —— his wife.

RASCHKE, JOHN, *linen-weaver*, from Bohemia. (d. at Niesky in 1762.)

ROHLEDER, MARTIN, from Moravia, and Judith, his wife.

ROHLEDER, ROSINA. (md. Severin Lintrupp.)

SCHINDLER, ——, from Moravia, and Catherine Elizabeth, her daughter.

ZEISBERGER,‖ DAVID, *shoemaker*, from Moravia, and Rosina, m. n. Schindler, his wife.

ZINZENDORF,¶ LEWIS NICHOLAS, Count of, and Erdmuth Dorothea, *née* von Reuss, his wife.

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* Came to Pennsylvania in December of 1740, and joined the Moravians on the "Whitefield Tract" (Nazareth) in the Forks of Delaware. See *Mem's of the M. C.*, vol. I., p. 164.

† The first to be ordained (1735) a Bishop of the Renewed Church of the Brethren. See *Mem's of the M. C.*, vol. I., p. 164.

‡ Visited Bethlehem in behalf of the Unity's Directory in 1765.

§ Led the first colony of Moravians (the "first Sea Congregation,") fitted out abroad for Pennsylvania, in the spring of 1742. Sailed for Europe on his return, on the 18th of June of that year.

‖ Both came to Georgia in February of 1736, and left that colony for Pennsylvania in April of 1740. David Zeisberger died at Bethlehem in 1744, and his wife at the same place in 1746. They were the parents of David Zeisberger, missionary to the Indians.

¶ For an account of the Count's labors in the Gospel and in the Indian Mission, during his stay in Pennsylvania in 1742—see vol. I. of *Mem's of the M. C.*

ENGLAND.

I. "THE FETTER LANE SOCIETY" IN LONDON.

While Zinzendorf, through commissioners in 1728, and by personal representations in 1737, commended the Church of the United Brethren to the favorable notice of the English public,—Spangenberg and Boehler in the interval between 1734 and 1738, by uniting in Christian fellowship with men who, like themselves, were deeply interested in the cause of experimental religion, became instrumental in introducing the ministry of their adopted Church, her doctrine and her practice, her ritual and her schools, first into the commercial emporium of the old world, and thence into the manufacturing and rural districts of England. The Society named above was one of a number of independent religious societies of the day, an association of awakened persons, from the Established Church as well as Dissenters, which first met for worship and spiritual edification in the house of James Hutton, bookseller, at the "Bible and Sun," west of Temple Bar, London. Peter Boehler, during his sojourn in that metropolis in the spring of 1738, preparatory to embarking for Savannah, enlarged this circle of earnest souls, and as Hutton's house had grown too small for their meetings, they now rented the chapel, No. 32 Fetter Lane.* In this

* "It was known as the 'Great Meeting House,' or 'Bradbury's Meeting House.' Tradition states that its site was once used as a timber-yard and a sawpit. During the times of persecution in Puritan days, it proved a safe asylum to many stricken souls, and from the present pulpit, the voice of the eloquent and godly Richard Baxter enforced with passionate earnestness and convincing power the saving truths of the Gospel." *The United Brethren in England from* 1641 *to* 1742, *by Rev. A. C. Hassé. London*, 1867.

"Hardly a stone's throw out of the din and turmoil of Fleet Street, on the right side of Fetter Lane, going toward Holborn, the inquisitive stroller may chance on a quiet and narrow lane leading eastward, by a devious course. It may be that investigation would reveal associations now forgotten between Neville's Court and the great family whose cognizance was the Bear and Ragged Staff, that the houses now parcelled out among many families, or resonant with the clang of the steam printing machine, have, in other days, been the habitations of the great, and that the forecourts, still aiming in a feeble, listless way at asserting some claim to being considered gardens, have been familiar with the tread of ladies fair and gallants gay; but now 'Ichabod' might be inscribed above the entrance to Neville Court. Yet there is one association connected with it which is to-day more than a memory. Near its Fetter Lane end, there opens off it an oblong court, whither hardly penetrates the din of the city. Two sides of it are flanked by buildings,

way their association received the name of "The Fetter Lane Society." Such, furthermore, was the influence that Boehler brought to bear upon this meeting by his plainness of speech in expounding the doctrine of salvation, that its members agreed to conduct their proceedings hereafter in accordance with, and to strive to be actuated by the spirit of certain regulations proposed by him, and adopted on the 12th of May, 1738.* They were styled "*Orders of a Religious Society meeting in Fetter Lane.*" (See *Benham's Memoirs of James Hutton*, p. 29.) The Wesley brothers and their Methodist adherents were members of this Society until July of 1740.

From this Association, as well as from a smaller one, settled by

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evidently of considerable age, with wide, low-browed doorways, and broad latticed windows. The older of these, occupied as a dwelling by the minister of the chapel, which is built on to it, seems, from its wainscoted rooms, large casement windows, deeply-moulded mantlepieces, and dark oak staircase, to date from the times of James the First, if not earlier. The chapel, a plain, but capacious brick building, is not so old. Its floor is occupied by oaken seats, without reading boards, and there is a heavy, projecting gallery on three sides. Originally the leading feature of this chapel was its multiplicity of doors—a provision rendered necessary by the persecutions to which those who worshipped in it were long exposed. The place is haunted with the memory of persecutions. In the days of the burnings, when Mary kept ablaze the martyr-fires of Smithfield, the site was a carpenter's yard, and a few who clung to their Protestant beliefs, spite of terror of fire and faggot, were in the habit of resorting to this yard by night, and reading their Bibles in the sawpit by the light of a lantern. When better times came a wooden 'conventicle' was built on the spot, succeeded at a later date by the chapel still existing. At the time of the fire of London, 1666 (which it escaped), this chapel was in the possession of the Presbyterian section of the Nonconformists. From its pulpit Richard Baxter 'preached as a dying man to dying men, as though he might never see them more.' The Presbyterians retained and used the chapel until the period of the Sacheverell riots in the reign of Queen Anne, when this place of worship, like many others belonging to the Dissenters, was attacked by the High Church mob, and reduced almost to a state of ruin. It may be noted that it was also roughly handled in the No-Popery riots of 1780. After alternations of casual use by various dissenting bodies, and of entire closure and disuse, the chapel, in 1738, was taken by a religious society, in which existed the germs of what is now the Moravian organization in England."—*London Observer, December*, 1869.

* "For the guidance and edification of the small religious Society, meeting in Hutton's house on Little Wyld Street, and consisting of laymen and persons of the lower orders (except the Wesleys)—numbering only from six to eight individuals,—certain statutes were drawn up jointly by Boehler and John Wesley, and signed, May 12, 1738."—*The United Brethren in England*, &c.

Zinzendorf, while he was in London, in February of 1737, the Brethren's Church in England received its first accessions.

MEMBERS OF "THE FETTER LANE SOCIETY," IN LONDON.
1743.

Married Men.	*Married Women.*
Bell, William.	Bell, ——.
Bennett, ——.	Bennett, ——.
Blake, ——.	Blake, ——.
Bully, ——.	Bully, ——.
Camden, ——.	Alters, ——.
Ewsters, ——.	Ewsters, ——.
Farmer, ——.	Ashburn, ——.
Flood, ——.	Brown, (on *Swan Alley*).
Gibbs, ——.	Gibbs, ——.
Gladman,* Thomas.	Burton, ——.

* Thomas Gladman, known in Moravian history as Captain of the snow "Catherine," in which the first colony of Brethren was transported to Pennsylvania in the spring of 1742,—was in 1738 master of a vessel in the West India trade. In June of that year his schooner was wrecked on a sand-bank off the Florida coast, to the imminent peril of all on board. Whitefield, in his Journal (*Whitefield's Journal, London*, 1756, *p.* 252) gives the substance of Capt. Gladman's statement of this disaster, as follows: "On the tenth day after having been thrown upon the sand-bank, where they continually expected the waters to overwhelm them, they saw a ship and made a signal of distress. The ship made toward them, and Capt. Gladman went out with his boat, and begged for a passage for himself and men. It was granted him on condition that he would leave some of his crew behind, to which, however, he would not consent. At length the captain of the ship agreed to take all. But as soon as ever my friend put off his boat to reach the vessel, the commander faithlessly made sail and left him and his men to their fate. All this seemed quite *against*, but in the end God showed it was intended *for* the good of my friend. After thirty days' continuance on the sand-bank, having fitted up the boat with some planks they had taken out of a ship which had been lost five months before, nine of them committed themselves to the Providence of God, the others caring not to venture themselves in so small a craft. Having sailed about one hundred and forty leagues, they at length came to Tybee Island, ten miles below Savannah. An inhabitant being near that place spied them, and brought them home with him. Being at that time in Georgia, and having been informed of what had happened, I invited Capt. Gladman to breakfast with me, and reminded him of the goodness of God."

In Sept. of 1738, Gladman sailed for England, in company of Whitefield, and on the passage was, through the latter's instrumentality, awakened to spiritual life, and to a concern for the eternal interests of his soul. Such was now his attachment to the great preacher, that he entered his employ, returned with him to Philadelphia in the summer of 1739, and there took command of the sloop "*Savannah*" which Whitfield had purchased, in order to facilitate communication between that port and the field of his activity in Georgia. Gladman was master of

Married Men.	*Married Women.*
Glendenning, ——.	Day, ——.
Gray, ——.	Gray, ——.
Harrison, ——.	Delamotte,* ——.
Haslip, ——.	Haslip, ——.
Huggins, ——.	Fish, ——.
Hughes, ——.	Hughes, ——.
James, ——.	Foot, ——.
Jones, Owen ——.	Foxwell, ——.
Lewis, ——.	Frognal, ——.
Man, ——.	Man, ——.
Marshall, William.	Grace, ——.
Mills, ——.	Mills, ——.
Moore, ——.	Harold, ——.
Morgan, ——.	Inks, ——.
Moss, ——.	Lane, ——.
Needham, ——.	Needham, ——.
Nunn, ——.	Nunn, ——.
Parker, ——.	Parker, ——.
Pepyt, ——.	Pepyt, ——.
Ripley, ——.	Ripley, ——.
Roberts, ——.	Lowe, ——.
Roebuck,† Jarvis.	Roebuck, ——.
Scott, ——.	Scott, ——.
Sherman, ——.	Newton, ——.
Sunninam, ——.	Ohlson, ——.

the vessel on her trip from Savannah to Philadelphia in April of 1740, when Peter Boehler, and other Brethren, were on board, en route for Pennsylvania. In May of that year Whitefield dispatched Capt. Gladman, in company with Mr. William Seward, "on some affairs of great importance" to England, and the command of his sloop devolved upon her former mate. As Whitefield, as well as the Wesley brothers, whom Gladman probably met in Georgia, at one time frequented the meetings of the Fetter Lane Society, it was undoubtedly through them that the latter was made acquainted with its members, and led to enroll his name in its Register.—"May 31, 1739," writes Whitefield—"*Went with our Brethren of the Fetter Lane Society* to St. Paul's, and received the Holy Sacrament, as a testimony that we adhered to the Church of England." In March of 1742 Capt. Gladman took command of the "Catherine," which had been purchased by Spangenberg, then in London, for the transportation to Pennsylvania of fifty-six persons attached to the Brethren's Church. From this fact, and from the circumstance that he is enrolled among the members of "The Congregation of the Lamb," organized in London Nov. 10, 1742, it appears that Gladman was in that year in intimate connexion with the Brethren.

* Charles Delamotte, a schoolmaster, accompanied the Wesley brothers and Benjamin Ingham, clergymen of the Church of England, to Georgia in February of 1736, and was for a time an inmate of the Moravian house in Savannah.

† Came to Philadelphia in September of 1745, and resumed connection with the Brethren.

Married Men.

Syms, Thomas.
Townsend, ——.
Vowell, William.
Watson, ——.
Watkins, ——.
Weldon, ——.
Wheeler, ——.
Williams, ——.
Wright, ——.

Widowers.

Hutchins, ——.
Nicholson, ——.
Sone, ——.

Single Men.

Agutter, Jonathan.
Appingstall, ——.
Backer, Olaus.
Bevan, ——.
Caul, ——.
Derbyshire, ——.
Ferne, George.
Frazier, ——.
Foot, ——.
Grillet, ——.

Married Women.

Syms, ——.
Prior, ——.
Seagreaves, ——.
Senniff, ——.
Simpson, ——.
Weldon, ——.
Wheeler, ——.
Williams, ——.
Spreatley, ——.
Vicars, ——.
Ward, ——.
Wren, ——.

Widows.

Barnes, ——.
Bolton, ——.
Collins, ——.
Curtis, ——.
Drury, ——.
Ely, ——.
Fetter, ——.
Garraway, ——.
Howard, ——.
Huddle, ——.
Jones, ——.
Monroe, ——.
Savin, ——.
Stone, ——.
Storer, ——.
Thacker, ——.
Turner, ——.
Ware, ——.
West, ——.
Wivish, ——

Old Maidens. (A. R.)

Cleaveland, ——.
Dobson, ——.

Young Women.

Audley, Betty.
Cleak, ——.
Carr, Molly.
Carter, Betty.
Coy, Fanny.
Field, Priscilla.
Field, Hannah.
Flory, Ann.
Flory, Hannah.
Marlowe, Prudence.

Single Men.

HARP, ——.
HILL, ——.
HILLIARD, CHARLES.
HILLIARD, ——.
HURLOCK, ——.
IBBETSON, ——.
KIND, ——.
KING, ——.
KNELL, ——.
MAIL, ——.
MARSHALL, GEORGE.
NEVILLE, ——.
OXLEY, WILLIAM.
PEARSON,* WILLIAM (*butcher*).
RUSSEL, ——.
SMITH, RICHARD.
SLIGHT, ——.
SPARKS, ——.
SPENCE, ——.
STEPHENS, ——.
SYMS, ROBERT.
SYMS, WILLIAM.
SYMS, JOSEPH.
TURBEVILLE, ——.

Young Women.

MARLOWE, ANN.
MARTIN, JENNY.
REDFORD, ——.
RHODES, MOLLY.
SNOW, ——.
TILLEY, ANN.
TURNER, ANN.
WANSELL, ——.
WEBB, MOLLY.
WELLS, PATTY.
WIXON, PATTY.

Girls.

ASHBURN, SARAH.
ASHBURN, MARTHA.
BARNES, MARTHA.
CLAGGETT, MARTHA.
CLAGGETT, CATHERINE.
CLAGGETT, ANN.
COLEMAN, MARTHA.
COLLINS, ANN.
DAY, SALLY.
DICKONS, MARGARET.
EDMONDS, PATTY.
GIBBS, MARTHA.
HUGGINS, MARTHA.
LEWIS, CATHERINE.
LOWE, ELIZABETH.
LOWE, MARTHA.
MILLS, ELIZABETH.
SIMPSON, ——.
WIRESTONE, ——.

II. "THE SOCIETY FOR THE FURTHERANCE OF THE GOSPEL," IN LONDON.

Soon after his arrival in London, whither he had been sent in the spring of 1741, to superintend the Brethren's religious movement in England, Spangenberg proposed the formation of a society in aid of their foreign missions. To this he was encouraged by friends of the Brethren who were deeply interested in the success of their great work among the heathen, and who desired an opportunity of contributing of their means statedly, and of co-operating

* Came to New York in 1754, and there resumed connection with the Brethren.

otherwise towards its support. On the 5th of May, 1741, accordingly, a Board of Directors was appointed, and on the 8th of the same month, the Society was organized by electing Adolph von Marshall, Secretary, and William Holland, *servitor*. A collection which was taken up on this occasion, amounted to six guineas. The Board or Committee, consisting of James Hutton, Rev. George Stonehouse, John Ockershausen, John Bray, and Spangenberg, met on every Monday. The first Monday in each month was fixed for the so-called "General Meeting" of the Society, at which funds were collected, and reports and letters from the Mission were communicated. Although the number of actual members of the Society was only twenty, two hundred persons were present at the first of these meetings, which was held on the 15th of May. Dr. Doddridge was an early associate and also a corresponding member, and Whitefield occasionally addressed the General Meeting. For upwards of ten years, this association rendered the Brethren's Mission important service, providing to a large extent for the support of the Moravian missionaries in the British West India Islands. It was dissolved in 1751. For the "Regulations" according to which its operations were conducted, the reader is referred to *Benham's Memoirs of James Hutton*, p. 70.

In 1766 a second organization for the furtherance of the Gospel and in aid of Moravian Missions, was effected, through the instrumentality of Hutton and others, among friends of the Brethren, resident in the British metropolis. It is still active, and for many years has met the entire expense incurred in conducting the Esquimaux Mission in Labrador.

MEMBERS OF "THE SOCIETY FOR THE FURTHERANCE OF THE GOSPEL" IN LONDON.

1743.

Men.	*Women.*
Backer, Olaus.	Beadle, Frances.
Bell, William, (*Secretary*).	
Bowes, George.	Bowes, Mary.
Brampton, Richard.	
Brockmer, John Paul. (Resided on Fetter Lane. Spangenberg and his wife lodged at his house on their arrival in London.)	

Married Men.	*Married Women.*
Brown, John.	
Chapman, George.	
Clark, John.	
Edmonds,* John.	
Griffith, William.	
Hilland, John.	Hilland, Martha.
Hunt, William.	
Hurlock, Philip.	
Hutton, James.	Hutton, Louisa.
Jones, Henry.	
Knight, Thomas.	
Knolton,† William P.	Knolton, Hannah.
Lateward, Thomas.	
Moore, Thomas.	
Moore, George.	
Nash, William.	
Pearson, William.	Pearson,‡ Mary (m. n. Ewsters).
Pellett, John.	West, Esther S.
Schmidt, D.	
Schlicht, Ernest Ludolph.	
Senniff, John.	
Sparks, ——.	
Stanton, William.	
Syms, Peter.	
Syms, Joseph.	
Thacker, William.	
Watson, Samuel.	
Weldon, ——.	

* A son of this John Edmonds went to Georgia, was an inmate of Whitefield's Orphan House, was next adopted by John Brownfield and by him brought to Bethlehem in April, 1745.

† Late in September of 1745 Knolton and his wife arrived at Philadelphia, after a six month's passage from London. They proceeded to Bethlehem, united with the congregation at that place, severed their connection with the Brethren in September of 1746, were some time residents of Philadelphia and returned to England in 1750. Knolton died in London in November of 1767. Franklin's "Pennsylvania Gazette" of August 10th, 1749, contains the following advertisement: "Peter Knolton, from London, makes, mends, mounts and sells all sorts of fans, and fansticks, wholesale and retail, in Sassafras street, near the Moravian church. Also lengthens short fans, and sells all sorts of corks."

‡ Accompanied her husband to America, in 1754.

III. THE BRETHREN'S CONGREGATION IN LONDON.

On Saturday, the 10th of November, 1742, the first congregation of the Brethren's Church in London, was organized by Spangenberg and his associates, Toeltschig and Piesch, from members of The Fetter Lane Society and from others who were attached to the Brethren. This body was called "The Congregation of the Lamb," and was regarded as a Society within the Church of England in union with the Moravian Brethren. "The morning of the day was spent by the Elders in conference. In the afternoon Spangenberg spoke to the assembled Brethren and Sisters on the daily word: 'They shall no more be a prey to the heathen, nor shall the beasts of the land devour them; but they shall dwell safely and none shall make them afraid.' Toeltschig then installed William Holland as Elder, and Spangenberg installed James Hutton as Warden of the congregation. William Bell and William Griffith were set apart with imposition of hands, as Elders of the single men, and John Brown and Thomas Knight as Wardens of that body. The female officers and assistants were nominated, but not inducted into office on this occasion. They were Martha Claggett, Elderess, and Jane Kinchin, Vice-Elderess of the congregation; Louisa Hutton, Warden of the female members, Elizabeth Holland and Mary Bowes, Elderesses of the same, Esther West, Warden of the married women, and Mary Eswters, Warden of the single women. After these announcements, William P. Knolton's child was baptized, receiving the name of Christian David. Richard Viney closed with an impressive prayer. Awe and reverence pervaded every breast. 'It is impossible,' writes Spangenberg, 'to describe in words how blessedly we experienced the gracious presence of our Saviour.'

"It is not certain whether this memorable transaction took place in the chapel in Fetter Lane, or in Spangenberg's lodgings in Little Wyld Street."*

There were seventy-two members of "The Congregation of the Lamb," enrolled on the 10th of November, 1742. In the autumn of 1748, the German members were incorporated into a distinct organization.

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* See "*Hasse's United Brethren in England*," &c.

MEMBERS OF THE BRETHREN'S CONGREGATION IN LONDON.

1743.

A.—THE ENGLISH MEMBERS.

Married Brethren.	*Married Sisters.*
BELL, WILLIAM.	BELL, MARY.
BELL, RICHARD, (*watchcase maker*).	ASHBURN, ——.
BOWES, GEORGE, (*wholesale dealer in cloaks or clocks.* Superintendent of the married brethren.)	
BROWN, JOHN, (*woolen-draper*).	BROWN, JANE.
CHAPMAN, GEORGE, (*butcher*).	CLAGGETT, MARTHA, (Elderess).
CLARK, JOHN, (*turner*).	EASTON, ——.
EDMONDS, JOHN, (*poulterer*).	GAMBOLD, ELIZABETH.
GAMBOLD, JOHN. (See later in this Register).	HODGES, ——.
GLADMAN, THOMAS, (*mariner*).	NUN, ——.
GLENDENNING, ——.	PORTAL, ——.
HILLAND, JOHN, (*hog butcher*).	HILLAND, MARTHA, (Servitress).
HUGHES, ——.	HUGHES, ——.
HUNT, WILLIAM, (*blacksmith and watch-spring maker*).	RAYMOND, DINAH, (md. Charles II Conrad de Larisch.)
HUTTON,* JAMES, (Steward).	HUTTON, LOUISA, (m. n. Brandt, Stewardess).
JONES, HENRY, (*cutler*).	SENNIFF, — —.
KNOLTON, WILLIAM P, (b. 1702, at Luton, in the hundred of Flitt, county of Bedford. Baptist. *Fan-maker.* Superintendent.)	KNOLTON, HANNAH, (Baptist. *Cork cutter*).
LANE, ——.	
LATEWARD, THOMAS, (*linen draper's journeyman.* Servitor.)	LATEWARD, ——.

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* James Hutton, born in London in Sept. of 1715, died at Oxted Cottage, Surrey, in May of 1795, was along with Spangenberg, Boehler, Neisser and Molther, instrumental in the establishment of the Brethren's Church in Great Britain. His "*Memoirs, comprising the Annals of his Life, and his Connexion with the United Brethren,*" by Daniel Benham (London 1856) furnish the reader the details of the active career of this estimable man, who, on account of his universal philanthropy and his zeal for the cause of his Heavenly Master, it is said, enjoyed the respect and love alike of high and low. He labored in the interests of the Church of his adoption chiefly in England. Several years of his life, however, were spent on the Continent. In 1749 he was ordained a deacon. At first *Referendary*, Hutton, in 1752, was appointed *Secretary of the Unity in Great Britain*, which office he held through life. In 1787 he was chosen President of The Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, in the renewal of which (in March of 1766) he had been largely concerned. A number of the Brethren's early religious publications in England, were printed for *James Hutton, Bookseller, at the Bible and Sun, Little Wyld Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London.*

Married Brethren.	*Married Sisters.*
Moss, ——.	Moss, ——.
Neisser,* Frederic Wenceslaus. (Elder.)	
Pearson, William.	Pearson, Mary, (Servitress).
Pepyt, ——.	Pepyt, ——.
Rogers, ——.	
Schlicht,† Ludolph E. (Pastor ordinary).	Schlicht, Esther, (Vice-Elderess.)
Stanton, William, (*butcher and brewer*).	Stanton, Grace.
Syms, Robert.	Syms, Hannah, (wife of Peter Syms).
Tompson, Richard.	Tompson, ——.
Vowell, Richard, (*physician*).	Wheeler, ——.
Wade,‡ John.	Wade, Johanna, (m. n. Hopson, born 1723, at Ludgershall, in the hundred of Amesbury, Wilts.
Watson, ——, (*breeches maker*).	Watson, ——.
Watkins, ——.	Viney, ——.
West, John, (*black silk dyer*).	West, Esther, (Superintendent of the married women).
Wellett, Lewis, (born of French parents in Amsterdam).	Wellett, Ann, (m. n. Mackenzie).
Williams, ——.	Williams, ——.
Widowers.	*Widows.*
Hodges, Joseph, (*smith*).	Beadle, Frances, (Superintendent).
Jones, ——.	Claggett, Martha, (*gentlewoman*).
Pellet, John, (*master of the French tongue*).	Collins, ——.
	Ely, ——.

* Frederic Wenceslaus Neisser, born in Sehlen, Moravia, was for forty years of his life, (during which time he filled various positions both in England and on the Continent) actively engaged in the work of his Church. In 1746 he was ordained a rural Bishop, and in 1764, chosen by lot, a member of the Directing Board of the Unity. During the later years of his life he administered the finances of the Department of Missions. He died in Barby, Saxony, in October of 1777. Some of Neisser's sacred poems are found in the collection of German hymns, authorized by the Church, for use in its worship.

† Ludolph Ernest Schlicht, was born in 1714, in Brandenburg. While at Jena, pursuing the study of Theology, he became acquainted with the Brethren and united with them at Herrnhut in 1738. Four years subsequent he was dispatched to England, where he labored as a minister of the Gospel at various points, until his recall to Germany in 1763. He was the first Archivist for the Unity. Died at Herrnhut in 1769.

‡ John and Johanna Wade came to Pennsylvania in the winter of 1746, in company with Bishop J. C. Frederic Cammehoff. Wade labored in the ministry in New York, on Long and Staten Islands, and also itinerated in the English districts of Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

Widowers.

REED,* ——, (anglicised from Rohr.)

Single Brethren.

BACKER, OLAUS.
BEVAN, ——.
BRAMPTON, RICHARD, (*journeyman periwig-maker*).
BRANDT, ABRAHAM. (Went to Herrnhut).
CAUL, ——.
CHERRY, MAURICE.
COOK,† JOHN. (Born in Leghorn, July, 1720. Formerly Romanist. *Painter*).
DELAMOTTE, WILLIAM, (died February of 1743).
DREW, ——.
EVANS, ——.
FOOT, ——.
GREENING,‡ JAMES, (*apothecary*. md. Elizabeth Rodgers, of Prince's Square, Ratcliffe-highway, St. Pauls, Shadwell, in Aug. of 1743. Went to Pennsylvania).

Widows.

MANWARING, ——.
West, ——.

Single Sisters.

ANDERSON, CHRISTIANA, (*mantua-maker*. md. Joseph Hodges).
BAGLEY, JENNY, (*maid-servant* at Mrs. Claggett's).
BOWES, MOLLY, (Elderess).
CLAGGETT, SUSAN, (Superintendent).
COLLINS, ——.
DICKONS, MARTHA.
FIELD, PEGGY.
FIELDING, ——.
FULLER, JANE, (born in Berkshire, in 1706. A dissenter. Went to Germany and married P. Verbeek.)
GALE, ——.
GERNOM, ——.
GROOM, ——.
MARKS, ——.
MIDDLETON, SUSAN.

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* Emigrated to America. In 1754 was a member of the Moravian Church in New York.

† Shipped in "The Little Strength" as one of the crew, on her sailing from London for New York in the autumn of 1743. Was on board that ill-fated vessel, when on her return-trip to Europe, she was captured by a Spanish man-of-war, in the Chops of the Channel, on the 1st of May, 1744. Wrote a narrative of her capture, and of the subsequent experiences of those on board. Is said to have returned to Pennsylvania, and to have died prior to 1754. In the Archives at Bethlehem, there is a curious specimen of Cook's handiwork in the way of art, viz.: a MS. octavo volume of 64 pages, entitled, "The burthen'd Pilgrim released and his Journey to the New Jerusalem. On the ship 'Little Strength' 1744," and illustrated with four designs and a portrait of himself, (the author also of this wonderful allegory), under which is written:

> "On ye wide Ocean far from any Land
> With cheerful Heart I first took Pen in Hand
> On thy dear Subject in few Words to treat
> Which was and is to me exceeding sweet;
> My Style is simple—and my native Place
> Is ITALI,—but yet my Home is Grace."

‡ James Greening and Elizabeth his wife, came to America in "The Little Strength" in November of 1743. (See Register of members of the second colony of Moravians transported to Pennsylvania, later in this paper.)

Single Brethren.

Griffith, William, (*shoemaker*, from Caernarvon. Elder).
Hurlock, Philip.
Ibbetson, ——.
Keynde, ——.
Knight, Thomas, (*journeyman jeweler*. Superintendent).
Moore, Thomas.
Moore, George, (*gingerbread baker*. Went to Herrnhut).
Nash, William, (*chaser*).
Reincke, Abraham.
Sparks, ——.
Syms, William.
Syms, Joseph.
Syms, Peter, (*butcher*).
Thacker, William, (*butcher*).
Turbeville, ——.
Waterworth, ——.
Watson, Samuel, (*jeweler*. md. —— Okley's sister).
Woodham, ——.

Single Sisters.

Moore, ——.
Odell, ——.
Pratt, ——.
Rumley, Grace.
Saddler, ——.
Thorpe, ——.
Williams, Ann.

Boys.

Bell, Christian.
Brockmer, John.
Christy, William Bell.
Edmonds, James.
Knolton, Christian David.
West, John Ernest.

Girls.

Chapman, Louisa.
Hilland, Mary.
Hutton, Maria Louise.
Knolton, Mary.

B.—THE GERMAN MEMBERS.*

Married Brethren.

Ahlers, ——.
Bezançonet, Francis.
Brockmer, John Paul, (Organist).
Dickmann, ——.
Hesse, ——.
Hutton, James.
Larisch, Chas. H. Conrad de.
Marschall,† von, Ludwig Frederic William.

Married Sisters.

Bezançonet, Catherine.
Hutton, Louisa.
Moss, ——, (m. n. Eichmann).

* These were incorporated into a distinct organization in October of 1743.

† Between 1761 and 1764 visited the Brethren's settlements in Pennsylvania and North Carolina. In 1768 entered upon the administration of the Church's estates in the latter colony. (See later in this Register for farther notice of Marschall.)

Married Brethren.

Neisser, Fc. Wenceslaus.
Ohlson, ——.
Powes, ——.
Petersen, John.
Piesch,* George, (Elder).
Rohr, ——, (Reed).
Schlicht, Ludolph E., (Pastor ordinary).
Senniff, John. (Born in Worms, Germany. *shoemaker*. Superintendent).

Married Sisters.

Neisser, Mary Elizabeth, (Co-Elderess).

Piesch, Rosina, (Elderess).

Widows.

Meyer,† Ann Eve.
Fetter, ——.

Single Brethren.

Applequist, Samuel.
Biehm, Gottlieb.
Clark, ——.
Deider, ——.
Eichmann, ——.
Eparth, George Christian.
Hittersen, Christian.
Hussenbeck, Henry.
Kuhn, ——.
Lehmann, Henry A.
Notbeck, Charles, (subsequently missionary in Algiers and on the Barbary Coast).
Mueller, ——.
Nagel, Julius.
Ockershausen, John, (*sugar-refiner*).
Prosky, George.
Reincke, Abraham, (Elder).
Resius, ——.
Rheinhardt, ——.
Rhode, Thomas, (Servitor).
Schmidt, D.
Schneider, Jacob.
Thompson, Archibald.
Tubendorff, ——, (*apothecary* from Gothenburg, Sweden).

Single Sisters.

Hausherr, Amelia.
Hopson, Joan, (md. John Wade).

Boys.

Bezançonet, Abraham, (born in London, April 19, 1743).
Fetter, Godfrey.
Piesch, David.

Girls.

Bezançonet, Rose.
Bezançonet, Lisette.
Fetter, Maria.
Neisser, Ann Salome.

* One of Spangenberg's associates in superintending the Brethren's movement in England. The same who, as before stated, led the first colony of Brethren to Pennsylvania.

† Came to Pennsylvania in September of 1745.

IV. THE MORVIANS IN YORKSHIRE.*

The relations of Christian esteem and fellowship which had been maintained between the Brethren and the Rev. Benjamin Ingham, (one of the original association of Methodists at Oxford,) since they met in Georgia in 1736, proved the means of introducing the former into Yorkshire. After Ingham's return to England in 1738, he preached the Gospel with surprising effect in the numerous towns and villages of that populous county. But finding the work too laborious for his individual efforts, he called upon the Brethren for an assistant. John Toeltschig, in answer to this call, was sent to England, and set out from London for Yorkshire in October of 1739. Boehler and Neisser followed in June of 1741, and for several months labored with great blessing. It was not, however, till 1742 that the Brethren in a body entered this important field, for on the 28th May of that year Spangenberg and a number of his associates in London were organized into a so-called "Congregation of Pilgrims," or evangelists, to preach the Gospel and to administer the sacraments to the Societies which had been gathered by Ingham. In June and July they repaired to Yorkshire and located at Smith-house near Wyke, and at Newhouse, near Halifax. These were the first centers of their spiritual ministrations to the clothiers of the West Riding, in which they engaged so successfully that it soon became the principal field of their Gospel labors in England. Ingham now transferred his Societies entirely to the care of the Brethren. This was done in writing, and with the approval of the Societies' members in a public meeting convened on the 30th of July. Upwards of nine hundred persons, on that occasion, subscribed to the following paper:

"Whereas, the Rev. Mr. Benjamin Ingham has committed his Societies and the care of them to the Rev. Mr. John Toeltschig, having hitherto carefully and with many blessings had charge of them himself, and has also desired the rest of the Moravian Brethren who are come to Yorkshire to have a joint care of his Societies; and, whereas, the representatives of the said Societies when they were asked if they were willing that the said Brethren should preach among them, and take upon them a care of their Societies,

* For a historical sketch of Moravian settlement and activity in Yorkshire, the reader is referred to "*Yorkshire Centenary Jubilee*," London, 1855.

and after having spoken with their Societies, have heartily agreed thereto, and publicly signified their satisfaction, it is now thought necessary to know the name of each person which belongs to said Societies, and who is desirous that Bro. Toeltschig and the rest of the Brethren who are in fellowship with him and stand in the same spirit, might take upon them a care for them, since the Brethren are determined not to meddle with any Society except by her full and free consent;

"Therefore, we whose names are underwritten not only witness this, but also heartily desire the said Brethren to take us into their care, since we see and observe that the Lord is with them.

"*Item*, we not only desire them to preach publicly among us, but also to visit us in private, put us to right and make such orders among us as they shall see necessary according to the grace the Lord shall give them.

"*Item*, we do declare that in so doing it is not our intention to leave the Church of England, but rather to continue therein and to endeavor to walk as true members of it. And hereto we have signed our names, or made our marks."*

The theater of Ingham's apostolic labors, which embraced the region of country lying between Halifax, Leeds, Wakefield and Bingley, was now divided into six districts, in each of which a meeting-house was secured for services on the Lord's day. Meetings were also held during the week, at thirteen additional places. Spangenberg resided at Smith-house, Ockershausen at Mirfield, Gussenbauer at Pudsey, Toeltschig and Piesch at Great Horton, and Brown and his wife at Holbeck.

In the spring of 1743, when Zinzendorf visited the Brethren in Yorkshire, he selected a site for a Moravian settlement, on Falneck (*i. e.* Fallen Oak) Estate, near Pudsey, in the parish of Calverley, wapentake of Morley, West Riding. Here, on the 10th of May, 1746, the foundation-stone of the Moravian-house (*Gemeinhaus*,) "Grace Hall," was solemnly laid. The place was called Lamb's Hill, and subsequent to 1763, Fulneck.

* See "*Büdingische Sammlung.*" *Vol.* 3, *p.* 1035.

MEMBERS OF THE BRETHREN'S CONGREGATION IN YORKSHIRE.
1743.

Married Brethren.	*Married Sisters.*
Bell, Richard, Vice-Elder of the married men.	Bell, ——.
Finley, Thomas.	
Gussenbauer, John Balzar, (went to Marienborn).	Gussenbauer, Anna.
Hauptmann, Gottlieb, Vice-Elder.	Hauptmann, Hannah.
Heckenwaelder,* David, Servitor.	Heckenwaelder, Regina.
Hellas, Samuel.	Herd, Martha.
Holland, William, Warden and Superintendent of the children.	Holland, Elizabeth, Elderess of the married women.
Hutchins, John, Exhorter, and Secretary of "The Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel."	
Kendrick, William.	Kendrick, ——.
Mallison, William.	Mallison, ——.
Oates, Joseph.	Naylor, Martha.
Ockershausen, John, Warden of the married members.	Ockershausen, Elizabeth.
Prosky, George.	Prosky, Jane.
Scorfield, Matthew.	Scorfield, Mary.
Scorfield, William.	
Toeltschig,† John, Elder.	Toeltschig, Judith, Elderess.

* A native of Moravia, whence he emigrated to Herrnhut. Labored in the service of his Church in the counties of Bedford and York, in the interval between 1742 and 1754. Together with his wife and four children, John, David, Christian and Ann Mary, he sailed for Pennsyvania in March of the last mentioned year, and arrived at Bethlehem in April following. In 1759 Heckenwaelder (Heckewelder) was called to enter the Moravian Mission on St. Thomas, W. I. He died on the island of St. John in 1760. —— John, the oldest son of the above, and well known as a writer on the Moravian Mission among the Indians, and on Indian manners and customs, died at Bethlehem, January 31st, 1823. David and Ann Mary died at the same place—the former in 1772, the latter in 1770. Christian died at ——.

† John Toeltschig was born in Zauchtenthal, Moravia, in 1703, and emigrated to Herrnhut in 1724. Together with Frederic Wenceslaus Neisser, and David Nitschmann, he was, in the summer of 1728, despatched by Count Zinzendorf to London for the purpose of acquainting friends of the Count at Court, with the history and condition of the Moravian immigrants, whom he had recently received on his estates in Upper Lusatia, Saxony. This deputation was the means of introducing the Brethren to the notice of the English Government, which subsequently recognized their ecclesiastical organization and sanctioned their missions within the jurisdiction of its widely distant colonial possessions. The first attempt at missions under British auspices was a settlement made in Georgia, preparatory to preaching the Gospel to the Creeks and Cherokees.

Widowers.

SHERD, MICHAEL.

Single Brethren.

CHARLESWORTH, JAMES, Warden of the single men in Holbeck.
CRAVEN, ROBERT.
FOSS, JAMES.
FRANKLETON, JOHN.
HORN, WILLIAM, Warden.
HUNT, THOMAS.
HUNT,* SAMUEL.
HIRST,† JOHN. (b. 1720, in the parish of Mirfield, West Riding).
ISLES,‡ SAMUEL.
LONGBOTHAM, JOHN.
MORTIMER,§ PETER.
RAINFORTH, THOMAS.
RENDER, JOHN.
SMITH, JEREMIAH.
SUMMERSKILL, SAMUEL.
SUMMERSKILL, JOHN.
STARKEY, TIMOTHY.
UTLEY,‖ SAMUEL.
WADE, JOHN, (md. Joan Hopson).

Boys.

GUSSENBAUER, JOHN.
HOLLAND, ISAAC.
SCORFIELD, JOHN, (son of Matthew Scorfield).
TOELTSCHIG, IGNATIUS.

Single Sisters.

BIRKBY, ANN.
BROOK, SUSAN.
CLAGGETT, ELIZABETH.
CLARK, BETTY.
LLOYD, MARGARET, Warden. (b. at Llan-gwesten, North Wales.)
MORTIMER, ROSE.
NAYLOR, ANN.
PEAT, MARY.
RHODES, MARY.
RIPLEY, SARAH.
TURNER, SUSAN.
WILBY, ANN.
WIRING, ANN.
WIRING, HANNAH.

Girls.

HAUPTMANN, MARY.
HERD, RACHEL.

Toeltschig was one of nine Moravians sent to that colony in 1734. In the summer of 1738 he was recalled to Europe, and in October of 1739 sent to England. Excepting two years spent in Holland, and a brief sojourn in Pennsylvania (whither in 1752 he led a company of Brethren), Toeltschig labored in the Churches in Great Britain. He died in Dublin in April of 1764.

* Samuel Hunt is registered "clothier from Yorkshire," in a list of young men who constituted what is known in early Moravian records, as "Gottlob Kœnig-dœrfer's Colony," which arrived at Bethlehem in September of 1753.

† Came to Bethlehem in June of 1749, along with William Dixon, Joseph Haley and Richard Popplewell, (born in 1718, at Wood-hall, in the parish of Calverley), clothiers, and members of the congregation at Lamb's Hill. The four were imported specially for the purpose of conducting the manufacture of woolens at Bethlehem.

‡ Missionary on the Island of Antigua, between 1756 and his decease in 1764.

§ The father of the Rev. Benjamin Mortimer, who died while pastor of the Fulton Street Maravian Church, New York, in 1832.

‖ In 1766 missionary on Antigua—d. at the Moravian settlement (Graceham) in Frederick county, Md., in 1771.

AN ENUMERATION OF POINTS IN THE WEST RIDING OF THE COUNTY OF YORK, AT WHICH THERE ARE "SOCIETIES" IN CONNECTION WITH THE BRETHREN'S CHURCH,—GIVEN UNDER THEIR RESPECTIVE DIOCESES* AND DISTRICTS.

1744.

So actively did Spangenberg and his fellow-laborers in the Gospel prosecute the work, entrusted to them by Ingham in the summer of 1742, that within less than two years there were forty-seven points in the West Riding, at which they statedly met inquiring souls for prayer, for exhortation and for reading of the Scriptures. Most of these were the clothing-towns and hamlets that clustered about the boroughs and market-towns of Leeds, Halifax, Huddersfield, Wakefield, Bradford and Dewsbury.†

Diocese of Mirfield,
including

CASTLE-HOUSE HILL.
DALTON, (1 mile from Huddersfield).
HARTSHEAD, (5½ miles N. E. from Huddersfield).
HEATON, (2 miles N. W. from Bradford).
HOUGHTON, (7½ miles N. E. from Barnsley).
KIRK HEATON, (2 miles E. from Huddersfield).
LITTLE TOWN.
MIRFIELD, (2¾ miles W. from Dewsbury).
ROBERT TOWN, (1 mile from Mirfield).

Diocese of Pudsey,
including

ARTHINGTON, (4½ miles N. E. from Otley).
BIRKENSHAW, (5 miles S. E. from Bradford).
BIRSTALL, (7½ miles S. W. from Leeds).
FIELDHEAD.
GREAT GOMERSAL, (5¾ miles S. E. from Bradford).
HOLME, (9 miles S. W. from Huddersfield).
PUDSEY, (4¼ miles E. from Bradford).
STREETSIDE (?). (*Gussenbauer*).

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* The word *diocese* is here used simply to designate the larger divisions into which the Brethren divided the field of their operations in Yorkshire.

† How much these Societies were interested in the Brethren's work of Foreign Missions, appears from the following enumeration of offerings sent by them to Bethlehem in 1745.

"Fifty blankets for ye Indians or their 'laborers,'—a present from Lady Margaret Ingham to be disposed of at the discretion of Sister Spangenberg.

"48 yards of coarse blue cloth for stockings or for other clothing for ye Indians or their laborers, if they need.

"40 yds. strong flaxen linen for shirts for ye Indian messengers.

"5 pieces check-linen, each of 20 yds., marked F. M., which we desire may be sent to Frederic Martin in St. Thomas' isle,—or else value thereof in other things.

"10 yds. camlet to make a gown for Sister Spangenberg, and 2 handkerchiefs for Bro. Spangenberg, which Mrs. Chaderick sends them.

"4 lbs. pins, assorted; 12 prs. women's scissors; 6 pr. candle-snuffers; 12 butcher knives; 18 spring knives; 6 doz. thimbles; 4,000 needles; knitt' needles; 3 doz. combs; 7 white caps; 3 pieces white tape and 2 ps. binding."

Diocese of Great Horton,
including

Baildon, (4½ miles N. W. from Bradford).
Beggrington (?).
Bingley, (37 miles S. W. from York).
Bradford, (10 miles S. W. from Leeds).
Eccleshill, (3¼ miles N. E. from Bradford).
Great Horton, (*Magna Horton*, 2 miles S. W. from Bradford).
Heaton on the Hill.
Little Horton, (*Parva Horton*). (*Bell, Feldhausen* and *Piesch*).

Diocese of Holbeck,
including

Armley, (2½ miles N. W. from Leeds).
Beeston, (2¼ miles S. W. from Leeds).
Farnley Moor Top, (3½ miles S. W. from Leeds).
Gildersome, (4½ miles S. W. from Leeds).
Holbeck, (1½ miles S. W. from Leeds).
Hunslet, (2 miles S. E. from Leeds).
Wortley, (2½ miles S. W. from Leeds).

Diocese of Ossett,
including

Dewsbury, (34 miles S. W. from York).
Hanging Heaton.
Horbury, (3 miles S. W. from Wakefield).
Kirk Burton, (5½ miles S. E. from Huddersfield).
Ossett, (4¼ miles W. from Wakefield).
Rodwell. (?)
Wakefield-out-wood. (*Ockershausen, Metcalfe, Hendrick*).

Diocese of Smith-house,
including

Brighouse, (4 miles N. E. from Huddersfield).
Cleckheaton, (5½ miles S. E. from Bradford).
Halifax.
Lightcliffe, (3¼ miles E. from Halifax).
Little Gomersal, (6¼ miles S. E. from Bradford).
Greetland, (3 miles S. from Halifax).
Norwood Green.
Oakenshaw, (3¾ miles S. E. from Bradford).
Rastrick, (4½ miles N. from Huddersfield).
Shelf, (3¼ miles N. E. from Halifax).
Scholes, (7 miles N. E. from Leeds).
Slaghwaite, (5 miles S. W. from Huddersfield).
Spen. (?)
Wyke, (6¼ miles N. E. from Leeds (?) *Metcalfe, Hutchins*).

District of Holbeck,
August, 1744.

Married men.

Prosky, George.

Single Men.

Charlesworth, James.
Craven, Robert.
Frankleton, John.

Married Women.

Prosky, Jane.

Single Women.

Clark, Elizabeth.
Craven, Hannah.
Isles, Hannah.

Horn, William.
Hunt, Thomas.
Hunt, Samuel.
Hirst, John.
Isles, Samuel.
Rainforth, Thomas.
Render, John.
Smith, Jeremiah.
Utley, Samuel.
Moore, Thomas.

Naylor, Ann.
Peat, Mary.
Rhodes, Mary.

District of Mirfield,
August, 1744.

Married Men.
Finlay, Thomas.
Ockershausen, John.
Rhodes, John.
Scorfield, Matthew.

Married Women.
Ockershausen, Elizabeth.
Rhodes, Hannah.

Single Men.
Sherd, Michael, (widower).

Single Women.
Brooke, Susan.
Wilby, Ann.

District of Pudsey.
August, 1744.

Married Men.
Hauptmann, Gottlieb.
Heckenwaelder, David.
Holland, William.
Hellas, Samuel.
Kendrick, William.
Toeltschig, John.

Married Women.
Hauptmann, Hannah.
Heckenwaelder, Regina.
Holland, Elizabeth.
Gussenbauer, Ann.
Naylor, Martha.
Toeltschig, Judith.

Single Men.
Foss, James.
Longbotham, John.
Mortimer, Peter.
Summerskill, Samuel.
Summerskill, John.

Single Women.
Claggett, Elizabeth.
Gray, Betty.
Lloyd, Margaret.
Ripley, Sarah.
Wiring, Hannah.
Wiring, Ann.

District of Smith-house.
August, 1744.

Married Men.
Hutchins, John.
Mallison, William.
Oates, Joseph.
Smith, John.
Scorfield, William.

Married Women.
Herd, Martha.
Mallison, Mary.

Scorfield, Mary.

Single Men.
Starkey, Timothy.

Single Women.
Birkby, Ann.

TOWNEND, JOHN.

BROOK, SARAH.
BROOK, EUNICE.
BRIGHOUSE, MARY.
HOLDSWORTH, ELIZABETH, (widow).
PRESTON, ESTHER.
TURNER, SUSAN.
WADE, MARY.

V. BROAD OAK, COUNTY OF ESSEX.

In the summer of 1742 the Brethren commenced a Boarding School at Broad Oak, twenty-five miles north-east from London. It was intended chiefly for the children of persons attached to their Society residing in the metropolis. At the same time Broad Oak was constituted one of the centres of their labors in the Gospel, being selected as the seat of a corps of evangelists, who, in addition to superintending the school, engaged in the work of the Lord in the neighboring districts. Charles and Elizabeth Metcalfe at first superintended the concerns of this so-called "Economy." The small congregation in "The House at Broad Oak" (called by the Brethren "*Lamb's Inn*"), was duly settled by the appointment of officers, Nov. 26, 1743.

NAMES OF THE INMATES OF LAMB'S INN.
1743.

Married Men.

BROGDEN, ——.
BROWN, ——.
METCALFE, CHARLES, Warden.
OXLEY, WILLIAM, Elder.
ROBINSON, JOSEPH.
VERDING, JOSEPH.
WELLETT, LEWIS.

Married Women.

BROGDEN, ——.
BROWN, ——.
METCALFE, ELIZABETH.
OXLEY, ——.
ROBINSON, ELIZABETH.
VERDING, CATHERINE.

Widows.

METCALFE, ——.

Single Women.

CHAMBERS, JANE.
RUMLEY, SALLY.
THURSTON, PATTY.
WESTERMAN, HANNAH.

NAMES OF THE CHILDREN IN THE SCHOOL AT LAMB'S INN.

Boys.

GARRAWAY, HENRY, Elder.

Girls.

BALL, PATTY, Elderess.

1st Division.

CLARK, SAMUEL, Servitor.
HARRIS, JOHN.
PEPYT, THOMAS.
SENNIFF, GEORGE.
WELLETT, LEWIS.

2d Division.

EVANS, JOHN.
IBBETSON, WILLIAM.
OHLSON, JOHN, Servitor.
ROBINSON, THOMAS.
VINEY, THOMAS.

3d Division.

DUNCAN, ALEXANDER.
TURNER, JAMES.
VINEY, RICHARD.
VINEY, JAMES.
WELLETT, ABRAHAM, Servitor.
BELL, MARY.
BURMINE, MARY.
CHAPMAN, BETSY, Servitress in the *2d Division.*
DENNIS, SARAH.
HILLAND, JANE.
HUGHES, SARAH.
IRELAND, PATTY, Superintendent.
JOHNSON, ELIZABETH.
JONES, ELIZABETH.
INKS, MARY.
LIGHTON, ELIZABETH.
MACKENZIE, JANE.
NEEDHAM, HANNAH.
PIKE, ANN.
ROEBUCK, SARAH.
SONE, ANN, Servitress in the *1st Division.*
VICKARS, ANN.

VI. NAMES OF PLACES IN OTHER COUNTIES OF ENGLAND, AT WHICH THE BRETHREN STATEDLY PREACHED.

1744.

BASINGSTOKE,

A market-town and parish in the Basingstoke division of the country of Southampton, forty-five miles W.S.W. from London.

The Brethren's evangelists visited here for the first time in June of 1741. In 1744 the following persons attended their ministry:

Men.

ALLEN, RICHARD, (*widower*).
BENNETT, JOHN, (*single*).
CAUGH, RICHARD, (*single*).
CLEAVES, CHARLES, (*married*).
COCK, THOMAS, (*married*).
COWDREY, THOMAS, (*married*).
COWDREY, JOHN, (*single*).
KNIGHT, HENRY, (*married*).
KING, JAMES, (*married*).
KING, CHARLES, (*single*).
WILD, WILLIAM, (*single*).

Women.

ALLEN, REBECCA, (*single*).
COWDREY, MARY, (*widow*).
COWDREY, MARTHA, (*single*).
CLEAVES, HARRIET, (*married*), two sons and one daughter.
COCK, ANN, (*married*).
COWDREY, ELIZABETH, (*married*).
CLEAVES, ELLEN, (*widow*).
KING, MARY, (*married*).
PORTER, BETTY, (*married*).
WATRED, JANE, (*married*).

BASING,

A parish in the Basingstoke division of the county of Southampton, two miles north-east from Basingstoke.

Men.	*Women.*
Godson, William, (*mathematician*).	
Merit, William.	
Summer, John, } (*two ancient*	Summer, Mary, (*single*).
Summer, Thomas, } *farmers*).	

BEDFORD,

A borough and market-town in the county of Bedford, fifty miles N.W. from London.

Here the Brethren preached as early as 1741. Among their first adherents were the families of Okely and Rogers. In 1744 the following persons were attached to, or in communion with them:

Men.		*Women.*	
Brown, John,	(admitted to membership).	Brown, Jane.	
Easton, Negus,	(do.)	Easton, Jane,	(admitted to membership).
King, — —.		Odell, Ann,	(do.)
Rogers,* Jacob,	(do.)	Smith, ——,	(do.)
Parker, ——,	(do.)	Whitechurch, ——,	(do.)
Schmidt, ——.			
Sykes, ——,	(do.)		
Woodham, John.			

DUMMER,

A parish in the Basingstoke division of the county of Southampton, five miles S.W. from Basingstoke.

In May of 1741, Ernst L. Schlicht visited in Dummer. In 1744 the following persons in Dummer were ministered to in spiritual things by the Brethren.

Men.	*Women.*
Husband, Joseph, *schoolmaster* (*md.*)	Burton, Joan, (*md.*)
	Bird, Sarah.
	Field, Hannah, and ten children.

OXFORD,

The capital of the county of Oxford, fifty-five miles N.N.W. from London.

While in England, previous to taking ship for Georgia in the

* Some time a Deacon in the Church of England. Came to Bethlehem in the spring of 1752, a widower. Labored in the ministry in Philadelphia, New York, and in the Moravian settlements in North Carolina. In the spring of 1756 he married Ann Molly, a daughter of William Parsons, (sometime Surveyor-General) of Easton. She died in July of 1759, at Bethabara, N. C. During his sojourn in the American churches, Mr. Rogers occupied a portion of his time in translating Journals, Reports, Sermons, &c., from the German into English. He returned to England in July of 1762.

spring of 1738, Peter Boehler called upon the divines at Oxford, in order, according to his instructions, to acquaint them with the historical antecedents and characteristics of the Brethren's Church. During his sojourn in that city his powerful testimony to the efficacy of the doctrine of justification by faith, deeply impressed, among others, the Wesley brothers, John Gambold and William Delamotte. In March of 1741, on his return from Pennsylvania, Boehler visited at Oxford a second time, enlarging the circuit of his acquaintance, and thus opening the door for the entrance of the Brethren's evangelists. Before the close of that year, Richard Viney, John Gussenbauer and George Piesch were laboring in the Gospel in Oxford, and in 1743 the following persons were registered as attendants on their ministry:

Men.	*Women.*
Hitchman, ——.	Hitchman, ——.
Evans, ——.	Chidington, ——, (widow).
Sowerby, ——.	Sowerby, ——.
	Cowley, ——, (widow).
	Parcher, ——, (do.)
	Smith, ——.
	Thurstings, ——, (single).

SHALBOURN,*

A parish in the Ramsbury division of the county of Wilts, four miles south-west from Hungerford.

Spangenberg and Viney visited here in October of 1741. In 1743 the following persons in Shalbourn were attached to the Brethren:

Men.	*Women.*
Baker, John.	Baker, Jane.

* "As to Buttermere in Wilts, where the Rev. George Stonehouse had an estate (Hungerford Park in Berks), it is said that Spangenberg and his wife visited there in July of 1741. Under the influence of the Brethren's teaching, Stonehouse began to preach the Gospel in all simplicity, and with blessing. His family was visited in August by Schlicht, Captain Gladman and others. In September, Gussenbauer offered himself for service at Buttermere. His offer was accepted, and in October his wife, accompanied by Spangenberg and Viney, followed him. The two latter called on a brother of Mr. Stonehouse residing at Shalbourn, a little to the north-west of Buttermere, where a Society had been established, consisting mainly of aged people, and called the 'venerable Society of gray-beards and bald-heads.' Another place named Standon, or Stansden, apparently in the same neighborhood, is mentioned. In November, Squire Stonehouse informed the Brethren, 'he was resolved to serve the Lord in union with their Church.'" See *Hassé's United Brethren in England.*

Barnes, John.	Barnes, Hannah.
Bocock, Isaac.	Bocock, Ann.
Godwin, John.	Godwin, Sarah.
French, Robert.	French, Dorothea.
Kingston, David.	Kingston, ——.
Rayland, John.	David, Betty, (widow).
Philips, John.	Norris, Catherine.
	Shattel, Betty, (md.)
	Dame Pike, (md., in Buttermere, Wilts, five miles south from Hungerford.

STANDON.

Stonehouse, Francis.	Stonehouse, ——.

UFFINGTON.

A parish in the hundred of Shrivenham, county of Berks.

SOUTH WALES.

Gambold,* John.	Gambold, Elizabeth.

CENTRAL GERMANY.

JENA.

When in the twelfth year of his age, Christian Renatus, the second son of Count Zinzendorf, was sent to Jena in charge of John Nitschmann, Sr., to pursue a course of liberal studies. While there, he was admitted into a circle of godly tutors and students, who, in 1728,† entered into relations of Christian fellowship with the Brethren at Herrnhut, which relations were fostered by correspondence and by personal intercourse. Some of these asso-

* Born April 10, 1711, at Puncheston, Pembrokeshire, South Wales, and educated for the ministry in the Church of England. In 1726 he entered Christ Church, Oxford, as a Servitor, and on Sept. of 1733 was admitted to holy orders. United with the Moravians in 1742—and was ordained a Bishop for the British Province in 1754. Died at Haverford West, North Wales, Sept. 13, 1771. Bishop Gambold was a voluminous writer, and a sacred poet of a high order. John Gambold, missionary to the Cherokees, who died at Oo-yu-ge-lo-gee, Georgia, in January of 1827, was a grandson.

† See *Büdingische, Sammlung, Part* 7, *No.* 8, for a letter addressed to the Brethren at Herrnhut, subscribed by upwards of one hundred students at Jena, and dated Aug. 17, 1728.

ciates accompanied the young nobleman on his return to his father's seat at the castle of Marienborn, near Frankfort-on-the-Main, and subsequently entered the service of the Brethren's Church. It was from this source, in part, that she first filled the ranks of her educated ministry.

1. MEMBERS OF THE "CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION" OF STUDENTS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF JENA, ATTACHED TO THE BRETHREN IN 1739.*

("*Jenaische Brüder Gemein.*"—A. R.)

BADER,† CHRISTIAN PHILIP, from Bischweiler, Alsace.

BAUMANN, HENRY, from Libau, Courland, Russia.

BLUME, JOHN G. P., from Waldeck, Principality Waldeck.

BRUMHARDT, M. JNO. SEBASTIAN, from Coburg, Principality Coburg. (*Elder*).

BŒTTGER, HENRY JOHN, from Gera. (*Nurse*).

DŒDERLEIN, ——.

DŒRBAUM, JOHN PHILIP, from Bischweiler.

FIEDLER, JOHN G., from Thuringia. (*Servitor*).

FINCKE, ——.

FUCHS, M. GEORGE AUGUSTUS, from Erfurt, Prussian Saxony.

GEERHENS, MICHAEL, from Flensborg, Denmark.

GERDESEN, MATTHIAS. (*Servitor*).

GLATZ, GEORGE, from Silesia. (*Nurse*).

GRIMMER, SR., ——.

GRIMMER, JR., ——.

GUTSLEFF, ——.

GRUBE,‡ BERNARD ADAM, from Erfurt.

HAFER, CHRISTIAN HENRY, from Ordruff, (?)

HAGEDORN, ——.

HACKE, ——.

HEIDER, JOHN HENRY, from Erfurt.

HICKEL, ——.

HOLTZ, OTTO REINHARD, from Livonia, Russia.

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* "The Association meets weekly at 6 P. M., and the members are classed into ten bands." A. R.

† Came to Bethlehem in December of 1751. In June of 1752 was appointed "Lector," for the settlements on the Nazareth Tract, and stationed at Christian's Spring. Labored in the ministry principally in the rural congregations of the Church. D. at Old Nazareth in March of 1797.

‡ Came to Bethlehem in June of 1748. Missionary to the Indians. D. at Bethlehem in 1808. See *Mem's of the M. C., vol. I., p.* 35.

HUEFNER, JOHN GOTTFRIED. (*Servitor*).
JUTZE, von, G. A. C., from Oldemark, Overyssel, Netherlands.
KERN, JOHN GEORGE, from Hildesheim, Hanover.
KLEINER, GEORGE FREDERIC, from Bischweiler.
KNAUER, ——, from Coburg, Principality Coburg.
KRAFT, JOHN MICHAEL, from Neustadt, Hesse-Cassel.
LANGGUTH,* JOHN MICHAEL, from Walschleben, Thuringia. (*Servitor*).
MIETHE, ——, from Erfurt.
MOLTHER,† PHILIP HENRY, from Bischweiler.
OERTEL, GEORGE CHRISTOPHER, from Neustadt.
OLDENDORP, JOHN SIEGFRIED, from Hildesheim.
OLTORF, CHRISTIAN FREDERIC, from Gerlsdorf.
PISTORIUS, JOHN ERASMUS, from Mecklenburg.

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* Son of a Lutheran clergyman settled at Walschleben, and born there in October of 1718. While at Jena, acted as tutor to young Zinzendorf. In 1739 united with the Brethren at Herrnhaag. In 1745 was adopted into his family by Frederic, Baron of Watteville, a friend of Zinzendorf, and soon after received Imperial letters patent of nobility. Among the Brethren he was known as "Brother Johannes." In 1746 married Benigna H. I. von Zinzendorf. Prior to his visitation of the Brethren's settlements and missions in North America, he was, in June of 1747, ordained a Bishop. Arrived at Bethlehem in September of 1748. Thence he visited the Indian missions in Pennsylvania, New York and Connecticut. In April of 1749 sailed for St. Thomas. Soon after his return to the Provinces, in July of that year, he repaired to Philadelphia to hold an interview with heads and deputies of the Six Nations, on which occasion he renewed a covenant of amity, which his father-in-law had ratified with that confederation, in August of 1742. Sailed for Europe in October, 1749. During this visitation, Bishop de Watteville presided at three Synods of the Church, baptized a number of Indians, laid the corner-stone of a church at Gnadenhütten on the Mahoning, (Lehighton, Carbon county, Pa.,) and reorganized a number of Moravian congregations.

After Zinzendorf's decease, in May of 1760, his son-in-law for a time directed the affairs of the Church. In 1764 de Watteville was elected to the Directory, and, in 1769 to the Unity's Elder's Conference. While a member of this body he visited North America a second time, inspecting the Brethren's settlements and churches, both North and South, in the interval between June of 1784 and June of 1787. By authority of the above mentioned board, he sanctioned the transforming of Nazareth Hall into a Boarding School for boys, and the erection of a Boarding School for girls at Bethlehem in October of 1785.

Bishop de Watteville died at Gnadenfrey, Prussia, in Oct. of 1788.

† Entered the University in 1735. Was tutor in French and music to young Zinzendorf. In 1739 united with the Brethren at Herrnhaag. Thence was sent to England, and, with others, became instrumental in establishing the Brethren's

Pistorius, John Henry, from Mecklenburg.
Preuss, Gottlieb H., from Silesia.
Popradi, Adam Godfrey," "
Reichard, ——.
Reincke, Abraham, from Stockholm, Sweden.
Richter, ——.
Roth, Moritz, from Bischweiler.
Ruceius, Jacob Frc., from Pomerania, Prussia.
Sausselin, John Bernd., from Weickersheim, Wurtemberg.
Semler, John Ernst, from Saalfeld, Saxe-Meiningen.
Schlicht, Ludolph Ernst, from Brandenburg. (*Servitor.*)
Schleef, Christian H., from Mecklenburg.
Schleef, John, " "
Simon, John Jacob, from Zweybrücken, Rhenish Bavaria.
Schneider, Godf'y Michael, from Erfurt.
Sticht, ——.
Tennstadt, von ——, from Altwein.
Tiemeroth, ——, from Erfurt.
Vogelsang, von ——, from Hamburg.
Walter, ——.
Wedel, von ——, from Mittendorf.
Wunderling, Chr. Fred., from Leipsic. (*Servitor*).
Ziesler, Gottf. L., from Brandenburg.

2. NAMES OF STUDENTS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF JENA, PRIOR TO 1739, ATTACHED TO THE BRETHREN.

Alstadius, ——. Behrens, ——. Bang, ——. Boehler,* Peter. Bielstein, ——. Buntebort, Sr., ——. Buntebort, Jr., ——. Creutzberger, ——. Doehling,† ——. Eyser, ——. Ernst, ——. Gagern, ——. Gernert, ——. Goe-

Church in Great Britain. Ordained a Bishop in 1775. Died in Bedford, England, in 1780. His wife Johanna Sophia, m. n. von Seidewitz, was for sometime associated with Anna Nitschman, during the latter's sojourn in Pennsylvania, in the interval between December of 1740 and January of 1743. John, a son, b. at Neuwied in 1759, and md. in 1793 at Bethlehem, to Elizabeth Henry, a daughter of William Henry, Esq., of Lancaster, entered the ministry in the first mentioned year, and was settled at Hebron, near Lebanon, Pa.

* See his Memoirs,—*Mem's of the M. C., vol. I., p.* 24.

† Immigrated in November of 1743.

BEL, ——. GRAFF,* JOHN MICHAEL. GRUNRAD, ——. HEGELAND, ——. HESSE, ——. HOERMANN, ——. HUEBENER, ——. ILLUM, ——. IMMERMANN, ——. KRAFT, ——. LACH, ——. LAYRITZ, ——. LEMBKE,† FRANCIS CHN. LEMPE, ——. LETH, ——. LESSOR, ——. LOCHMANN, ——. MEISSNER, ——. MILTER, ——. MILLIERS, ——. MICHAELIS, ——. PETERSEN, ——. ROESCH. RUTHEL, ——. SAALWAECHTER, ——. SCHIMMER, ——. SCHOEN, ——. SCHMUTZIGER, ——. SCHWOLKE, ——. SIELMANN, ——. STIERLIN, ——. THIELE, ——. UNRUHE, ——. USSING, ——. VERLAUTZ, ——. WREDOW, ——.

WESTERN GERMANY.

THE MORAVIAN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

On the departure of Christian Renatus von Zinzendorf and his comrades from Jena, in the spring of 1739, the Brethren established a school of the prophets in the castle of Marienborn, in the district of Ysenburg, west of Frankfort-on-the-Main. Hence it was transferred successively to Herrnhaag and Lindheim, near by. In 1754 this Seminary for the education of servants of the Church, was reorganized at Barby, Prussian Saxony.

CANDIDATES FOR THE SERVICE OF THE BRETHREN'S CHURCH, AND STUDENTS IN THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY AT LINDHEIM, NEAR FRANFORT-ON-THE-MAIN, IN JUNE OF 1744.

ARBOE, NICHOLAS, *Med. st.*, aged 21, from Drammen, Aggershuun, Norway.

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* Came to Bethlehem in Sept. of 1751. Was at first employed in the educational department of the Church in Pennsylvania, in the capacity of "*Kindervater.*" In 1762 removed to North Carolina, where he labored in the ministry at the Moravian settlements on "The Wachovia Tract." In 1772 was called to Salem, to the Directing Board, was ordained a Bishop in 1772, and died at that place in 1774.

† Born July, 1704, in Bodensingen, Baden-Durlach. Came to Bethlehem in 1754. Was settled as minister at Nazareth between January of 1757 and December of 1784. D. at Old Nazareth, July, 1785.

Berchelmann, John Philip, *Med. st.*, aged 26, from Hesse-Darmstadt.

Beza, John Caspar, *Theol. st.*, aged 26, from Grünberg, Hesse-Darmstadt, (some time Zinzendorf's amanuensis. Died at Herrnhut in 1751).

Block, John, *Theol. st.*, aged 26, from Mariager, Jutland.

Cammerhoff,* John C. Frederic, *Phil. et Theol. st.*, aged 23, from Hillersleben, near Magdeburg, Prussia.

Conradi, alias Backe, John George, *Theol. st.*, aged 26, from Weszbach, Waldeck.

Crantz, David, *Theol. st.*, aged 21, from Neugarten, Pomerania. (Sailed for Greenland in 1761, to collect material for a history of that country, which appeared under the title of "*Historie von Grönland, enthaltend die Beschreibung des Landes und der Einwohner, insbesondere die Geschichte der dortigen Mission der evangelischen Brüder zu Neu-Herrnhut und Lichtenfels.*" *Barby*, 1765. Also author of a History of the Brethren's Church, Ancient and Renewed, entitled "*Alte und neue Brüder Historie, oder Kurzgefaszte Geschichte der evangelischen Brüder Unität. Barby*, 1771.

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* Born July 28, 1721, in Hillersleben, near Magdeburg. Having completed his preparatory studies at the cloister in Bergen, young Cammerhoff repaired to Jena in 1738, to qualify himself for the church. Here his sympathies were so strongly enlisted in the Brethren's movement, that in May of 1743, despite the dissuasions of his friends, he went to Marienborn, entered the Brethren's Divinity School, and was thereupon admitted into their communion. Zinzendorf attached him to his corps of assistants, in the capacity of an amanuensis, in July of 1745. In May of 1746 he was ordained at Zeyst, near Utrecht, and set apart for the service of his adopted Church in North America. In order to qualify him to stand by the side of Spangenberg, who, since November of 1744, had been superintending that important field, he was, in Sept. of 1746, ordained a Bishop. Sailed from London Sept. 27th, landed at Lewes, Dec. 28th of that year, and arrived at Bethlehem January 10th, 1747. For upwards of four years Cammerhoff labored with great energy and devotion in the interests of the work entrusted to his care, in the Church, in her schools, and her mission; making the circuit of the scattered rural congregations, in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Maryland,—visiting the Indians on the Susquehanna, and the missions among this people in New York and Connecticut;—treating with the Six Nations at Onondaga and in Philadelphia;—and besides discharging the functions of his office, by ordaining, baptizing, and by dedicating churches,—he maintained a correspondence with Count Zinzendorf, in which he reported statedly, in detail, upon the progress of the Brethren's work in North America, in the West Indies, and in Surinam. Bishop Cammerhoff died at Bethlehem, April 28, 1751, in the 30th year of his age.

Dœrbaum,* John Philip, *Theol. st.*, aged 30, from Mittelhausen, Alsace.

Frantz, Benjamin, *Phil. et Med. st.*, aged 21, from Strasbourg, Alsace.

Gœrner, Henry, *Theol. st.*, aged 26, from Wiborg, Jutland.

Goblentz, Christp'r E. Henry von, *Juris st.*, aged 25, from Gehren, Schwarzburg-Sondershausen.

Gottschalk,† Matthew Gottlieb, *Theol. st.*, aged 28, from Arnswalde, Brandenburg.

Heck, George Christian, *Theol. st.*, aged 25, from Anspach, Bavaria.

Heithousen von, George Ernst, *Juris st.*, aged 20, from Taschenburg, Principality Bringisch. (?)

Heiges, Martin Frederic, aged 25, from Worms, Hesse-Darmstadt. Late "Imperial Notary" at Worms.

Heitzig, Joachim Hermann, aged 26, merchant and scholar from Roop, Livonia.

Hess, John Peter, *Theol. et Phil. st.*, aged 35, from Gruenberg, Hesse-Darmstadt.

Heudorff, John Casper, aged 28, scholar, from Augsburg, Bavaria.

Hocker, Frederic William, *Theol. et Med. st.*, aged 31, from Gotha, Saxe Gotha. (Between 1747 and 1750 he made an attempt to bring the Gospel to the Guebres of Persia. Between 1752 and '56, at Cairo, qualifying himself by the study of Arabic to be a missionary among the Copts of Abyssinia, in which undertaking he engaged unsuccessfully, however, between 1756 and 1761.)

Hoeger,‡ Andrew, aged 32, engraver on copper, architect and mathematician, from Nuremberg, Bavaria.

Huffmann, John Hermann, *Theol. st.*, aged 32, from Werden, Rhenish Prussia.

Hummel, John M. Moritz, aged 21, merchant and scholar, from Jena.

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* Came to Bethlehem in May of 1749, and died there in 1751.

† Came to Bethlehem in January of 1747. Labored in the Gospel as an itinerant, preaching and visiting in Neshaminy, Skippack, Goshenhoppen, Oley, Coventry and Alsace townships in eastern Pennsylvania, and also in Maryland and north-western Virginia. D. at Bethlehem in August of 1748.

‡ Came to Bethlehem in April of 1754, and was employed as draughtsman and superintendent of buildings at that place.

KROEGER, MICHAEL, *Theol. st.*, aged 29, from Arenoe, Norway. Late Catechist at Arenoe.

KRIEBEL, JOHN FREDERIC, *Theol. st. et Phil. mag.*, aged 29, from Neustadt.

KUHLMEYER, JOHN FRED'C, aged 33, from Stettin. Late Rector of schools in Polzin.

LAYRITZ, GEORGE WILLIAM, *Theol. st.*, aged 34, from Wunsiedel, Baireuth, Bavaria.

LUEDECKE, GUENTHER URBAN A. VON, *Juris st.*, aged 21, from Sondershausen, Schwarzburg-Sondershausen.

MARSCHALL,* FREDERIC WILLIAM VON, *Juris st.*, aged 23, from Stolpen, near Dresden.

MEISSNER, GEORGE REINHARD, *Theol. st.*, aged 31, from Hulsen, Waldeck.

MŒLLER, JOHN, *Theol. st.*, aged 29, from Nyborg, Island of Funen.

MŒLLER, ERASMUS, *Theol. st.*, aged 28, from Nyborg, late Catechist in Copenhagen.

MUEHLEN, FRANTZ GOTTFRIED VON, *Theol. st.*, aged 26, from Steinhagen, Ravensburg, Wurtemberg.

MUELLER, EMANUEL, *Theol. Cand.*, from Basel.

OLDENDORP,† CHRISTIAN G. A., *Theol. st.*, aged 23, from Hildesheim. (Author of "*Geschichte der Mission der evangelischen Brüder auf den Caraibischen Inseln, St. Thomas, St. Croix und St. Jan.* Barby, 1777).

OKELY, FRANCIS, aged 25, from Bedford, England.

PETSCH, JOHN, *Theol. st.*, aged 26, from Bergen, Norway.

PILDER, GEORGE, *Theol. st.*, aged 28, from Muhlenbach, Transylvania. (Accompanied Hocker to Cairo in 1756, and thence to Abyssinia in 1758.)

RAILLARD, PETER, *Phil. Mag. et Theol. Cand.*, from Basel.

REUSS, HENRY, 29th Count of, aged 24, from Sebnitz, Voigtland, (circle of Zwickau,) Saxony.

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* Was in 1761 deputed by the Executive Board of the Church to visit Bethlehem, in order to assist in providing for the changes which the proposed dissolution of the Economy would involve, and thereupon to administer the Brethren's estates in North Carolina. Marschall entered upon his office in that Colony in 1768, residing at first at Bethabara, and next at Salem, (whose site he had selected in 1765) where he died in February of 1802.

† The winter of 1768 and '69 he passed at Bethlehem.

ROTHE, SIEGMUND, *Theol. st.*, aged 27, from Wallendorf, North Hungary.

ROSEEN,* SVEN, *Theol. st. Upsalensis*, aged 36, from Torpa, West Gothland, Sweden.

SAALWAECHTER, CHRISTIAN HILLMAR, *Theol. st.*, aged 32, from Leitkau, Saxony—late Sub-rector in Revel.

SCHMIDS, JOHN FREDERIC, *Med. st.*, aged 22, from Jena.

SCHMUTZIGER, DANIEL, *Theol. st.*, aged 25, from Aarau, Canton Aargau, Switzerland.

SCHRAUTENBACH, LOUIS CHARLES VON, Bar^n., aged 20, from Hesse-Darmstadt. (Author of "*Der Graf von Zinzendorf und die Bruedergemeine seiner Zeit.*" Gnadau, 1851.)

SCHUMANN, THEOPHILUS SOLOMON, *Theol. st.*, aged 25, from Grabau, Saxony. (Missionary to the Arawaek Indians of Berbice, Guiana, between 1748 and 1760. An Arawack scholar and translator of a portion of the Bible into that language. D. in Paramaribo Oct. 6, 1760.)

SEELMAN, CHRISTIAN HENRY, *Theol. st.*, aged 32, from Bischweiler.

THRANE,† AMADEUS PAULINUS, *Theol. st.*, aged 25, from Aalborg, Jutland,—late Cantor and Associate in Aalborg.

WEISS, LUDWIG WILLIAM, *Theol. st.*, aged 26, from Berlin.

WEMERHOY, GEORGE, *Med. st.*, aged 31, from Odense, Island of Funen.

WOLLIN, JOHN GOTTHOLD, aged 19, from Dorpat, Livonia.

WREDOW, JOHN FREDERIC, *Med. st.*, aged 25, from Klitschen, Saxony.

WREDOW, CHRISTIAN FRED., *Theol. st.*, aged 24, from Klitschen, Saxony.

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* Came to Bethlehem in January of 1748. Married Ann Margaret, daughter of Michael Rieth of Tulpehocken. Labored in the ministry among his countrymen in New Jersey, at Penn's Neck, Raccoon, Maurice River, Egg Harbor and Cape May. Also in the rural churches in Allemaengel, Dansbury, Walpack, Paulin's Kill, Menakasy in Maryland, and last in Macungy, where he died Dec. 15, 1750.

† Came to Bethlehem in October of 1761. Died while pastor of the Church at that place, in April of 1776.

HOLLAND.

1. HERRNDYK, YSSELSTEIN, UTRECHT.

In 1736 the Brethren began a settlement within the limits of the Barony of Ysselstein, Utrecht, on lands donated to them by Maria Louisa, Princess Dowager of Orange. It was called Herrndyk, and was originally intended as the seat of a home for missionaries. Herrndyk was abandoned in 1746, and its inhabitants transferred to Zeyst, near Utrecht.

Amsterdam became the seat of a Brethren's domestic mission in 1736.

1. NAMES OF PERSONS IN HERRNDYK, ATTACHED TO THE BRETHREN, IN 1774.

BEZOLD, JOHN GOTTFRIED, and MARY MAGDALENE, his wife
DIETRICH, JOHN FREDERIC, and ——, his wife.
HASSELMAN, GERHARD, and ——, do.
LORENZEN, ——, and ——, do.
SCHNEEVOGT, JOHN HENRY, and MITJE, do.

Single Men.

BEZOLD, JOHN MICHAEL, (a Swede).
BOHN, CHRISTOPHER HENRY.
EICHMANN, JOHN.
FOLKE, CHRISTIAN.
FOLKING, WILHELM, (a Swede).
FRANCK, JOHN ADAM, (do.)
HANITSCH, JOHN W., (do.)
HARTLEY, BERNARD. (English).
HELLMANN, JOHN, (a Swede).
HENNIG, PAUL, (*shoemaker*, from German Bohemia. Came to Bethlehem in June of 1750 in "Henry Jorde's Colony.")
HUBER, JACOB, (a Swede).
JANSEN, JACOB.
KLOETJE, CHRISTOPHER, (*shoemaker*, from Wollmirstadt, near Magdeburg. Came to Bethlehem in Nov. of 1756, in "Gottlob Bezold's Colony" of young men. D. at Bethlehem, May, 1860.)
KUEHN, JOHN CHRISTIAN.
MEMMERTZ, JOHN C.
OEFELEIN, TOBIAS, (a Swede).
SENFF, HERMAN, (do.)
STEINHOF, MICHEL, (do.)

Single Women.

ALBERTS EVE, (from East Friesland).
BEZOLD, ANN DOROTHEA.
PETERS, CATHERINE, (from Denmark).
ULRICHS, RACHEL, (do.)

Thomas, John.
Vochtel, Frederic, (a Swede).
Wenzel, Peter, (do.)
Zillmann, Henry, (*tailor*, from Brandenburg. Came to Bethlehem in November of 1754, last from Zeyst).

Widowers.	*Widows.*
Bezold, John.	Dietrich, Mary Magdalene.
Schneevogt, Gottfried.	Krause, Mary Elizabeth.

2. NAMES OF PERSONS IN YSSELSTEIN,* ATTACHED TO THE BRETHREN IN 1744.

Men.	*Women.*
Beyen, John Francis.	Kipp, Cornelia Aletta.
Moss, Walrad Charles.	
Van Oosten, John.	Van Oosten, Bertje.

3. NAMES OF MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH, LABORING IN THE GOSPEL, IN AMSTERDAM, IN 1744.

Brethren.	*Sisters.*
Decknadel, John.	Benning, Catherine.
Dober, Leonhard, (Missionary to the Jews of Amsterdam in 1739).	Crellius, Theophila.
Graffman, Isaac.	Crellius, Dorothea.
Hasse, Otto Wilhelm, (Missionary to the Jews).	Decknatel, Elizabeth.
Hasselman, Bartholomæi.	Dober, Anna.
Hasselman, William.	Hasselman, Elizabeth.
Moeller, Gerhard.	Persoens, Annetje.
Rehling, Henry C.	Walther, Regina Christina.
Van Sloten, Dirk.	

4. INMATES OF THE "SINGLE BRETHREN'S HOUSE" IN AMSTERDAM, 1744.

Armes, Isaac.
Dystelhoff, Ruitgard.
Engelbert, John.
Hasse, Otto William.
Kemhoff, ——.
Weber, John Melchior.

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* A Dutch village, near Herrndyk.

MORAVIAN IMMIGRATION.

The purchase by the Moravians of a tract of five hundred acres of land lying within the Forks of Delaware, Bucks county, Pennsylvania, in the spring of 1741—and that of a second tract of five thousand acres at Nazareth, in the summer of the same year, impelled a tide of Moravian immigration, which, during the next twenty years, (*i. e.*, until the dissolution of their Economy in 1762,) set in steadily from the old countries to the New World. In this period of time, upwards of seven hundred men and women, most of them members of its congregations on the Continent and in Great Britain, crossed the seas and settled upon the Church's estates in Pennsylvania. Full six hundred of these immigrants sailed on board of Moravian vessels;—the rest took ship, occasionally, in small companies or singly.

There were considerations other than those of economy which prevailed with the heads of the Church, in providing and maintaining at their control, means for the transatlantic conveyance of its colonists. First among these, perhaps, was a regard for their health and comfort, which, it was well known, the crowded condition of the emigrant vessels of that day but indifferently secured to passengers. Then, again, the seasonable arrival on their newly acquired lands, of the men and women who were to cultivate them, or to engage in the branches of industry indispensable to the existence of a colony,—was a consideration which prompted them to take the only step which, humanly speaking, could assure them of it. Accordingly, the Moravians of that early day, bought or built ships, manned them with crews of their own people, and held them in readiness to sail, almost at a moment's warning.

There were three, at different times, afloat, doing service for the Church, during the period of which this portion of history treats; to wit: The "Catherine," "The Little Strength," and the "Irene." The "Catherine" was bought in London for £600, in the spring of 1742, sailed for Philadelphia with fifty-five Moravian colonists, and was thereupon sold. "The Little Strength" was also bought in London, in the summer of 1743. She carried one hundred and thirty colonists to Pennsylvania, landing at New York, in the autumn of that year. On the return voyage, when in the Chops of the English Channel, she was captured by a Span-

ish man-of-war, on the 1st of May, 1744, and taken to St. Sebastian, in the Bay of Biscay. There were but few passengers on board; these (of the number were Bishop David Nitschmann and Samuel and Mary, an Indian couple,) were liberated, after a brief imprisonment,—but the vessel was a total loss. The "Irene" was built on Staten Island, between 1745 and 1748, under the direction of Abraham Boemper and Timothy Horsfield, agents of the Moravian Church, in New York,—was launched on the 29th of May of the last mentioned year, and registered in the name of Mr. Henry Antes. The cost of her building was defrayed almost entirely by Bishop Spangenberg, from a legacy left him individually by Thomas Noble, a merchant of New York. This vessel did service for the Moravian Church for nine years, in the course of which she crossed the Atlantic twenty-four times, sailing between New York and London or Amsterdam,—and made one voyage from New York to Greenland. She had the reputation of being an excellent sailer. The largest colony that she carried was the one led by John Nitschmann, which landed at New York in May of 1749, and numbered one hundred and twenty-five souls. The "Irene" put to sea for the first time on the 8th of September, 1748,—for the last time, on the 20th of November, 1757, and then in command of Capt. Christian Jacobsen. Ten days thereafter, when in latitude 37° North, and longtitude 60° West she was chased by a French privateer, the "Marguerite," captured, given to a prize-crew to be taken to Louisburg, but owing to ignorance in navigation on the part of those to whom she was entrusted, totally wrecked, on the 12th of January, 1758, off the coast of Cape Breton. Her passengers barely escaped with their lives.*

With vessels of their own, officered and manned by men who were attached to them, or members of their Church, we are not surprised to learn that the first Moravians who came to this country in colonies, felt free to adopt such regulations for a transatlantic voyage as accorded with their religious views and mode of life.

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* It may here be mentioned that the "Irene" carried freight as well as passengers, especially on her return voyages to Europe. The *New York Gazette* of the 24th of June, 1748, contains the following advertisement:

"*For Amsterdam direct.*

The Snow Irene, Nicholas Garrison, Master, will sail by the 1st of August next, at

Hence they converted their ships into what might be styled "floating churches," in which the opportunities and methods offered for spiritual edification, from day to day, were, as far as possible, the same as those to which they had been accustomed at home. How the weeks at sea were improved in this respect by these immigrants, the reader may learn in full from the Journals of "The Sea Congregations," incorporated in the first volume of "The Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society."

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furthest. For freight or passengers agree with said Master, at the house of Joris Brinckerhoff."

The following also belongs to the "Irene's" record:

Dr. SNOW IRENE, her Acct. Current with her OWNERS. Cr.

		£	s.	d.			£	s.	d.
1757	To loss on her adventure of Tar and Lignum Vitae, sent by				1757	By Balance of her Acct. Current last voyage after paying			
Jan. 6	Nichls. Garrison, Sr., left in the hands of Mr. Claude Nisbet,				From	Mr. Metcalfe's order on me for £7. 4s	1	4	1¾
to	for him to sell as per acct. sales transmitted me	31	15	3½	12 Dec	By Freight received of sundry persons	191	16	4
	To 2,000 Staves excepted, which sd. Garrison must account for.				1756	By Freight received of Mr. Henry Van Vleck for his own and Messrs. Nisbet's			
	To Cash pd. for Wharfage and Dockage	9	10	9	to 1	and Mail's goods	207	19	6
	To Cash pd. for clearing out at the Custom House and Secretary's Office	7	13	.....	March	By Saml. Loudon for 2. 2. 16. cordage @ 8 of	10	11	4
	To Cash pd. Christian Jacobsen, sundry small Accts	10	19	7	1757	By Cash recd. for an anchor, the hawser of which was cut off by another vessel's crew and restituted by the owners thereof	5	...	.....
	To Cash pd. the ship carpenters, block-makers, blacksmiths, cordage, Oznaburgs, &c	77	11	7¾		By Cash recd. of Mr. Jos. Lockher for his passage to London.	11	...	.....
	To Cash pd. for provisions while laying here and taken in here.	63	10	8¼		By Cash recd. of Mr. Alex. Colden for ft. of wine to London	3	12	8
	To Cash pd. for logwood (being per adventure) and Insurance on ditto	134	10	9		By Cash recd. of Mr. D. Brinckerhoff pd. short last voyage.	2	10	.....
	To Cash pd. for cartage and laborers' hire, coals	1	1	.....		By Cash recd. of Mr. Furer for ft. of 3 boxes	2	16	6
	To Cash pd. for wages to the Capt. and seamen	115	10	3		By Cash recd. for 7½ chaldrons coals sold	32	12	6
	To Cash pd. for advertising in two newspapers, bills of lading, &c	.....	12	.....		By Cash recd. of Mr. Mentzinger for his passage	7	...	.....
	To Cash pd. for inward and outward pilotage	4	8	.....					
March 4	To Cash pd. Cors. Kuyper for ¾ day's carpenter's work	.....	8	.....					
	To Cash pd. Dirk Brinckerhoff, for nails, hinges, &c	.....	9	1					
	Balance due	16	14	3¾					
		474	14	3¾			474	14	3¾
						By Balance per contra	16	14	3¾

Errors excepted by me, Henry Van Vleck, Ag't.
New York, 7 March, 1757.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

MORAVIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

PART VIII.

The Members are requested to preserve this number in order that with the succeeding ones, it may be bound in the Volume designed to be completed.

1: MEMBERS OF THE COLONY, CALLED BY EARLY MORAVIAN WRITERS, "THE FIRST SEA CONGREGATION," WHICH EMBARKED ON THE SNOW "CATHERINE," THOMAS GLADMAN, COMMANDER, AT LONDON, MARCH 15TH, AND ARRIVED AT PHILADELPHIA, JUNE 7, 1742.*

(*This Colony was led by George Piesch.*)

Married Men.	*Married Women.*
ALMERS, HENRY, (ret'd to Europe in April of 1745).	ALMERS, m. n. SCHUPGE, ROSINA. (Accompd. her husband.)
BISCHOFF, DAVID, Steward on shipboard. (Or'd a Deacon in 1749. Missionary to the Indians and minister of the Gospel in the rural churches. In 1756 was settled at Bethabara, Rowan co., N. C. D. Sept. 1763, at Bethania. Descendants of the name living).	BISCHOFF, m. n. PECH, ANN CATHERINE. (D. at Bethm. Sept. 1778.
BOEHLER, PETER, chaplain. (b. Dec. 31, 1712, in Frankfort-on-the-Main—ord. a Bishop in 1748. D. in London, April 27, 1775).	BOEHLER, m. n. HOPSON, ELIZABETH.
BRANDMILLER, JOHN, (from Basel, *book-keeper*. Ord. a Deacon in 1745. Labored in the ministry along the Swatara, in Allemaengel and in Donegal. *Lector* at Friedensthal from 1759 to 1768. D. at Bethlehem, Aug. 1777.)	
BRUCKER, JOHN. (Ord. a Deacon in 1743. md. Ann C. Werner for his	BRUCKER, MARY BARBARA.

* On the 27th of Feb'y, 1742, the Church's Daily Word for that day being the text of Scripture "*And if I perish, I perish,*" Spangenberg organized the colonists as a floating church, in the presence of upwards of three hundred persons, in the chapel on Fetter Lane, London. A chaplain, a steward, exhorters, servitors, and nurses were on that occasion appointed and commended to the merciful keeping of God and the respectful consideration of their fellow-passengers. For a narrative of this voyage, compiled from the Journal kept by J. P. Meurer, the reader is referred to p. 33, *Part 2 of the Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society.* Hymns No. 1812 and No. 1820 of the Eleventh Supplement to the collection formerly in use among the Brethren, treat of this "Sea Congregation." Its members were in the first instance settled in a body at Bethlehem; but in October following the major part of the English Brethren and Sisters removed to Philadelphia, becoming the nucleus of a Moravian church in that city. The snow Catherine was sold in the late summer of 1742. In the Minute Book of "The Society at Bethm. for propagating the Gospel," under date of Jan'y 7, 1748, is the following entry: "Received £300 which accrued from the sale of the snow Catherine."

second wife. D. on Santa Cruz in 1765.)

HARTEN, GEORGE. — HARTEN, m. n. EICHMANN, ELIZABETH.

HUSSEY, ROBERT. (From Wiltshire, England, *husbandman*. In 1749 farmer for the Moravian school in Oley. D. at Bethm. in July, 1775). — HUSSEY, m. n. WILKES, MARTHA. (b. in 1719, in Paris, whence her parents fled to England in 1723. D. at Bethm. in Dec. of 1790.

MEYER, ADOLPH. (*Physician*. First Elder at Nazareth.—Mary Dorothea, his wife, who followed him to America in a vessel bound for New York, d. off the Banks of Newfoundland, Sept. 10, 1742, and was buried at sea).

MICKSCH, MICHAEL. (From Kunewalde, Moravia, *husbandman*. D. at Gnadenthal, June, 1792. Descendants of the name living.) — MICKSCH, m. n. KUHN, ANNA JOHANNA. (d. at Gnadenthal, Dec. 1786). (An infant son of this couple, born on board the Catherine, was buried near New London, while the ship lay off the shore, May 24, 1742).

POWELL, SAMUEL. From White-Church, Shropshire, England, *brazier and bell-founder*. (D. in Philadelphia, Sept. of 1762, and was buried in "Potter's Field," Washington Square.) — POWELL, MARTHA.

POWELL, JOSEPH. (Brother of the above. Ord. a Deacon in 1756. Labored in the ministry along the Neshaminy, in Dansbury, on Staten and Long Islands, in "The Oblong," N. Y., and on Carroll's Manor. Sometime a missionary on Jamaica. D. at Sichem, North East Center, Dutchess co., N. Y., in Sept., 1774). — POWELL, m. n. PRITCHETT, MARTHA. (D. at Bethm., May, 1774).

PRYZELIUS, PAUL DANIEL. (A graduate of the University of Upsal, Sweden. Ord. a Presbyter in 1743. Labored in the ministry among the Swedes of West Jersey. In 1760 withdrew from the Moravians and united with the Lutheran Church). — PRYZELIUS, m. n. SCHILLING, REGINA DOROTHEA.

RICE, OWEN. (From Haverford West, Wales. Ord. a Deacon in 1748. Itinerated in the Gospel, and was — RICE, ELIZABETH.

settled in the ministry in Philadelphia and New York. Returned to Europe in 1754, and died at Gomersal, Yorkshire, in 1788. Descendants of the name living).

SENSEMAN, JOACHIM. (From Hesse Cassel, *baker*. From 1743 to 1755, missionary to the Indians. Ordained a Deacon in 1749. D. in Jamaica, W. I., in 1772. Descendants of the name living.)

SENSEMAN, ANN CATHERINE. (Lost her life in the surprise at the Mahoning, Nov. 24, 1755.)

TANNEBERGER, MICHAEL, assistant cook on shipboard. (*Shoemaker*. D. at Bethlehem Nov. 1744.)

TANNEBERGER, ANN ROSINA. (md. Endter in 1745, and in 1757 Jonas Nilsen.)

TURNER, JOHN. (From London. D. at the Moravian School in Germantown, April, 1749.)

TURNER, ELIZABETH. (From Wales. D. in Germantown, May, 1749.)

WAHNERT, DAVID, cook on shipboard. (Crossed the Atlantic repeatedly in that capacity with Moravian colonies. D. at Herrnhut, 1765.)

WAHNERT, MARY ELIZABETH.

YARRELL, THOMAS. (Ord. a Deacon in 1755. In the ministry in Philadelphia, Staten Island and New York. Retd. to England in 1766 and thence to Scotland.)

YARRELL, m. n. HOPSON, ANN, (retd. to England).

Single Men.

ANDREW, a negro. (The first convert from the negroes on the Isld. of St. Thomas. Accpd. Zinzendorf thence to Europe in 1739. While at Bethm. md. Magdalene, of St. Thomas. Sailed for Europe with the Count in Feb'y, 1743, and d. at Marienborn in 1744. Andrew appears in "The First Fruits," a historical painting which Zinzendorf had executed in 1754—a copy of which is in the Archives at Bethm.)

ENDTER, JOHN GEORGE, (md. widow Ann Rosina Tanneberger in 1745, and went to Rio de Berbice, Dutch Guiana, as missionary to the Arawaks.)

GAMBOLD, HECTOR *alias* ERNEST. (From Puncheston, Pembrokeshire, South Wales. Became acqtd. with the Brethren at Oxford. Md. Helen Craig of New York in 1743. Ord. a Deacon in 1755. In the ministry in New York and Philadelphia, along Oldman's Creek, New Jersey—in "The Oblong," and on Staten Island. D. at Bethm. Nov. 1788. Father of the Rev. John Gambold, missionary to the Cherokees.)

HEYDECKER, JOHN C., (d. while on a visit in Falckner's Swamp, Sept. 1742).

HEYNE, JOHN CHRISTOPHER. (Md. Margaret Schaefer of Tulpehocken. Employed in the Moravian schools.)

HUBER, JOHN MICHAEL, (from the Tyrol. Md. widow Catherine Rose, late Riedel, m. n. Butmansky, in 1742. Lost at sea on the passage to St. Thomas in Oct. of 1747.)

KASKE, GEORGE. Ord. a Deacon in 1747, and md. Elizabeth Funck. Went to Rio de Berbice.

LISCHY, JACOB, (from Mulhausen, Swiss Confederation. In Sept. of 1742 md. Mary, a dr. of John Stephen Benezet of Philadelphia. Itinerated in the Gospel within the present limits of Berks, Lancaster, Chester, Lebanon and Lancaster counties. In 1747 withdrew from the Moravians, and until 1760 was settled in the ministry of the German Reformed Church of York. D. at his farm on the Codorus, York co., in 1781.)

MEURER, JOHN PHILIP, (from Alsace, *shoemaker*. In 1742 ord. a Presbyter. md. Christiana Kraft in 1744. Labored in the Gospel in Tulpehocken, Donegal, Lebanon, Swatara, York, Macungy, Oley and Allemaengel. D. at Bethm. April, 1760. On her gravestone in the deserted churchyard near Centreville, Donegal township, Lancaster co., the following brief record is still legible: "Christiana Meurer. b. in Würtemberg, Jan'y 6, 1718; d. Sept. 17, 1757.")

MOELLER, JOSEPH, (from Upper Lusatia, *gardener*. In 1745 md. Catharine Koch. D. at Bethlehem, Feb., 1778. Descendants of the name living.)

OKELY, JOHN, (from Bedford, England. Itinerated in the Gospel in Bucks and Philadelphia counties. In 1743 md. Johanna Robins of Philadelphia. In 1745, for his second wife, md. Elizabeth Home of New York. Ord. a Deacon in 1751. For a number of years *scrivener and conveyancer* for the Moravian Economy, residing at Bethlehem. In 1774 commissioned a Justice of the Peace, by Gov. John Penn, and in the Revolution appointed an Assistant Commissary in the Continental service. In 1780 md. widow Graeff for his third wife, and removed to Lancaster co.)

OKELY, WILLIAM, (a younger brother of the above, *carpenter*. Ret'd to England).

POST, CHRISTIAN FREDERIC. (b. in Conitz, Polish Prussia, in

1710. A *joiner* by trade. From 1743 to 1749 employed in the Indian Mission in New York and Connecticut. md. Rachel, a Wampanoag for his first wife,—and after her decease, Agnes, a Delaware. In 1751 went to Europe. Thence sailed for Labrador in 1752, unsuccessful in an attempt to bring the Gospel to the Esquimaux. Returning to Beth'm in 1754 he was sent to preach to the Indians of Wyoming Valley. In the summer of 1754 went on an embassy in behalf of Government, to the Delawares and Shawanese of the Ohio country, which led to the evacuation of Fort Du Quesne by the French, and the restoration of peace. In Sept. of 1761 engaged in an independent mission to the Indians of that distant region, settling on the Tuscarawas, near Bolivar, Stark co., O. Compelled by reason of the renewal of hostilities to abandon the undertaking in the summer of 1762, Post sought a new field of activity in the southern part of the Continent, and in Jan'y 1764, sailed from Charleston, *via* Jamaica, for Mosquitia. Here he preached to the natives for upwards of two years. Visiting Beth'm in July of 1767, he returned to Mosquitia. In 1784, in which year he was at Beth'm for the last time, he was residing with his third wife in Germantown. Here he died, April 1785. On the 1st of May his remains were interred in the Lower Graveyard of that place, the Rev. Wm. White, then rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia, conducting the funeral service. A marble slab, bearing an appropriate obituary record, was placed upon the grave of the veteran missionary, cir. 1840).

Pezold, Gottlieb, (*purse-maker* from Bischofswerda, Saxony. Some time Superintendent of the Single Brethren of the Moravian Economy. Ord. a Deacon in 1748. Labored in the Gospel in Macungy, and is regarded as founder of the church in Emmaus. D. at Litiz, April, 1762, while on a visit to that place).

Ronner, John Reinhard. (md. Elizabeth Fissler of Phila. Ord. a Deacon in 1743. In the ministry in Philadelphia, Tulpehocken, Muddy Creek, the Minisinks and Warwick. Missionary on St. Thomas from 1750 to 1755. D. at Beth'm, July, 1756).

Schneider, George, (from Zauchtenthal, Moravia, *carpenter*. md. Gertrude Petersen of Long Island, in 1746. Sometime employed in the Moravian Schools. D. at Beth'm, Oct., 1773).

Schnell, Leonard. (Itinerated in the Gospel, in the German districts of South-eastern Penna. Ord. a Presbyter in 1748.

Withdrew from the Brethren in 1751, and took charge of Lutheran churches in Macungy and Saucon.

SEIDEL, NATHANIEL, (from Lauban, Prussian Silesia, *clothier*. Ord. a Bishop in 1758. In 1762 succeeded Bishop Spangenberg at the head of finance in the Church, and was appointed Proprietor (Trustee) of the Unity's estates in North America. md. Anna Johanna, a dr. of George Piesch, in Oct., 1760. D. at Beth'm, May, 1782.

SHAW, JOSEPH, (b. in Little Ryder St., near St. James, London, designed for the Church of England, "but being prevented by sickness learned to survey and measure houses." Schoolmaster at Shecomeko. md. Mary Jones of Phila—and in 1745 and 1746 was settled in Walpack, Jersey Minisinks. With his second wife, Mary, m. n. Heap, of Phila.—was lost at sea, on the passage to St. Thomas, Oct., 1747).

WERNER, CHRISTIAN, (from Danzic, *lace-maker*. Employed in schools. D. at Beth'm, Oct., 1783).

WIESNER, GEORGE.

WITTKE, MATTHEW, (from Senftleben, Moravia. In 1746, md. Elizabeth Schmied.)

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2. MEMBERS OF THE COLONY, CALLED BY EARLY MORAVIAN WRITERS, "THE SECOND SEA CONGREGATION," WHICH SAILED IN "THE LITTLE STRENGTH," NICHOLAS GARRISON, COMMANDER, FROM COWES, SEPT. 27TH, AND ARRIVED AT NEW YORK NOV. 26, 1743.*

a. OFFICERS AND CREW OF "THE LITTLE STRENGTH."

GARRISON, NICHOLAS,† *captain*. GLADMAN, THOMAS, *mate*. EHRHART, JOHN CHRISTIAN, *pilot*. BUGGE, OLE—COOK, JOHN—

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* See *Benham's Life of Hutton*, p. 121, *et seq.* for facts touching the outfit of this colony in London.

For a narrative of the voyage the reader is referred to p. 107 of "The Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society." Spangenberg, who accompanied the colony on "The Little Strength," from Cowes to Plymouth, wrote hymn No. 1973

of the 12th Supplement, which treats of this second floating church, and one of whose stanzas reads thus:

"Du hast so sanft und sacht
Von unsrer kleinen macht
Vierzehn nationen
In diese arch gebracht
Die so beysammen wohnen."

"The Little Strength" had been purchased by Capt. Garrison. Her ensign was "a lamb passant with a flag, on a blood-colored field."

† Nicholas Garrison was born on Staten Island in 1701. His parents, he tells us in his autobiography, were members of the Episcopal Church. In his thirteenth year he went to sea and after an eight year cruise, on his return to New York, took command of a vessel in the West India trade. While thus engaged, he met Spangenberg in October of 1736, on the island of St. Eustace; and it was on board of his ship, on which the latter had taken passage for New York, that Garrison first felt himself drawn towards the people with whom he subsequently cast in his lot. On a voyage to Jamaica in the spring of 1740, his vessel was taken by a Spanish man-of-war, and himself and crew carried to Cuba, on which island they were in imprisonment for upwards of a year. In 1742 he sailed to the West Indies for the last time. Meanwhile, however, he had not lost sight of the Brethren, for he had met Zinzendorf on St. Thomas in Dec. of 1738, and in January of 1743 he was privileged to welcome him to his house on Staten Island. It was at this meeting that Garrison acceded to the Count's proposal to accompany him to Europe, and there take charge of the vessel in which he designed to send a reinforcement of Brethren and Sisters to Pennsylvania. Accordingly, he embarked with Zinzendorf and his company on the ship "Jacob," Capt. Ketteltas, for London (Jan. 20, 1743); thence crossed to the Continent, arrived at Marienborn in March, and was there admitted to church fellowship. In June following he returned to England, completed arrangements for the transportation of the colonists enumerated above, and took command of "The Little Strength." He was now in the employ of the Church of his adoption.

Soon after his return to America from England (subsequent to the capture of "The Little Strength," and the exchange of her crew and passengers) Garrison, in April of 1745, accompanied Boehler, Anthony Seyffert, Almers and Pryzelius to Europe, on "The Queen of Hungary," Capt. Hilton. The vessel, when off the Scilly Isles, was taken by a French privateer and run into the harbor of St. Malo. Delayed in consequence, it was June before he reached Marienborn. Here he passed the following year. In 1747 he consented to take command of a ship which was fitting out for Greenland with supplies and timbers for a house designed to be erected at the New Herrnhut mission. On his return thence to Europe he was appointed commander of a snow, which was building for the Brethren on Staten Island. Accordingly, he sailed for New York, reached his home in June of 1748, and the snow having been completed (she was called the "Irene"), took her to sea for the first time on Sept. 8th of that year. In 1749 he made a voyage with the "Irene" to Greenland. In 1756 he resigned command of her in favor of Christian Jacobsen, his trusty mate, and sailed from New York for Germany. Although he had now resolved to abandon the sea, while at Herrnhut, in the last mentioned year, he was prevailed upon to visit Dutch Guiana and effect the purchase of lands on the Corentyn and Rio de Berbice rivers, for the use of

Daley, Owen—Davis, Benjamin—Garrison, Jr.,* Nicholas—Leathes, John—Moll, Peter—Moore, James—Nelson, John—Newton, John—Osgood, Notley—Roebuck, Jarvis, and Wennel, Samuel, *sailors.* (*Note.* Newton, Nelson and Wennel were not attached to the Brethren.)

b. officers of "the sea congregation."

Garrison, Nicholas, Elder. Brandmiller, John and Ann Mary, his wife. Michler, John Wolfgang, and Rosina, his wife. Opitz, Leopold, and Elizabeth, his wife. (They withdrew from the Moravians in 1745, but resided for some time on the Nazareth Tract, and subsequently near "The Rose.") Otto, John Frederic, and Mary, his wife. Wagner, Anthony, and Elizabeth, his wife. Wahnert, David, and Mary Elizabeth, his wife.

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the Brethren's mission. Returning to Germany he settled at Niesky, Prussia. In 1763 he bade a final farewell to Europe, and selected Bethlehem for the home of his declining years. Here he lived in retirement save that for a time he served the town in the capacity of *cicerone.* It was he who gave the name of "Nisky" to the wooded heights that skirt the southern limits of the borough of Bethlehem, where, we read, the old sailor was wont often to pass his leisure hours, musing on his checkered life and on the many pleasant days he had spent at the Moravian settlement in Prussian Silesia. He died on the 24th of Sept., 1781. His widow, Mary Ann, m. n. Brandt, died at Bethlehem in March, 1799.

Capt. Garrison's children were educated at Moravian schools. A clause in his will, which was signed and sealed April 7, 1766, reads thus: "To my oldest son Nicholas, I bequeath my silver sleeve-buttons set in gold; to Nicholas, John, Lambert and Benjamin my silver buckles and buttons, silver tinder-box, silver case and turtle-shell tobacco-box, that each may have something for a remembrance; and to my wife the money that is due and owing to me of the Diacony or Economy at Bethlehem." In a codicil appended to his will, in Jan'y of 1769, he speaks of his estate as "nearly expended."

* Nicholas Garrison, Jr., followed the sea as long as his father was commander of the Irene. In 1757 he married Johanna Gratia Parsons of Philadelphia, and became a resident of Bethlehem. After the dissolution of the Economy, in 1762, he removed to Philadelphia, set up business as a grocer, and was a member of the Moravian church in that city as late as 1769. He was a good draughtsman. Three of a number of views of Moravian settlements from his pencil, to wit: "A View of Bethlehem, one of the Brethren's principal settlements in Penn'a"—"A View of Nazareth, a settlement of the Brethren in Penn'a"—and "A View of Bethlehem in North America," were engraved and printed; the first in Nov. 1757, the second in Oct., 1761, and the third in 1784.

c. NAMES OF THE COLONISTS WHO WERE FITTED OUT AT MARIENBORN AND HERRNHAAG, FOR SETTLING NAZARETH.*

1st Division.

HIRTE, JOHN TOBIAS, and Mary, his wife.
HOEPFNER, JOHN C., and Mary M., do.
JORDE, JOHN, and Ann Margaret, do.
NILSEN, JONAS, and Margaret, do.
SCHROPP, MATTHEW, and Ann Margaret, his wife.
WEIHNERT, JNO. CHRISTIAN, and M. Dorothea, m. n. Unger, his wife.

2d Division.

BOEHMER, MARTIN, and Margaret, his wife.
MICHLER, JOHN, and Barbara, do.
PARTSCH, JOHN G., and Susan L., do.
REICHARD, DAVID, and Elizabeth, do.
REUTZ, MATTHEW, and Magdalene, m. n. Bitzmann, his wife. (She died at Beth'm, Oct., 1755.)
SCHAAF, THOMAS, and Ann C., his wife.

3d Division.

CRIST, GEORGE, and Ann Mary, his wife.
GRABS, JOHN GODFREY, and Ann Mary, his wife.
HESSLER, ABRAHAM, and Ann Mary, do.
KREMSER, GEORGE, (d. at Nazareth, Jan'y 10th, 1744,) and Ann Mary, his wife.
SCHAUB, JOHN, and Divert Mary, his wife.

4th Division.

BOEHRINGER, JOHN DAVID, and Gertrude his wife. (They withdrew from the Moravians in 1745 and removed to Saucon township. Descendants of the name living).
KRAUSE, MATTHEW, and Christiana B., his wife.
KUNKLER, DANIEL, and Ann Mary, do.
SCHOBER, ANDREW, and Hedwig Regina, do.
WEISS, MATTHIAS, and Margaret Catherine, his wife.

* Twenty-four of the couples included within the above seven "Divisions," were married at the Moravian settlement of Herrnhaag, near Frankfort-on-the-Main, on the 27th of May, 1743. The anniversary of this rare occurrence, (the so called "Great Wedding,") was celebrated at Nazareth for several years subsequent.

5th Division.

Anders, Gottlieb, and Johanna C., his wife.
Biefel, John H., and Rosina, do.
Fisher, Thomas, and Agnes, do.
Fritsche, John C. and Ann Margaret, do.
Mozer,* John, and Mary Philippina, do.

6th Division.

Goetje, Peter, and Ann Barbara his wife.

Hancke, Matthew, and Elizabeth, m. n. Henekel, his wife. (She d. at Nazareth, April, 1744).

Kremser, Andrew, and Rosina, his wife.
Muecke, John Michael, and Catherine, his wife.
Moeller, John H., and Rosina, his wife.
Ohneberg, George, and Susan, do.

d. NAMES OF THE COLONISTS WHO WERE FITTED OUT AT HERRNHUT.

Married Brethren and Sisters.

Brocksch, Andrew, and Ann Elizabeth, his wife.
Demuth, Christopher, and Ann Mary, do.
Hantsch Sr., J. George, and Regina, do.

Hencke, Christopher, fr. Zittau, Lusatia, (d. at Beth'm, Sept. 1752,) and Elizabeth, his wife, (d. at Beth'm, Oct. 1744.)

Hertzer, John H., and Barbara E., his wife.

Munster,† John, and Rosina, m. n. Hitsch, his wife.

Nieke, George, and Johanna E., his wife.

Schutze, Christian, and Ann Dorothea, his wife. (They withdrew from the Moravians in 1745, and settled in what was then called Macungy).

Zeisberger, George, and Ann Dorothea, his wife.

Single Brethren.	*Single Sisters.*
Doehling, John Jacob.	Hantsch, Ann Regina, (md. Michael Zahm in 1745).
Hantsch Jr., J. George.	

* The Mozers withdrew from the Moravians in 1746 and settled in The Great Swamp, Milford township, Bucks Co. Hannah, a daughter (b. at Nazareth, Jan'y, 1745,) md. the late Godfrey Haga, merchant of Philadelphia, and d. in that city, June, 1814.

† The Munsters, were from Zauchtenthal, Moravia, (see "Saxony" in this register). For five years they superintended the Brethren's school in Macungy. He d. at Beth'm, May, 1754. In his memoirs, it is stated that he participated in the Lord's Supper, celebrated at Berthelsdorf, Aug. 13th, 1727.

HARDING, CONRAD, (was drowned in the Lehigh, March 29, 1746).
OERTER, CHRISTIAN FREDERIC.
NIXDORF, JOHN G., an infant.

c. NAMES OF THE COLONISTS WHO WERE FITTED OUT IN ENGLAND.

DIGEON, DAVID, and Mary, his wife.

GREENING, JAMES, and Elizabeth, his wife.

LEIGHTON, JOHN, and Sarah, his wife.

OSTROM, ANDREW, *tailor*, and Jane, his wife. (Ostrom was a member of a Society of Germans which Zinzendorf organized in London, in 1737. The Ostroms withdrew from the Moravians in 1746, and settled upon a small tract of land on the Lehigh Mountain, near Bethlehem. There Jane Ostrom died in Dec. of 1758, and was buried in the Moravian graveyard near the south bank of the Lehigh).

PAYNE, JASPER, and Elizabeth, his wife.

UTLEY, RICHARD, and Sarah. do.

Note.—"This congregation was chiefly so settled at Marienborn. Sailing from Rotterdam, they arrived at Cowes on the Isle of Wight, Sept. 25. Sailing from Cowes on 27th Sept., they arrived at New York safe and well, Nov. 26, 1743." A. R.

THE MORAVIANS IN PENNSYLVANIA.

NAZARETH.

On a draft of "Sundry Tracts of land surveyed to diverse Purchasers in the Forks of the Delaware," drawn in 1740 by Benjamin Eastburn, Surveyor General, conspicuous for size is one of 5,000 acres, drained by branches of the Menakasy and Lehietan, and designated as "lately William Allen's in the right of Letitia Aubrey, but now sold." It had been purchased in May of that year by Whitefield, was by him called Nazareth, and was intended to be made available in executing his plans of Christian philanthropy,—to be the seat of a free school for negroes, (perhaps after the model of his Orphan House in Georgia,) and, if need be, an asylum or refuge for his followers in the Old World. To enter with axe in hand and to improve this noble domain in the wilderness, the

great field-preacher engaged a company of homeless Moravians, whom he had met in Georgia,* and who, under conduct of Peter Boehler, had lately accompanied him on ship from Savannah. It was only a few weeks after its purchase when the needy Brethren repaired to Nazareth, where, amid deprivation and hardship, they passed the summer and autumn in felling timber, quarrying stone and laying the walls of a commodious dwelling for the proposed school. But Whitefield, incited by the misrepresentations of others, and misled by doctrinal zeal, in a hasty moment summarily discharged his hired laborers, before the expiration of the year. Further work at the "large stone house" was consequently abandoned. Whitefield now sailed for England. Here his fellow-traveler and financial agent, William Seward, of London, died. Becoming pecuniarily straightened in consequence of this loss, he threw his estate in Pennsylvania into the market, and in the summer of 1741 it was bought by Spangenberg for the use of the Brethren.

Early in the autumn of 1743, workmen were sent from Bethlehem to complete the house, which, in commemoration of its projector, is to this day called "The Whitefield House."† It and two log dwellings which had been erected in the summer and fall of 1740, by Boehler's company, were, in January of 1744, occupied by sixty-six colonists, who had been fitted out in Germany for this purpose. They sailed in "The Little Strength." Such was the beginning of Moravian occupation at Nazareth.

For the usual services of the Lord's day, the community at Nazareth met in a chapel on the first floor of "the stone house," which was dedicated to the worship of God on the 2d of January of the last mentioned year. On special occasions, however, they, and subsequently the other settlers on the tract, repaired to Bethlehem.

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* The heads of the Moravian Church were induced by liberal offers made them by the English government, to send colonists to Georgia, in 1734 and 1736. They did this as a preparatory step to a mission among the Creeks and Cherokees. Hostilities with the Spanish settlers in Florida rendering their position untenable, the undertaking was abandoned, whereupon most of the colonists sailed for Pennsylvania and subsequently joined their brethren in that Province.

† Henry's "*Sketches of Moravian Life and Character*," *Phila.*, 1859, is illustrated with a fine engraving of this venerable pile. In October of 1871 the Moravian Historical Society came into possession of the hall which they occupy on the second floor of this building. Whitefield, we presume, gave it the name of Ephrata, as he named his Orphan House near Savannah, Bethesda.

In 1745 the first of the group of houses at what, subsequent to 1771, was called "Old Nazareth," was erected and occupied. In the same year a farm was located a mile west by north from Nazareth. It was called Gnadenthal. Around a grist and saw-mill erected in 1747, on a branch of the Menakasy, on the outskirts of this farm,—the settlement of Christian's Spring (so called since March 17, 1752, in remembrance of Christian R. von Zinzendorf,) gradually grew. Until 1796 it was the seat of an Economy of unmarried men.* A fourth farm on the Nazareth tract was laid out on the Lehietan or Bushkill in 1750, and called Friedensthal.

These farms and mills were worked for the benefit of the Moravian Economy, and were one of the main sources whence supplies were drawn for the subsistence of those of its members who labored in the Gospel or in other departments of the Brethren's religious movement.

Abraham Reincke was settled in the ministry at Nazareth between November, 1745 and June, 1747. He had been ordained a Presbyter by Bishops Spangenberg and Boehler in Feb., 1745. In his memoranda he has the following entry: *June* 25, 1747. *The Brethren at Nazareth were this day organized as a congregation, Bro. G. Ohneberg being solemnly installed as Elder, Bro. M. Schropp as Steward, Sr. Ohneberg as Stewardess, and Betty Horsfield as Superintendent of the Girls in the School.*"

NAMES† OF THE RESIDENTS OF NAZARETH, 1746 AND 1747.

1. *Married Brethren and Sisters.*

*ANDERS, GOTTLIEB, fr. Neumarkt, Silesia, *gardener*, and JOHANNA CHRISTIANA, m. n. VOLLMER, his wife. (Both lost

* On the 17 Dec., 1749, the following twenty-two single men from Bethlehem, were settled at this farm, and from this settlement the Economy dates; JOHN JACOB LOESCH, HARMANUS LOESCH, GEORGE HOLDER, FREDERIC HOLDER, JOHN BEROT, JACOB KAPP, MICHAEL RUCH, HENRY MILLER, JACOB WUEST, MICHAEL RANCKE, ABRAHAM STEINER, JOHN GARRISON, JOHN SCHEFFLER, J. HENRY PAULSEN, ERHARD HECKEDORN, JACOB FREY, GEORGE HUBER, WILLIAM OKELY, JOHN SEIFFERT, JACOBUS VON DER MERCK, GEORGE GOEPFERT, and ANDREW BROCKSCH.

† An asterisk before the names of a couple, or after that of an individual, in this and the following catalogues, indicates that such persons or person immigrated under the auspices of the Moravian Church.

their lives in the surprise at the Mahoning, (Lehighton, Carbon Co., Pa.) Nov. 24, 1755).

*Biefel, John H. fr. Silesia, *carpenter*, and Rosina, m. n. Kaske, his wife. (They removed to Bethabara, N. C., in 1756, where the former d. Sept. 1759.)

Blum, Francis, fr. Rhenish Bavaria, *husbandman*, and Catherine, m. n. Steiger, his wife. He immigrated in 1730, and in 1739 resided in Saucon township, Bucks Co. Removed with his family thence to Bethlehem in April 1743. Farmed at Nazareth and Gnadenthal. D. at the former place in Jan'y, 1777. Jacob and Henry, sons of Francis Blum, removed to the Moravian tract in N. C., in 1765. Descendants of the name living.

*Boehmer, Martin, fr. Saxony, *husbandman*, and Margaret, m. n. Essig, his wife. (Both d. at "Old Nazareth," the former in March, 1796, the latter in Dec. 1788. At the date of this register Margaret Boehmer was cook at Nazareth).

*Crist, George, fr. Neuhofmansdorf, Moravia, *husbandman*, sometime a Romanist, and Ann Mary, m. n. Schroller, his wife. (He d. at Beth'm, Dec. 1769—his wife at Nazareth, June, 1763. Descendants of the name living).

*Fischer, Thomas, fr. Neustadt-an-der-Aisch, Bavaria, *hatter*, and Agnes, m. n. Kleemann, his wife. (Both d. at Beth'm,—the former, Jan'y, 1784, the latter, April, 1788).

*Fritsche, John C., fr. Grossenhain, Saxony, *linen-weaver*, and Ann Margaret, m. n. Vogt, his wife. (The former d. at Beth'm, April, 1760, the latter at Nazareth, April, 1781).

*Goetje, Peter, fr. St. Margarethen, Holstein, *shoemaker*, and Ann Barbara, m. n. Fleischel, his wife. (The former d. at Friedland, N. C., in 1756, the latter at Nazareth, March, 1769.)

*Grabs, J. Godfrey, fr. Silesia, *shepherd*, and Ann Mary, his wife. (Went to Bethabara, N. C., in 1756. He d. at Bethany, in 1793.)

*Hessler, Abraham, fr. Schloss Heldrungen, Saxony, *clothier*, and Ann Mary, m. n. Winkler, his wife. (He d. at Nazareth, Aug., 1770. Descendants of the name living).

*Hirte, John Tobias, fr. Euba, Upper Lusatia, *carpenter*, and Mary, m. n. Klos, his wife. (Hirte was master carpenter at the building of Nazareth Hall in 1755 and 1756, and d. at Beth'm, Feb., 1770. His wife d. at the same place, March, 1767.)

*JORDE, JOHN, fr. Hirschfeldau, Silesia, *carpenter*, and MARY ANN, m. n. HORNE, his wife. (Both d. at Beth'm,—the former, April, 1760, the latter, March, 1782.)

KLOTZ, ALBRECHT, last fr. Tulpehocken, Berks Co., *blacksmith*, and ANN MARGARET, m. n. RIETH, of Scoharie, his wife. (He d. at Litiz, Pa.)

*KRAUSE, MATTHEW, fr. Roesnitz, Silesia, *husbandman*, and CHRISTIANA, his wife. (He was ordained a Deacon, and d. at Bethabara, N. C., in 1762.)

*KREMSER, ANDREW, fr. Roesnitz, Silesia, *husbandman*, and ROSINA, m. n. OBERDORF, his wife. (The former d. at Friedensthal in Feb. 1767, the latter at Beth'm, July, 1798. Descendants of the name living.)

*KUNCKLER, DANIEL, fr. St. Gall, Switzerland, *shoemaker*, and ANN MARY, m. n. MEYER, his wife. (He d. at Beth'm, Oct. 1777. Descendants of the name living.)

*LIEBYSCH, MARTIN, fr. Zauchtenthal, Moravia, and ANN, his wife. Immigrated in Sept., 1742. The former d. at Christian's Spring in 1766, the latter at Beth'm, Jan'y, 1770.)

*MICHLER, JOHN, fr. Wurtemberg, *shoemaker*, and BARBARA, m. n. HEINDEL, his wife. (She d. Oct., 1748, at the Moravian School in Frederic township, Phila. Co. He was sometime an assistant missionary on St. Thomas. Ord. a Deacon in 1763.)

*MUECKE, JOHN MICHAEL, fr. Hillersdorf, Upper Silesia, *cooper*, and CATHERINE, m. n. MITZNER, his wife. (He d. May, 1786 at Gnadenthal. She at Beth'm, Aug., 1755. Descendants of the name living.)

*NILSEN, JONAS, fr. Denmark, *tailor*, and ANN MARGARET, m. n. HENCKEL, his wife. (At date of this register, Nilsen was steward at Nazareth. His wife d. at that place, Feb., 1751.)

*OHNEBERG, GEORGE, fr. Kempten, Bavaria, *glazier*, and SUSAN, his wife. (Missionaries on Santa Cruz between 1750 and 1758. He d. at Beth'm, April, 1760.)

*PARTSCH, J. GEORGE, fr. Langendorf, Silesia, *linen-weaver*, and SUSAN L. m. n. ELLER, his wife. (Both barely escaped with their lives in the surprise at the Mahoning. They d. at Beth'm; the former July, 1765, the latter July, 1795.)

*REICHARD, DAVID, fr. Silesia, *husbandman*, and ELIZABETH, m. n. GEORGE, his wife. (The former d. at Gnadenthal, Feb., 1768,

the latter in May, 1750, at the Moravian school in Frederic township, Phila. Co.)

SCHNEIDER,* GEORGE, and GERTRUDE, m. n. PETERSEN, his wife.

*SCHROPP, MATTHEW, fr. Kaufbeuren, circle of Swabia, Bavaria, *purse-maker* and *glover*, and ANN MARY, m. n. TOMET, his wife. (He was ord. a Deacon in 1748, and d. at Bethabara, N. C., in 1767. Descendants of the name living.)

*WEIHNERT, JOHN C., fr. Lusatia, *carpenter*, and MARY C., his wife.

*WEISS, MATTHIAS, fr. Mulhausen, Swiss Confederation, *wood-dyer*, and MARY MARGARET, m. n. FIRNHABER, his wife. (For his second wife Weiss md. REGINA NEUMANN in 1757. He d. at Bethlehem, Nov., 1795. Descendants of the name living.)

2. *Widows.**

HUBER,* m. n. BUTMANSKY, CATHERINE, fr. Seidendorf, Moravia, of Catholic family. Came to Herrnhut in 1725. Participated in the Lord's Supper, Aug. 13, 1727. md. Frederic Riedel. Followed him to Georgia in 1736. md. Peter Rose, and lived with him some time among the Creeks, teaching the Indian children. Rose, dying in Germantown in 1740, she removed to Beth'm in 1742, and md. J. M. Huber. She d. at Bethlehem Feb. 1798, in the 96th year of her age.

KREMSER,* ANN MARY, relict of GEORGE KREMSER. (md. JNO. G. HANTSCH.)

3. *Infants.*

ANDERS, GOTTLIEB.
BŒHMER, ANN.
BLUM, DANIEL.
FISCHER, THOMAS.
GOETJE, MARY.
GRABS, NATHAN.
HESSLER, JOSEPH.
HESSLER, ABRAHAM.
HIRTE, MARY.
JORDE, JOHN ADOLPH.
KLOTZ, ELIAS.
KRAUSE, ANN C.
KREMSER, ROSINA.
KUNCKLER, ANN M.
MUECKE, JOHN.
NILSEN, ANN.
OHNEBERG, SARAH.
PARTSCH, ELIZABETH.
REICHARD, ROSINA E.
SCHROPP, MATTHEW.
WAHNERT, LEWIS.
WEISS, MATTHIAS.
WEISS, CATHERINE.

* In May of 1755 the widows of the Moravian Economy, (there were eleven) occupied the log dwelling, at present the residence of Rev. John C. Brickenstein, on the Ephrata plot. This house was "The Widows House" of the Church until the completion of the present one at Bethlehem, in October, 1768.

*4. Pupils in the Boarding School for Girls, at Nazareth.**

ANTES, MARY M., (dr. of Henry and Christiana Antes, of Falckner's Swamp. Went to Germany.)

BEATA, *alias* "CHICKEN," (dr. of Philip and Selikas, Mohegans of Shecomeco. Baptzd. Aug. 14, and died Aug. 19, 1746, at Nazareth.)

BECK, CHRISTIANA, (dr. of Henry F. and Barbara Beck. Born in Georgia, whence she accompanied her parents to Beth'm in 1745.)

BURNSIDE, REBECCA, ("dr. of James and Margaret Burnside; was born in Savannah, Georgia, ye 31 March, 1740, about 12 o'clock in ye day, and baptized 2d of April following, by Mr. Whitefield." d. at Nazareth, Aug. 12, 1746. A.R.)

CHRISTIANA, *alias*, QUATSCHEL, (a Mohegan Indian.)

FRANCKE, MARGARET, (dr. of Jacob and Margaret Francke of Philadelphia.)

FREY, ELIZABETH, (from Falckner's Swamp.)

HORSFIELD, ELIZABETH, (from Long Island. Dr. of Timothy and Mary Horsfield. Born June 15th, 1738.)

KLEMM, SUSAN, (dr. of widow Susan Klemm of New York.)

KLOTZ, ANN M., (from Tulpehocken.)

LEIBERT, MARY, (dr. of widow Barbara Leibert of Philadelphia.)

LACK, ELIZABETH, (from Germantown.)

MARTHA, (dr. of Thomas, *alias* Pechtowapped, and Esther, Mohegans of Shecomeco. Baptized at Nazareth, June, 1746.)

MARY ANN, *alias*, "Little Dove," (dr. of Nathaniel and Zipporah, Mohegans of Shecomeco. Baptized at Nazareth, Jan'y, 1747. D. at Bethlehem, Jan'y, 1750.)

MONTANYE, REBECCA, (dr. of James Montanye of New York.)

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* This school was opened May 28, 1745, on which day eighteen pupils, sometime inmates of a school at Bethlehem, entered. In 1746 it was in charge of the Single Sisters, Kremser, Schaefer, Waters and Werner.

In the Diary kept at Nazareth, there is found, under date of 27th July, 1746, the following entry: "In the forenoon Bro. Henry Antes, accompanied by Mr. Whitefield, Mr. Read and a man-servant, arrived from Bethlehem. Whitefield was very cordial, and on hearing Bro. Abraham Reinke named, called to mind having made his acquaintance in London. He was particularly struck by the order and cleanliness observable in all parts of our establishment, and among other things, stated it to be his conviction, that to care for and train awakened souls, was the special call of the Brethren's Church. We set the best we had before him at dinner, but he and his companions both partook sparingly. While viewing the school, he manifested extreme delight to see the children spinning, with the distaff instead of the wheel. The Indian girls, however, were the objects of his most regardful interest. In fact, he was reluctant to part from them, and also from Becky Burnside, whom he had baptized in Georgia. 'My hopes,' he observed, 'are partly realized, as Nazareth has become the seat of a school somewhat after my plan. It causes me much joy to find this place peopled by children of God. Of this the Lord gave me an earnest.' At 4 o'clock the visitors set out on their return to Bethlehem, by way of Gnadenthal. Whitefield took an affectionate farewell, remarking, as he turned to go: 'Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth? Come and see!'"

Mueller, Ann C., (from the Great Swamp.)

Noble, Polly, (dr. of Thomas and Mary Noble of New York. "Born on a Monday, Dec. 21, 1741, about 9 at night. Baptzd. Dec. 25, 1741." A. R.)

Price, Sally, ("dr. of William and Ann E. Price, of Phila. Born 21 Sept., 1738. Baptzd. at Nazareth, by Bro. Joseph Spangenberg, May 1, 1746." A. R.)

Price, Polly, (sister of the above. "Born 15 Feb., 1740. Baptized at Nazareth, by Bro. Joseph Spangenberg, 29 Feb., 1746."—A. R.)

Pryzelius, Ann.

Rose, Mary M., (dr. of Peter and Catherine Rose. B. Sept., 16th, 1737 in South Carolina. Came to Germantown with her parents in Nov., 1739.)

Rose, Ann C., (sister of the above. B. in Germantown, Jan. 1, 1740.)

Schaus, Ann Margaret, (fr. Falckner's Swamp.)

Spangenberg, Mary, (dr. of Ruth, a Mohegan of Shecomeco. Bequeathed to Bishop Spangenberg by her mother. Baptzd. at Bethlehem, June, 1746. D. March, 1748.)

Sarah, *alias* "Little Worm," (dr. of Nathaniel; a Mohegan of Shecomeco. Baptzd. at Nazareth Aug. 1746, and died on the same day, aged 8 years.)

Tanneberger, Ann.

Ysselstein, Sarah.

Ysselstein, Rachel, drs. of widow Rachel Ysselstein, of Bethlehem.

5. *Single Sisters and Girls.**

Antes, Ann, *Superintendent.* (Dr. of Henry and Christiana Antes of Falckner's Swamp. In 1809 she was residing at Bethabara, N. C.)

Anna, (dr. of Nathaniel, a Mohegan of Shecomeco.)

Bechtel, Mary Susan, (dr. of John Bechtel of Germantown. md. John Levering.)

Berck, Ann Mary, (from Switzerland. Had been servant in the family of "Kooken the saddler, who was settled on Richland Manor, in the Great Swamp." md. J. Peter Lehnert.)

Blum, Elizabeth, (md. Christian Werner.)

Brashier, Elizabeth, (from New York. D. at Beth'm, April, 1750.)

Burnet, Nanny, (from New York.)

Evans, Molly, *Vice-Superintendent,* (from Philadelphia.)

* On the 1st of June, 1745, the single women who had attached themselves to the Brethren and who had been admitted to church fellowship at Bethlehem, were transferred to Nazareth. Here one of the log houses, near the Whitefield House, was assigned to them for a residence, and they were organized, after the manner of that time, into a separate "class" in the Church. In November of 1748 they removed to Bethlehem, and occupied the east end of the stone building on Church Street, to this day called "The Sisters' House."

FREY, CHRISTIANA, *Assistant*, (dr. of Wm. Frey, of Falckner's Swamp.)

FUNCK, ELIZABETH, (md. George Kaske.)

GEDDIS, HANNAH, (from New York. D. at Beth'm, 1751.)

GEMEHLE, MARY, C. (from Falckner's Swamp. md. J. Michael Schnall.)

HANNAH, (an Indian from Westenhook, Housatonic, Ct.)

HANTSCH,* REGINA, (md. Michael Zahm.)

HEAP, MOLLY, (from Philadelphia. md. Joseph Shaw, missionary, and with him was lost at sea, on the passage to St. Thomas.)

KEARNEY,* CATHERINE, (dr. of Thomas Kearney, and Catherine, m. n. Bourroux, his wife. B. in New York, Feb., 1716. United with the Moravians in 1745, and came to Bethlehem. md. John Brownfield of Bethlehem in 1747. D. at that place in April of 1798.)

KREMPER, A. CATHERINE, (last from Georgia. b. in Manheim, Baden. Immigrated to Georgia in 1734. Came to Beth'm in 1745. md. Samuel Mau. d. at Beth'm Feb., 1798.)

KREMSER, ANN MARY.

LOESCH, PHILIPPINA, (dr. of George Loesch of Tulpehocken. In 1747 md. Jno. Nicholas Weinland.)

MAGDALENE, (a Mohegan, dr. of Zaccheus.)

MARY, (a Mohegan, sister of Joshua.)

MARINER, MARTHA, (from New York. md. Abraham Bühninger (Bininger) in Oct. of 1746. d. in Salem, Washington co., N. Y., 1812.)

MOORE, BETTY, (from Philadelphia. Withdrew.)

PETERSEN, GERTRUDE, (from Long Island. md. George Schneider.)

PARSONS, ANN MOLLY, (dr. of Willam Parsons of Philadelphia, Surveyor General to the Proprietaries. md. Rogers.)

RIETH, ANN CATHERINE, (dr. of Michael Rieth of Tulpehocken. md. Anton Schmidt.)

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* "Ye Count's party," writes Richard Peters to Thomas Penn, Jan'y 15, 1743, "gains ground, having made considerable converts, among whom I rank Miss Kitty Kearney and Miss Molly Evans." In Sept. of 1745, her brothers Thomas and John, at the instance of her parents, who were averse to their daughter's stay with the Moravians, forcibly abducted her from Nazareth, while an inmate of the Single Sisters' house.

Rieth, Ann Margaret, (sister of the above.)

Rieth, Magdalene, (do. md. Jacob Haeffner.)

Roeser, Catherine B., (last from Chester county. Immigrated in 1732, from Alsace.)

Rubel, Barbara, (last from Muddy Creek. md. Segner.)

Schaefer, Mary Margt., (dr. of Michael Schaefer of Tulpehocken. md. J. C. Heyne.)

Schuchart, Ann Mary, (last from Heidelberg.)

Waters, Molly, *Elderess*, (from Long Island. md. Samuel Isles. D. on Antigua, Oct. 1760.)

Werner, Catherine, (from Germantown. md. Brucker in 1746.)

Zerb, Elizabeth, (last from Heidelberg.)

GNADENTHAL.

Early in 1745, a farm was located and laid out on the Nazareth tract, about a mile west by north from "The Whitefield House." It embraced a portion of the fertile lowland that sweeps from the ridge on which the modern borough of Nazareth stands, and was called "Gnadenthal," i. e., "The Valley of Grace." The first house on this improvement was blocked up in January of the aforementioned year, and before its close a two-story log dwelling, containing a hall for worship, was in readiness for the Brethren and Sisters who were to occupy it and till the farm. Six couples from Bethlehem took possession of the premises on the 2d of December, and were organized into an "Economy," at the head of which stood George Zeisberger. Christopher Demuth was at the same time appointed "lector" or chaplain.*

MEMBERS OF THE ECONOMY AT GNADENTHAL, JANUARY, 1747.

Antes,† Henry, (last from Frederic township, *wheelwright*, and Christiana m. n. De Weesm, his wife.)

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* Gnadenthal was sold to the Commissioners of Northampton Co. in 1837, and thereupon made the seat of the County Alms House. Not a vestige of the quaint old buildings which composed this unique settlement remains to tell aught of the tale of its former days.

† The name of Henry Antes is one of frequent occurrence in the meagre records come down to us, touching the state of religion among the early Pennsylvania Germans. As far as we have been able to ascertain, he immigrated with his father from Fraentzheim in Rhenish Bavaria, prior to 1725, and settled in the region of country lying back of Pottstown, including the present townships of Hanover

HANCKE, MATTHIAS,* and CATHERINE, m. n. OPP (fr. Oley), his wife.

*HIRTE, J. TOBIAS, and MARY, his wife.

*JORDE, JOHN, and MARY ANN, do.

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and Frederic (since 1784 in Montgomery Co.) then called Falckner's Swamp. Here he farmed and followed his trade, which was that of a wheelwright. In Feb., 1726, he was married to Catherine De Weesm at White Marsh, by the Rev. J. Philip Boehm, an ordained clergyman of the German Reformed Church, of which the Anteses were members. Excepting this item, we know nothing of the man prior to 1736, in the spring of which year he became acquainted with Spangenberg, who was sojourning among the Schwenkfelders of Towamensing township in Skippack. Mr. Antes' subsequent intimate relations towards the Moravians date from this acquaintance. Deeply concerned about the religious destitution of his fellow-countrymen in the Province, we need not be surprised at learning that as he was a man of earnest piety, his Christian sympathy and activity were enlisted in their behalf. Although but a layman, he accordingly undertook to instruct them in the way of life, calling them together in their houses for singing, for prayer, for reading the Scriptures and for exhortation. Thus we find him employed in the populous district of Oley, Berks Co., as early as 1736. When, in that year, John Adam Gruber, of Germantown, sent out a call to his awakened countrymen in the eastern counties of Pennsylvania, to meet in convention for the purpose of ratifying a religious union or alliance on the basis of evangelical truths, Antes seconded the movement by issuing, in December of 1741, a circular which led to the formation of what was called "The Synod of Pennsylvania," in which most of the denominations and sects in the Province were duly represented. Next to Count Zinzendorf, Henry Antes was the most prominent member of this body. It met seven times in 1742, and subsequently. Through these meetings Antes was brought into closer relations with the Brethren, and when their different elements one by one withdrew, leaving them exclusively under Moravian control, Antes felt moved to attend them as heretofore, and to attach himself to the people, with whose religious spirit his own was in sympathy. In June of 1745, accordingly, he became a resident of Bethlehem, and for five years rendered eminent services at that place and at the adjoining settlements,—in superintending the temporal concerns of the Moravian Economy, the labors of its farms, and the erection of its mills. The grist mill at Bethlehem, that at Friedensthal, and the grist and saw mills at Gnadenhütten were the works of H. Antes. In October of 1749 he was made a *consenior civilis*—an officer to whom pertained the legal care of the community's estates and property. In the capacity of a Justice of the Peace in the county of Bucks, Mr. Antes furthermore did the Moravians many timely services. In Sept. of 1750 he retired to his home in Frederic township, and although he had been moved to this step in consequence of a disagreement with the Brethren respecting their ritual, he approved himself their friend and counsellor to the end of his life. In August of 1752 he accompanied Bishop Spangenberg to Western North Carolina, the latter's errand being the selection of a tract of land for a projected settlement in that Colony on the part of the Moravians. This was Mr. Antes' last act in the interest of the Church to which he was strongly attached.

MILLER, ABRAHAM, *husbandman*, last from the Great Swamp, and MAGDALENE, his wife. (Both withdrew.)

OESTERLEIN, DANIEL, fr. Ulm, *locksmith*, and ELIZABETH m. n. WERNER, his wife. (Oesterlein immigrated in 1759 and settled in Frederic township. United with the Moravians and became a resident of Bethlehem in 1713. He was the first unmarried man who was admitted to fellowship with them in Pennsylvania. The last 20 years of his life were spent at Nazareth. D. at Old Nazareth, June, 1786.)

PAUS, CHRISTOPHER, a native of Hungary, *shoemaker*, and MAGDALENE, m. n. FREY, his wife. (He immigrated with a colony of Schwenkfelders in Sept. 1734, and settled in Falckner's Swamp, Phila. Co. Withdrew.)

SCHAEFER, JOHN NICHOLAS, fr. Scoharie, N. Y., *husbandman*, and JEANETTE, late HAINER m. n. YSSELSTEIN, his wife. (He d. at Nazareth, April, 1807.)

*SCHOBER, ANDREW, fr. Neuhofmansdorf, Moravia, *mason*, and HEDWIG REGINA m. n. SCHUBERT, his wife. (Both d. at Beth'm—

He died on his farm on the morning of July 20, 1755, and next day his remains were buried in the family graveyard, close by his father Frederic, who had preceded him to the eternal world on the 28th of November, 1746. Bishop Spangenberg delivered a consolatory address on the occasion, Abraham Reincke read the Moravian burial-service, and ten pall bearers from Bethlehem conveyed the remains of "the pious layman of Frederic township" to their final resting place. In June of 1854 this deserted place of sepulture was still discernable on the old Antes farm, then owned by a Mr. Reif; but saving fragments of soap-stone, inscribed occasionally with a few letters, there was nothing to remind the visitor that the ground on which he stood was hallowed by the ashes of the dead.

Mr. Antes was the father of eleven children, six sons and five daughters. Ann Catherine was b. Nov. 1726, and in 1809 was residing Bethabara, N. C.—Ann Margaret was b. Oct. 1728—went to England and married —— La Trobe. She was the mother of the late B. H. La Trobe, Esq., C. E., of Baltimore. D. in London, in 1794.—Philip Frederic was b. July, 1730, and d. in Lancaster, Sept. 1801. His daughter Catherine was the wife of Gov. Simon Snyder.—William was b. Nov. 1731, and in 1809 was residing in the Genesee country.—Elizabeth was b. Feb'y, 1734, and md. Philip Dotter of Oley.—John Henry was b. Oct. 1736, was some time Sheriff of Northumberland Co., and in 1804 resided at Nippenose, Lycoming Co.—Jacob was b. Sept. 1738, and d. in infancy.—John was b. March, 1740. He entered the service of the Moravian Church, became a missionary, and d. at Bedford, England, in 1810.—Mary Magdalene was b. Oct. 1742, went to Germany, md. Ebbing, and d. at Herrnhut, April, 1811.—Joseph was b. Jan'y, 1745. D. at Bethlehem, Aug. 1746.—Benigna, b. Sept. 1748, d. at Bethlehem, Dec. 1760.

the former in July, 1792, the latter in Jan'y, 1800. Descendants of the name living.)

*Zeisberger, George, fr. Zauchtenthal, Moravia, and Ann m. n. Boehm, fr. Kuhnewalde, his wife. He died at Gnadenthal, Nov. 1781.)

Mau, Samuel, fr. Würtemberg, *herdsman*, but last fr. Oley md. Cath. Kremper. D. at Beth'm July, 1783.

Blum, Catherine, from Oley.

BETHLEHEM.

In the early winter of 1741, Bishop David Nitschmann, who had come into the Province in December of 1740 for the purpose of securing a home for the Moravians, late inhabitants of the Colony of Georgia, began negotiations with one Nathaniel Irish in Saucon, for a choice tract of 500 acres of land lying at the confluence of the Menakasy Creek and the West Branch of Delaware, or Lechaweki. It lay within the limits of what was then Bucks County. Now, although the land was not confirmed to him, or rather to Henry Antes, for Nitschmann and his Brethren, until in April following, the Moravians entered into possession early in March, and before the expiration of the month erected a comfortable log dwelling. This was the beginning of the first Moravian settlement in Pennsylvania. Its founder, therefore, and the founder of Bethlehem, (for so Count Zinzendorf, while celebrating the vigils of Christmas eve following, in the above mentioned log dwelling, was pleased to call the nameless place), was Bishop David Nitschmann.* Year after year the settlement grew—slowly, however, as to its houses, although the population received accessions from abroad—and at the date of this register, a line of tradesmen's shops and three mills on the left bank of the creek, and a part only of the "old row" that stands to this day on Church street, constituted all there was of Bethlehem, one hundred and twenty-five years ago. In the old row dwelt the men, women and children of the

* David Nitschmann was born in Zauchtenthal, Moravia, in 1796, emigrated to Herrnhut in 1724, was ordained a Bishop in 1735, spent much of his time in travel, but was a permanent resident of Bethlehem subsequent to 1761, and died at that place in Oct. 1772, in the 77th year of his age. See *Mem'ls of the M. C., Vol. I., p.* 164, for a biographical sketch of this, the first Bishop of the Renewed Church of the United Brethren.

place, duly domiciled according to age or sex, by classes,—and in it, too, were schools, and the house of God.

The Moravians who first came to this country saw well to live in an Economy, moved to do so by their indigence as well as by the ties of brotherhood. It was undoubtedly a wisely chosen polity, enabling them to husband their resources and to concentrate their energies in the prosecution of the great work which they had taken in hand. Bethlehem was for twenty years the central point of this Economy, which embraced within its jurisdiction the settlements on the Nazareth tract, a household in Philadelphia, another in New York, a third on Long Island, the Indian mission, the missions on St. Thomas and in Surinam, and boarding schools in the rural districts. At Bethlehem resided the head men of the Church; and from it, as out of a hive, went forth through the Province and the adjacent Colonies of the British Crown during the busy period of which we write, the workers for Christ whose names are recorded on the pages of this olden register. Whither they went, and by what way they journeyed, may be briefly told. There is extant a map of the field of their activity, entitled "*Reise Charte durch Pennsylvanien und andere angränzende Provinzen, mit Anmekung aller eigenthümlichen Ländereyen, Wohnplätzen, Kirchen u. Schulhäusern der Vereinigten Brüder,—auch einiger damit connectirende einzelen Familien, wie auch verschiedenen Herbergen und Wegzeichen.*" This map points out their routes of travel, showing us how they journeyed northward by way of Nazareth, to Meniolagameka, Dansbury, Nicholas Scoonhoven's and Walpack,—thence 100 miles to Shecomeco and Pachgatgoch;—to the north-west, by way of the "Milk-crock" and "The Ladle" to Gnadenhutten on the Mahoning—westward to Allemaengel—to the south-east by way of Macungy, past Lange Kaspar's, Ziegler's and Weiser's to Oley, thence to Reading, thence past Riehm's through Muddy Creek to Warwick, to Lancaster, over Wright's Ferry to Grist Creek, thence to York, and after passing Miller Hans's and Kitzmiller's, over the boundary into Maryland,—their objective points in that Province were the German settlements on the Menakasy, west of "The Three Pines" and "Grossvater's," Major Ogle's plantation, Frederickstown and George Gump's near the Potomac. Or, setting out from Bethlehem, they journeyed, perhaps, to the south-west by way of Macungy, past Daniel Levan's through Maxetawny to Heidel-

berg, and thence to Tulpehocken. Here the road forked, and the traveler going southward passed George Loesch's on his way to Quittopehille and Donegal; but going northward to Shamokin, he journeyed by way of Ludwig Born's in Bethel, through "The Hole" and "Anthony's Wilderness," past "Erdmuth's Spring," "Lewis's Rest," "Anna's Vale," "The Double Eagle," "Jacob's Heights," "Fürstenberg" and "Kœnigsberg," to the junction of the East and West Branches of the Susquehanna. At twenty of the points here enumerated the Moravians owned land and held or occupied churches and school houses in the interval between 1742 and 1748.

THE MEMBERS OF THE ECONOMY AT BETHLEHEM.

("*Das Haus Bethlehem.*" A. R.) February, 1748.

1. *Married Brethren and Sisters residing in Bethlehem at this date.*

ANTES, HENRY, and CHRISTIANA, his wife.

ARDEN, JAMES, last fr. New York, *carpenter and joiner*, and URSULA, his wife. He returned to New York and d. in 1765.)

BECHTEL,* JOHN, *turner*, and MARY APOLLONIA, m. n. MARRETT, his wife.

BLUM, FRANCIS, *husbandman*, and CATHERINE, his wife.

BOEHNER,* JOHN, fr. Krumberg, Bohemia, *carpenter*, and VERONA, his wife. (Boehner was a member of the second colony of Moravians which came to Georgia in 1736. md. Johanna Hummel in July, 1742. She d. at sea in August, during the passage to St. Thomas, whither the two were going as missionaries.)

BROWNFIELD,† JOHN, last fr. Georgia, *book-keeper*, and CATHERINE, his wife.

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* Born Oct. 1690, at Weinheim, Baden. Immigrated with his wife and three children in 1726, and settled in Germantown. Here for upwards of fifteen years he ministered to his German Reformed brethren in spiritual things, with the sanction of the Consistory of Heidelberg. Through Spangenberg he was made acquainted with the Brethren, became warmly attached to Zinzendorf in 1742, and lending him his influence and aid, was deposed, in consequence, from the ministry of his Church. Thereupon he united with the Moravians, and removed to Bethlehem in Sept. 1746. He was ordained a Deacon in 1742. D. at Beth'm April, 1777. His wife d. there in 1753.

† Born in Greenwich, England, June, 1714. In his youth entered Gen. Oglethorpe's household, and in time was appointed his secretary. Accompanied him to Georgia in Feb. 1737, and there became acquainted with the Brethren of whom he had heard from Spangenberg in London. His attachment to their principles

*Cammerhoff, J. C. Frederic, and Ann, m. n. von Pahlen, his wife. (She ret'd to Europe after the death of her husband in 1751.)

*Demuth, Christopher, fr. Kathelsdorf, Moravia, *paper-box maker*, and Ann Mary, his wife. (Labored in the Gospel in the rural churches. D. at Nazareth, March, 1754.)

*Digeon, David, fr. Switzerland, *shoemaker*, and Mary, late Bardsley, m. n. Andrews, fr. Leicestershire, England, his wife. (He d. at Beth'm, April, 1777.)

Friedrich, George, last fr. the Great Swamp, *weaver*, and Margaret, his wife.

*Grabs, John G., and Ann Mary, his wife.

*Handrup, Vitus, and Mary his wife, (immigrated in Dec., 1746. Ret'd to Europe.)

*Hessler, Abraham, and Ann Mary, his wife. (He was *cook* for the economy at Beth'm, at this date.)

*Hoepfner, Christopher, fr. Halle, and Ann Mary, his wife. (He was ord. a Deacon in 1756, and d. on Santa Cruz, Dec. 1760.)

*Horne, Andrew, and Dorothea, his wife (immigrated in Oct. 1744. He was ord. a Deacon in 1755.)

Jungmann, John George, *miller*, last from Oley, and Ann Margaret, late Buttner, m. n. Bechtel, of Germantown, his wife. (Jungman was b. in Hochenheim, Baden, and immigrated in 1731. He was made acquainted with the Brethren through Andrew Eschenbach's ministry. Came to Beth'm in 1745. Missionary to the Indians subsequent to 1763, in Western Pennsylvania and Ohio. D. at Beth'm, at an advanced age, July, 1808.

Leinbach, John, last fr. Oley, *husbandman*, was b. in Hochstadt, Bavaria, and Catherine, m. n. Riehm, his wife. (Immigrated in 1718. Descendants of the name living.)

Lehnert, John Peter, last fr. Philadelphia, was b. in Freyrachdorf, Alt Wied, and Ann Mary, m. n. Berck, his wife. (He d. at Nazareth, in 1756 and was the first buried in the present Moravian graveyard at that place. Descendants of the name living.)

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induced him to follow them to Pennsylvania. He came to Bethlehem, April, 1745, was employed as book-keper in the Economy. md. Catherine Kearney in 1747. Was ord. a Deacon in 1749, and d. at Beth'm in April, 1752.

LEVERING, JOHN, b. in Phila., Dec. 1723, and SUSAN, m. n. BECHTEL, his wife. (Descendants of the name living.)

*LEIGHTON, JOHN, from Dundee, *baker*, and SARAH, m. n. CLIFFORD, his wife. (Leighton labored in the Moravian schools and also itinerated in the Gospel. D. at Beth'm, Aug. 1756.

MACK,* J. MARTIN, b. in Leiningen, Wurtemberg, and JEANETTE, m. n. RAU, fr. Rhinebeck, his wife. (Missionaries to the Indians.)*

MAU, SAMUEL, and ANN CATHERINE, his wife.

MEURER,* JOHN PHILIP, and CHRISTIANA, his wife.

MILLER, DANIEL, last fr. Philadelphia, *potter*, and MARY, his wife.

*NIEKE, GEORGE, and JOHANNA E., his wife. (He was ord. a Deacon in 1744, and labored in the Gospel in the rural districts, —was settled in Menakasy, Md., in 1747.)

OKELY,* JOHN, and ELIZABETH, his wife.

*OHNEBERG, GEORGE, and SUSAN, do.

*OTTO, JOHN FREDERIC, fr. Meiningen, Saxe-Meiningen, *physician and surgeon*, and ANN MARY, m. n. WEBER, his wife. (Otto studied medicine at Jena and Halle. He was the first physician at Beth'm. In 1750 md. JUDITH BRUCE, née BENEZET, relict of David Bruce. In 1760 he settled at Litiz, Lancaster Co.—and in 1763 at Nazareth, where he d. Dec. 1779.

PETERSEN, PETER, fr. Long Island, *mariner*, and SARAH, m. n. ROBINS, dr. of widow Rebecca Robins of Phila'a, his wife.

*POWELL, SAMUEL, and MARTHA, his wife.

*RICE, OWEN, and ELIZABETH, do.

ROBERTS, CHRISTIAN, *alias*, ANTHONY, a negro, b. in Jamaica, but last fr. Paulin's Kill, West Jersey, and BETTY, a Long Island Indian, his wife.

ROEBUCK,* JARVIS, and SUSAN, relict of Frede. Klemm, his wife.

RONNER,* JOHN REINHARD, and ELIZABETH, do.

ROSEEN,* SVEN, and ANN MARGARET, m. n. RIETH, his wife. (He was ord. a Deacon in 1748. See *Theological Seminary at Lindheim*, in this Register.)

*SCHAAF, *alias* BOCK, THOMAS, *weaver*, and ANN C. m. n. LOTZ, his wife. (She d. at Beth'm, Oct. 1748.)

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* See *Mem's, M. C., Vol.* 1, *p.* 100, for a biographical sketch of J. Martin Mack.

Schnall,* Michael, from Speyer, Rhenish Bavaria, *stocking-weaver*, and M. Catherine, m. n. Gemehle, (dr. of David Gemehle, of Frederic township, his wife. He d. at Beth'm, April 1763.)

Schneider,* George, and Gertrude, his wife.

Segner, John H., missionary fr. St. Thomas, and Christina, m. n. Frey, of Frederic township, his wife.

*Senseman, Joachim, and Ann Catherine, his wife.

Shebosch (*Running Water*), *alias* John Joseph Bull, last fr. Oley, and Christiana, a Mohegan, his wife. (Both died in the service of the Indian mission in the Western country—the former in 1787, and the latter in 1788.)

*Spangenberg, Augustus G., *alias* Joseph, and Eve Mary, late Immig, m. n. Ziegelbauer, his wife. Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg, who for almost twenty years, was at the head of the American branch of the Moravian Church, was born, July 15, 1704 in Klettenberg, Hohenstein, Saxony, and was the son of the Lutheran clergyman of that place. He studied Theology at Jena, and in 1732 was appointed a Professor at Halle. Thence he went to Herrnhut, in 1733, and became Zinzendorf's trusty assistant in the religious movement, to which he devoted his life. Spangenberg was four times in America: from 1735 to 1739 in Georgia and Pennsylvania—from 1744 to 1749 in Bethlehem and Philadelphia—fr. 1751 to 1752 in Penn'a and North Carolina—and for the last time from 1754 to 1762. He returned to Europe in July of the last named year, and until his death held a seat in the Unity's Elders' Board. He d. at Berthelsdorf, Sept. 18, 1792)

*Tanneberger, Sr. David, fr. Zauchtenthal, Moravia, *shoemaker*, and Rosina, late Demuth, m. n. Leupold, fr. Wiese-Stædel, Bohemia, his wife. (Tanneberger and his first wife, Judith Till, partook of the Lord's Supper, celebrated at Berhelsdorf, Aug 13, 1727. He was a widower, when in 1735 he went to Georgia. That Province he left for Penna. in June, 1737, and settled in Germantown. In 1745 he came to Beth'm, and thereupon married Rosina Demuth, the widow of Gotthard Demuth, who died in 1744 at Germantown. Tanneberger d. at Beth'm, July, 1760; his wife at the same place, Feb. 1774.)

*Weiss, Matthias, and Margaret C., his wife.

Witke,* Matthew, and Ann Elizabeth, his wife.

*YARRELL, THOMAS and ANN, his wife.

ZAHM, *alias* TOLL, MICHAEL, b. in Sunzheim, Rhenish Bavaria, but last fr. Phila., and REGINA, m. n. HANTSCH, his wife. (Zahm was employed in the Moravian Schools, also in the ministry in the rural churches, ord. and Deacon in 1758. In 1780 he was appointed Treasurer of the Fund for the support of the ministers of the church. D. at Beth'm, Dec , 1787. Descendants of the name living.)

BRANDMILLER,* ANN M.

FRŒHLICH, ESTHER, m. n. ROBINS, fr. Maryland, (w. of Christian Froehlich.)

HANTSCH, REGINA, (wife of J. G. Hantsch, Jr.)

PAYNE,* ELIZABETH, m. n. DAVIS, from Beaumaris, Island of Anglesea, North Wales, wife of Jasper Payne. She d. in Phila., in Aug., 1757.

POWELL,* MARTHA, (w. of JOSEPH POWELL.)

PYRLAEUS, SUSAN, m. n. BENEZET, (w. of JOHN C. PYRLAEUS b. 1717 in Wandsworth, Brixton, Surrey, England. D. at Herrnhut, October, 1779.)

REUTZ, MAGDALENE,* (w. of MATTHEW REUTZ)

UTLEY,* SARAH, m. n. MORGAN, (w. of RICHARD UTLEY.)

VETTER, CHRISTIANA, (w. of JACOB VETTER,)

WADE*, JOHANNA, m. n. HOPSON, fr. Wilts, England, (wife of JOHN WADE. D. at Beth'm, Aug., 1748.)

2. *Married Brethren and Sisters, absent from Bethlehem at this date in the service of the Church.*

BECK, HENRY FERDINAND, fr. Würtemburg, *baker,* and BARBARA, his wife; at Muddy Creek. (Beck immigrated to Georgia, in 1738, and was for a time a member of "Whitefield's Economy." He came to Beth'm with his family in April, 1745, was ord. a Deacon in 1754, and labored in the Gospel in the rural churches. D. at Beth'm, Jan'y, 1783. Descendants of the name living.)

BŒCKEL, FREDERIC, last fr. Heidelberg township, Berks Co., but b. in Durkheim, Rhenish Bavaria, *husbandman,* and ANN ELIZABETH, m. n. ROHRBACH, his wife. At the Moravian school, in Frederic township. (Mr. Bœckel immigrated from the Palatinate in 1736. After the dissolution of the Economy he was farmer of

"the Bethlehem Farm," until his death in Oct., 1780. Descendants of the name living.)

*Bischoff, David, and Ann, his wife. At Gnadenthal.

Brandmiller,* John. Itinerating among the Walloons of New Paltz and Esopus.

*Brocksch, Andrew, fr. Upper Silesia, and Ann Elizabeth, m. n. Helwig, his wife. In Oley. (Brocksch and his wife were employed in various capacities in the interests of the Moravian Economy especially in the rural districts. He was night-watchman at Beth'm for 16 years, and d. at that place, July 1779.)

Bruce,* David, fr. Edinburgh, Scotland, *carpenter*, and Judith, m. n. Benezet, his wife. At Gnadenhütten on the Mahoning. (Bruce came to Penn'a, with Zinzendorf, in Dec., of 1741, served in various capacities in the Indian mission, and d. at Wechquadnach, on the confines of New York and Ct., July, 1749.

*Brucker, John, and Catherine, his wife. At Nazareth.

Buhninger, Abraham, last from Purysburg, South Carolina, but b. in Bulach, Canton Zurich, Switzerland, and Martha, m. n. Mariner, from New York, his wife. On the Codorus, ten miles S. W. from York, Pa. (Bühninger came to Beth'm, in 1745, served in the mission both in this country and in the West Indies, and d. at an advanced age in Salem, Washington Co., N. Y., in March, 1811. Descendants of the name (Biningers) living.)

Burnside,* James, last fr. Georgia, and Mary, late Wendover, fr. New York, his wife. In Dansbury in the Minisinks.

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* James Burnside was born in the county of Meath, Leinster, Ireland, in June, 1708. His parents were members of the Church of England, and gave their son a liberal education. In 1743 he immigrated to Georgia, and was for a time shopkeeper and accountant for the Trustees of the Colony in Savannah. Having become reduced in circumstances in consequence of repeated losses by fire, he engaged with Whitefield for the management of the Orphan Home "Bethesda." Here he became acquainted with the missionary John Hagen, who was Whitefield's gardener at the time, and on his return to Savannah, frequented the Brethren's meetings at the house of John Brownfield. On the death of his wife in 1743, he sailed with his daughter Rebecca for Philadelphia, and visted Bethlehem. The prospect of an appointment to a civil office in Charleston led him to set out thither in the autumn of 1744. But in May of 1745 he returned, in August md. Mary Wendover of New York, and in the following year was admitted to Church membership at Beth'm. Burnside for a time labored in the Brethren's religious movement, especially in the domestic mission in English districts. In 1749 he bought a tract of 350 acres of land lying on the Menakasy, near Bethlehem, and

ENDTER,* GEORGE, and ROSINA, his wife. In Berbice, Guiana.

*FRANCKE, JOHN C., and REGINA, his wife. At Nazareth. (This couple immigrated in Sept. of 1742. Employed in the Moravian schools. He was ord. a Deacon in 1749.)

FRŒHLICH,* CHRISTIAN, b. in Felsberg, Hesse Cassel, *sugar-baker*. Itinerating in New England. (Frœhlich immigrated in Dec. 1740. Was some time a missionary to the Indians and in St. Thomas. D. at Bethlehem, April, 1776.)

*GAMBOLD, ERNEST, *alias* HECTOR, and ELEANOR, his wife.

*GREENING, JAMES, *apothecary*, and ELIZABETH, his wife. At the Moravian school in Germantown. (They ret'd to Europe, served the Church in White's Alley, London, in 1754, and thence in 1757 removed to Bristol.)

HANTSCH,* SR., J. GEORGE, fr. Ottendorf, Saxony, *tailor*. Itinerating in Maryland and Western Virginia. (He was ord. a Deacon in 1750, and d. at Beth'm Jan'y, 1754.

*HANTSCH, JR., J. GEORGE, fr. Ottendorf, Saxony, and ANN MARY, late widow KREMSER, his wife. At the school in Frederic township.

*HERTZER, J. HENRY, fr. Würtemberg, and BARBARA, his wife. In Warwick township, Lancaster Co. (He labored in the Gospel and in Moravian schools in the rural districts. d. at Quittopehille, Lebanon Co., in May, 1748, and was buried on Peter Kucher's farm.)

HEYNE,* JOHN C., and MARY M., his wife. In Macungy.

HUBER,* JOHN M. Sailed for St. Thomas in Oct. of 1747, but not yet heard from.

*HUSSEY, ROBERT, and MARTHA, his wife. At the school in Oley.

KASKE,* GEORGE, and ELIZABETH, his wife. In Berbice, Guiana.

*KREMSER, ANDREW, and ROSINA, his wife. At the school in Frederic township.

MEYER,* ADOLPH, and JUSTINA, m. n. KRAFT, his wife. At the school in Frederic township.

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farmed until his death, in August, 1755. James Burnside was the first member sent to the Provincial Assembly by Northampton County, he having been elected at Easton, on the 1st of October, 1752.

*Meinung, Abraham M., and Judith, (widow of Melchior Kunz) his wife. On the Island of St. Thomas. (The Meinungs came to the Province with Count Zinzendorf in Dec. 1741. He was ord. a Deacon in 1745, and in August 1746 sailed for St. Thomas. There he d. Oct. 1749. Descendants of the name living.)

*Michler, J. Wolfgang, fr. Würtemberg, *weaver*, and Rosina, m. n. Schneider, fr. Moravia. At the school in Germantown. (He was ord. a Deacon in 1762, and labored in the Gospel in the rural churches. In 1757 he md. Barbara Krause for his second wife. Descendants of the name living.)

*Michler, John, and Barbara, his wife. In Frederic township.

*Muecke, John M., and Eve Catherine, his wife. In Frederic township.

*Mœller, John H., and Rosina, his wife. In Frederic township. (He was miller at H. Antes' mill, which had been rented by the Moravian school.)

*Muenster, John, and Rosina, his wife. In Macungy.

Neisser,* George, and Theodora, m. n. Medler, fr. Phila. his wife. In New York.

Nixdorf, John G., fr. Silesia, and Susan, m. n. Korn, his wife. At Lancaster. (He was ord. a Deacon in 1758, and labored in the Gospel and in schools, principally in the rural districts. D. at Beth'm Sept. 1775. His wife d. at the same place, Nov. 1800, in the 84th year of her age.)

Nyberg, Lawrence Thorstansen, fr. Sweden. In Lancaster. (Nyberg was some time a Lutheran clergyman, but labored in the Brethren's movement. He returned to England in 1750.)

*Neubert, Daniel, fr. Kœnigswalde, Saxony, *miller*, and Rosina, m. n. Hauer, fr. Kunewalde. In Heidelberg township. (They immigrated in Sept. 1742. Neubert was ordained a Deacon in 1754, and labored in the Gospel in the rural churches. He d. at Beth'm, Jan'y, 1785.)

Oerter,* Christian Fredc., fr. Schleitz, Principality Reuss Schleitz, and Ann, m. n. Boelen, fr. New York, his wife. At the school in Frederic township. (He was ord. a Deacon in 1755, and in 1756 appointed book-keeper for the Economy. D. at Beth'm April, 1793. Descendants of the name living.)

OESTERLEIN, DANIEL, and ELIZABETH, his wife. At Gnadenhutten on the Mahoning.

PAUS, CHRISTOPHER, and MAGDALENE, his wife. At Gnadenhutten.

PAYNE,* JASPER, fr. Twickenham, County of Middlesex, England, *wine-cooper*. Itinerating in New England. (Payne was ord. a Deacon in 1753, and labored in the Gospel in the rural churches. In 1763 he md. PHILIPPINA WAY, of New London, for his second wife. D. at Litiz, Pa.

POWELL, JOSEPH. At Shamokin.

PYRLAEUS,* JOHN C., fr. Pausa, Saxony, *Theol. st.* At Gnadenhutten. (Pyrlaeus immigrated in Oct. 1740. Ord. a Presbyter in 1742, and labored in the Gospel in Phila. Sometime a missionary to the Indians, and an Indian scholar. Ret'd to Europe in 1751. D. at Herrnhut, May, 1785.)

RAUCH,* CHRISTIAN HENRY, fr. Bernburg, Anhalt-Bernburg, and ANN ELIZABETH, m. n. ROBINS, of Phila., his wife. At Gnadenhutten. (Rauch immigrated in July of 1740, having been sent to preach to the Indians, and commenced his labors among the Mohegans of Duchess Co. New York. Ord. a Presbyter in 1742. Labored in the Gospel also in the rural churches. Went to Jamaica in 1756, and d. on that island, November, 1763.)

*REINCKE, ABRAHAM, and SARAH, his wife. In Philadelphia, (He was ord. a Presbyter Feb. 1745.)

REUTZ,* MATTHEW. On the Rio de Berbice. (Ord. a Presbyter in 1748. Labored in the Gospel among the Swedes in the Jerseys.)

*SCHAUB, JOHN F., *cooper*, and DIVERT MARY, his wife. At the school in Germantown. (He died at Bethania, Stokes Co., N. C., in 1801.)

SCHAUS, JOHN ADAM, *miller*, last from Macungy, but born in the Palatinate, and BARBARA, his wife. At Gnadenthal.

*SCHOBER, ANDREW and HEDWIG R., his wife. At the Bethlehem Inn, in Saucon township.

SHAW,* JOSEPH, and MARY, his wife. Sailed for St. Thomas in Oct. 1747, but not yet heard from.

SCHMIDT, ANTHONY, fr. Presburg, Hungary, *tinman*, and ANN

* See *Mem'ls M. C. Vol.* 1, *p.* 138, for a biographical sketch of J. C. Pyrlaeus.

C., m. n. RIETH, of Tulpehocken, his wife. At Shamokin. (Schmidt came to Beth'm in 1746. For his second wife he md. Beata Ysselstein. D. at Beth'm March, 1793.

SCHNELL,* LEONARD, and ELIZABETH, m. n. BROWN, of Tulpehocken, his wife. In Warwick township.

TURNER,* JOHN, and ELIZABETH, his wife. At the school in Frederic township.

UTLEY,* RICHARD, fr. Yorkshire, England, *clothier*. Itinerating in the Gospel on Long and Staten Islands. (Ord. a Deacon in 1747; in 1767 was English minister of Dobbs's Parish, Rowan Co., North Carolina, and subsequently Warden at Salem. D. there while a member of the Directing Board, in 1775.)

VETTER, JACOB, last from Oley, *carpenter*. In Philadelphia. (Some time employed in the Moravian schools.)

VERDRIESS, HARTMANN, last from Warwick township, *miller*, and CATHERINE, m. n. BENDER, his wife. At the Bethlehem Inn in Saucon township.

WADE,* JOHN. Itinerating in the Gospel among the Friends in the Great Swamp, North Wales, Neshaminny, Darby, Chester, Wilmington, Penn's Neck, Pile's Grove, Raccoon, Maurice River, Burlington and Trenton. (Wade, and Johanna, his wife, immigrated in Dec. 1746. He was ord. a Deacon in 1749.)

*WAGNER, ANTHONY, fr. Mulhausen, *baker*, and ELIZABETH, m. n. THIERY, his wife. In Macungy. (Wagner was ord. a Deacon in 1753, and labored in the ministry until 1779. D. at Emmaus, Lehigh Co., Pa., Dec. 1786.)

ZANDER,* WILLIAM, fr. Quedlinburg, Prussian Saxony, and MAGDALENE m. n. MILLER, fr. Germantown, his wife. On the Rio de Berbice. (He immigrated in 1740, and was ord. a Deacon in 1742.)

ANTHONY, a negro. In Frederic township. (He was bequeathed to Spangenberg by Thomas Noble, of New York.)

3. *Widowers.*

BOEMPER, ABRAHAM, b. in Herborn, Nassau, *silversmith*. (Boemper came to Beth'm fr. New York in April, 1748, where he was an agent for the Brethren's missions in South America and the West Indies. In July of that year he md. for his second wife widow Rachel Ysselstein. He d. at Beth'm, Feb. 1793, in the 88th year of his age.)

HARTMANN, FREDERIC, fr. Philadelphia.

HENCKE,* CHRISTOPHER.

NITSCHMANN, SR.,* DAVID, fr. Zauchtenthal, Moravia, *carpenter*. (Immigrated in Dec. 1740. In Oct. 1750, naturalized, and so qualified to become Proprietor (Trustee) of the Moravian estates. D. at Beth'm, April, 1758, in the 82d year of his age.)

POST,* CHRISTIAN F.

WEBER, GEORGE, fr. Kunewalde, Moravia. (Superintendent of missions on St. Croix and St. Johns, and at this date *Senior Unitatis Fratrum*. Sojourning at Bethlehem.)

4. *Widows.*

BONN, GERITJE, b. in Holland, but last fr. Skippack (relict of Peter Bonn. Immigrated in 1696. D. at Beth'm Feb. 1778.)

HAGEN, ANN, (relict of John Hagen, late missionary to the Indians, who d. at Shamokin, Sept. 1747. She was a dr. of Daniel Dismann of Providence township, Philadelphia Co.)

HAUS, MARY, m. n. SCHWEITZER, (last fr. Germantown, but b. in Switzerland. D. at Beth'm April, 1774.)

HICKEL,* JUDITH, (immigrated in Dec. 1746.)

MEYER,* ANN EVE.

PAYNE,* ELIZABETH, (late Banister, mother of Jasper Payne. D. at Nazareth, June, 1755, in the 88th year of her age.)

YSSELSTEIN, RACHEL, m. n. BAMGART, (last fr. Saucon township, but b. in Marbletown, Esopus, relict of Isaac Martens Ysselstein. D. at Beth'm, March, 1769.)

5. *Single Brethren at Bethlehem at this date.*

ANDREAS, ABRAHAM, last fr. Frederic township, *wheelwright*, (md. Eleanor Ysselstein in 1757. Descendants of the name living.)

ANDREW, *alias* YORK, *alias* OFODOBENDO WOOMA, a native of of Ibo, Guinea. Bapt'd at Beth'm 1746, and presented to Spangenberg by Thomas Noble of New York. He md. Magdalen *alias* Beulah Brockden, a native of Great Popo, Guinea. D. at Beth'm, March, 1779.)

BEROT, JOHN, fr. Grist Creek, York Co., *husbandman*, (b. in Oppenau in the Palatinate. md. C. E. Neumann. Went to North Carolina, and d. at Friedland, 1817.)

BEZ, ANDREW, fr. Lancaster, *locksmith*, (b. at Ittlingen, Rhenish Bavaria. Went to North Carolina.)

Boehler, William, fr. Warwick township, *carpenter*, (b. at Gernsheim, near Worms. md. Catherine Ehrenhard of Macungy. Descendants of the name living.)

Bonn, John Hermann. (B. in Skippack, Phila. Co., Nov. 1719, of Menomite family, son of Peter and Geritje Bonn. Baptz'd by Zinzendorf in Germantown, March, 1742. Came to Beth'm in 1747. Ord. a Deacon in 1755. For many years Steward at Christian's Spring. Fr. 1773 to 1779 Steward of the Single Brethren's House at Bethlehem. D. at that place, single, Jan'y, 1797.)

Brown, Peter, fr. Lancaster, *tailor*, (b. in Kreutznach, in the Palatinate.)

Frey, Jacob, fr. Frederic township, *carpenter*, (a son of William and Verona Frey.)

Fuehrer, Valentine, (last fr. Catskill, *husbandman*, but b. in Esopus. Md. Marg't Elizabeth Loesch. D. at Beth'm, Jan'y, 1808. Descendants of the name living.)

Garrison, John, fr. Staten Island, *joiner*.

Graff, Abraham, last fr. Old Goshenhoppen, (of Menonite family. Baptz'd at Beth'm, May, 1745.)

Haeffner, Jacob, last fr. Philadelphia, *stocking-weaver*. (B. in Canton Zurich, Switzerland. Md. Magdalene Rieth of Tulpehocken.)

Hoffmann, Matthew, last fr. Oley, *carpenter*.

Hopson, John, last fr. Long Island, *butcher*. (B. in Gloucestershire, England. Removed to Lancaster.)

Hoyer, Valentine, last fr. Warwick township, *tailor*. (b. in Gernsheim.)

Huber, George, last fr. Warwick township, *blacksmith*. (b. in Durlach Baden. md. widow of J. Peter Lehnert. D. at Beth'm, May, 1790.)

Joachim, a Delaware Indian, fr. the Whopehawly, a bro. of Gottlieb, the first convert fr. the Delawares.

Keuter, George, last fr. Phila., but b. in Wurtemberg.

Loesch, John Jacob, last fr. Tulpehoken, *husbandman*, but b. in Scoharie, New York. Ord. a Deacon in 1751. md. Ann Blum in 1757. D. at Nazareth, Nov. 1782. (Descendants of the name living.)

Luck, Martin, last fr. Oley, *husbandman*. (b. in Neuwied, Rhenish Prussia.)

MERCK, JOHN, last fr. Rapho township, Lancaster Co., but b. in Wallisel Zurich, Switzerland. (md. the widow of John Levering in 1768, and ord. a Deacon.)

MILLER, HENRY, last fr. Muddy Creek, *tailor* and *brickmaker*. (b. in Nassau Siegen.)

OKELY,* WILLIAM.

PEZOLD,* GOTTLIEB.

ROBINS, GOTTLIEB, last fr. Phila. (Sometime a sailor on board "The Little Strength" and "Irene." See *Benham's Life of Hutton* p. 168.)

RUBEL, JACOB, last fr. Muddy Creek, *husbandman*, but b. in Diersdorf, Rhenish Prussia. (Of Mennonite family.)

RUCH, MICHAEL, last from Philadelphia, but b. in Eckersdorf, Alsace. (D. at Nazareth, May, 1797.)

SCHAUS, FREDERIC, last fr. Macungy, *mason*. (B. in Albsheim (?) in the Palatinate. Sometime tavern-keeper in Easton. Descendants of the name living.)

SCHEFFLER, JOHN, last from Warwick township. (b. in Alsace.)

SCHMID, GEORGE, last fr. Lancaster, *blacksmith*. (b. in Kirchen-Kirnberg, Wurtemberg.)

SCHNEIDER, J. ADAM, last fr. Frederic township, *husbandman*. (b. in Hagenburg, Lippe-Schaumburg.)

SEGNER, JOHN HENRY, last fr. St. Thomas, (b. in Lippe-Schaumburg. In 1748 md. Christiana Frey.)

SOEHNER, PETER, last fr. Muddy Creek, (b. in Ulm of Catholic family. Md. Mary Goepfert in 1748.)

SEIDEL,* NATHANIEL.

STIEFEL, JOHN GEORGE, last fr. Frederic twp. (b. in Reinheim, Hesse Darmstadt. Immigrated with Conrad Beissel in 1720, settled with him and Stuntz at Mill Creek in 1721—but after a short novitiate withdrew.* Came to Beth'm in 1746, and d. there Oct. 1748.)

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* This from the *Chronicon Ephratense*. "Weil dem Beissel aber die Sorgfalt vor den Tisch oblag, fingen seine Brüder an zu klagen, und wollten fettere Tractamenta haben, denen er erwiederte: sie seyen nicht hieher kommen um ihren alten Adam zu maesten. Endlich äusserte sich Stiefel, dasz er nicht also leben könte, und nahm seinen Abschied. Er hat aber in Bethlehem sein Leben geendet, Gott gebe ihm Barmherzigkeit am Tage des Gerichts."

Stohler, Frederic, last fr. Donegal twp., Lancaster Co. (b. in Switzerland.)

Tanneberger,* John, (a member of the second colony sent to Georgia.)

Tannewald, Christian, last fr. Lancaster, *carpenter.* (b. in Stockholm.)

Thomas, a negro fr. New England.

Transou, Philip, last fr. Macungy, *wheel-wright.* (b. in Mutterstadt, Bavaria; went to N. Carolina in 1762. D. at Bethania in 1792. Descendants of the name living.)

Van der Merk, Jacobus, fr. Esopus, *husbandman* and *millwright.* (md. Christiana Loesch, in 1759 and went to N. Carolina.)

Weber, Frederic, last fr. Frederic township, *weaver.* (b. in Nassau-Siegen. D. at Beth'm, single, Aug. 1760.)

Westmann, John Eric, (immigrated in Dec. 1746. Went to St. Thomas, in 1749.)

Wezel, John, last fr. Saucon, but b. in Germantown. (Withdrew fr. the Brethren, and was a county Lieutenant and prominent Associator in Northampton Co., during the Revolution.)

Wuest, *alias* Schoen, Jacob, last fr. Lancaster, *locksmith.* (b. in Zurich. D. at Beth'm, single, May, 1760.)

Zeisberger,* David,* (b. in Zauchtenthal, Moravia, April, 1721. Ord. a Deacon in 1749. Missionary to the Indians, and Indian scholar. D. at Goshen, Tuscarawas Co., Ohio, Nov, 1808.)

Ziegler, J. Frederic, last from Lancaster, *tile-maker.* (b. in Niederhof, Bohemia.)

6. *Single Brethren absent from Bethlehem at this date in the service of the Church.*

Adolph, Jacob, last fr. Tulpehocken, but b. in Alsace. At Gnadenhuetten.

Frey, Henry, last fr. Frederic twp. At Gnadenhuetten.

Gottschalk,* Matthew G. Itinerating in the Gospel in Menakasy, Antietam and Conecocheague in Maryland and along the South Branch of the Potomac in Western Virginia.

Huebner, J. Ludwig, last fr. Oley, *potter.* In company with John Wade. (Hübner was b. in Rommelshausen, near Frankfort-

* *The Life and Times of David Zeisberger, the western Pioneer and Apostle of the Indians, by Edmund de Schweinitz. Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott & Co.* 1870.

on-the-Main. Came to Beth'm in 1743. md. Cornelia Ysselstein in 1756. D. at Beth'm, Sept, 1796. Descendants of the name living.)

KAMM, DANIEL, } in Dutch Guiana.
KALARUP, NILS, }

7. *Youths.*

ANTES, P. FREDERIC, } fr. Frederic township.
" WILLIAM, }

BOEMPER, CHRISTIAN. (b. in Surinam, a son of Abraham Boemper. md. Philippina Hoeth in 1753 and settled on Head's Creek. Lost his life in an affair with the Indians, near his place, Jan'y 17, 1756.

BONN, JOHN HENRY, } from Skippack.
" JACOB, }

BRODHEAD, GARRET, (a son of Daniel Brodhead of Lower Smithfield. An officer in the Revolution. Descendants of the name living.)

BURNET, WILLIAM, fr. New York.

CORYDON, a negro boy fr. Guinea. Sometime slave of Abraham Boemper. D. at Beth'm Aug., 1748.)

GARRISON, LAMBERT. (b. Aug. 1732 on Staten Island. D. on the Ladrone Islands, after shipwreck, Nov. 1770.)

GARRISON, BENJAMIN, (br. of the above, sometime *mariner.*)

GUNTHER, JACOB, last fr. Skippack, but b. in the Palatinate.

GOEPFERT, last fr. Donegal twp. Lancaster Co., but b. in Switzerland.

HARTMANN, LAWRENCE, fr. Philadelphia.

HIRT, MARTIN, fr. Heidelberg twp.

HORSFIELD, TIMOTHY, (fr. Long Island. In 1766 md. Julianna Parsons, of Phila., youngest dr. of William and Hannah Parsons.)

LESLEY, JOHN F. fr. Conestoga, *shoemaker.* (Lost his life at the Mahoning, Nov. 24, 1755.)

MONTANYE, ABRAHAM, fr. New York.

NOBLE, THOMAS, } fr. New York.
" ISAAC, }

PFEIFFER, FREDERIC, fr. Frederic twp.

PLESS, ABRAHAM, fr. Oley.

RANCKE, JOHN, } fr. Earl twp., Lancaster Co.
" MICHAEL, }

Rieth, Michael, fr. Tulpehocken.
Vetter, Daniel, fr. Oley.

Girls above thirteen years of age.

Antes, Elizabeth.
Bechtel, Mary.
Blum, Ann.
Boerstler, Ann M. } from Oley.
" Elizabeth. }
Cornwell, Elizabeth, (from Long Island.)
Frey, Salome.
" Elizabeth.
Graff, Mary Magdalene.
Guth, Mary (fr. Macungy.)
Heil, Elizabeth.
Jangoch, (an Indian.)
Minier, Mary E. (fr. Heidelberg township.)
Neumann, Catherine.
Orchard, Christiana.
Petersen, Gertrude, (fr. Long Island.)
Pfingstag, Mary, (fr. Philadelphia.)
Rhodes, Eve.
Rubel, Christiana.
Salderbach, Johanna.
Schaefer, Ann.
Weber, Ann Elizabeth.
Ysselstein, Cornelia.
" Eleanor.
" Beata.

Boys under thirteen years of age.

Anders, Gottlieb.
Arden, John.
Beck, David.
Biefel, John.
Boehmer, Frederic.
Bruce, John.
Hagen, Anton.
Hessler, Abraham.
Jorde, Adolph.
" Abraham.
Klotz, Elias.
Leinbach, Abraham.
" Benjamin.
Micksch, David.
Muecke, John.
Miller, Joseph.
" Joseph.
Nixdorf, Samuel.
Noble, James.
Otto, Joseph.
Owen, (a negro.)
Ronner, Anthony.
Schaub, John, (the first white child born on the Nazareth Tract.)
Senseman, Gottlob.
Thomas, (an Indian.)
Utley, Samuel.
Weiss, Matthias.

Girls under thirteen years of age.

Beck, Elizabeth.
Bishoff, Ann.
Beckel, Mary.
Digeon, Mary.
" Elizabeth.
Francke, Ann M.
Gambold, Elizabeth.
Goetje, Mary.
Hirte, Mary.
Hoeppner, Mary.
Jungmann, Ann Mary.
Kohn, Mary.
Krause, Ann C.
Kremser, Rosina.
Liebisch, Hannah.
Leighton, Mary.
Mack, Ann Benigna.
Meurer, Christiana.
Mueller, Salome.
Neisser, Theodora.
Nielsen, Ann.
Ohneberg, Sarah.
Partsch, Elizabeth.
Pyrlaeus, Mary.
Weiss, Catherine.

Infants.

Benjamin, (a mulatto.)
Blum, Daniel.
Buehninger, Christian.
Cammerhoff, Lewis F.
Grabs, Godfrey.
Hartman, John.
Hussey, Joseph, (in Oley.)
Hoepfner, Paul, (in Oley.)
Mack, Gottlob.
Niecke, John.
Oerter, John C., (in Frederic township.)
Oesterlein, John, (at Gnadenhütten).
Pyrlaeus, John C.
Roberts, Nathaniel.
Senseman, Joachim.
Vetter, Nathaniel.
Arden, Johanna.
Froehlich, Benigna.
Jarvis, Sophia.
Meurer, Magdalene.
Micksch, Ann.
Ohneberg, Ann Mary.
Otto, Ann Theodora.
Rice, Elizabeth.
Ronner, Dorothea.
Schober, Johanna Sophia.
Utley, Elizabeth.
Wade, Ann Charity.
Yarrell, Ann Elizabeth.

PHILADELPHIA.

1747–1749.

It is well known that in the early summer of 1742 Count Zinzendorf was formally called by the Lutherans of Philadelphia (who at that time were without a pastor) to assume the charge of their church and to minister to them in the word and sacraments.* His numerous engagements, however, incapacitating him from discharging the duties of a pastorship uninterruptedly, he, with the consent of the petitioners, associated Bro. J. C. Pyrlaeus with him as an assistant, whereupon the latter, whenever the Count was absent, occupied the pulpit in the meeting-house on Arch street, above Fifth, which was held jointly by members of the Lutheran and German Reformed denominations. But on the 29th of July

* See *Büdingische Sammlung*, part XII, No. 4, a, for this vocation.

"Ich fand die Teutsch Lutherische Religion in der Hauptstadt auf eine Scheuer, auf einen Vorleser und etliche ehrliche aber bis in den Tod gedrückte und vollig ermüdete Vorsteher *reducirt*, denen man aus Europa schon sechs Jahre lang abgeschlagen hatte ordentliche Lehrer zuzusenden, weil man wegen des Salarie nicht übereinkommen konnte." Zinzendorf in his *Naturelle Reflexiones*, p. 201.

of the above-mentioned year Pyrlaeus' ministration there summarily terminated; for while in the act of officiating, he was fallen upon by ruffians, dragged from the pulpit, trampled under foot and ejected. Who the actors in this riotous proceeding were,—whether a faction among the Lutherans, or whether adherents of the Rev. Philip Boehm, of Whitpaine, is not clearly stated.* The disgraceful affair, however, created a profound sensation in all circles, was made the subject of a legal action, induced the Count to relinquish the house of worship his right to officiate in which had been disputed, and to erect a church at his own cost, for the free use of as many as were desirous of attending on his ministry, or of maintaining their connection with the Brethren.†

* A number of statements and allusions referring to this affair, are on record in the Büdingische Sammlung. The following extract from a letter written by Secretary Peters to Proprietary Penn, under date of Jan'y 15, 1743, although inaccurate in some of its details, presents others, which appear no where else, and hence are of historical value. "There is a great quarrel between ye Lutherans and Moravians, chiefly on account of principles. The Count's party increasing considerable, the Lutheran minister, Philip Boehm, could not bear it. The Lutheran meeting-house is on a lot of Mr. Allen's, and by contract with the Lutherans as I understand, ye Moravians were to use it every third Sunday. Philip Boehm wanted to hinder them from this contract, and finding no other method would do, one Sunday morning, as Christopher Pyrlaeus was performing Divine service, a party of Lutherans appeared at ye door, and one of them came in and told Pyrlaeus some people wanted to speak with him at ye door. He took no notice of this indecent application, but proceeded in ye service, and the Lutherans finding he would not discontinue, came on him with violence, and drove him and the Moravians out of the meeting-house, and locked ye doors, and have ever since prevented them using that place. The Count got ye Lutherans indicted for a riot, and at the last Quarter Sessions, ye indictment was tried, and ye Lutherans acquitted. There is indeed a mortal aversion between Boehm's congregation and ye Count's people, but upon the whole the Count's party gains ground, having made considerable converts, amongst which I rank Miss Kitty Kearney and Miss Molly Evans. At the instance of the Count and of Mr. Boehler, I tried to soften and accommodate ye differences between ye two parties, and thought I had some influence on Boehm; but ye moment I mentioned it his eyes perfectly struck fire, and he declared with great passion he would as soon agree with ye devil as with ye Count. He is a hot, indiscreet man, and after expatiating on the Christianity of his temper, I left him with abundance of contempt."

† In his "*Naturelle Reflexiones*," Zinzendorf observes: "Ich hatte das Reformirte Haus schon ein halb Jahr verlassen und den Lutheranern eine eigne Kirche auf meine Unkosten erbauet, die noch steht, und von den Philadelphischen Lutheranern noch immer gebraucht wird." We need not be surprised that a declaration of this tenor, and the Count's acknowledged position as head or superin-

A lot, fronting on Race street 35 feet, and running down Moravian alley or Bread street 102 feet, was accordingly secured for the site of the projected building; the foundation-stone was laid on the 10th of Sept. following,* and with such industry was the work prosecuted, that on the 25th of November the first Moravian church erected in Philadelphia was dedicated to the worship of God. It was built of red and black-glazed brick, was 30 by 45 feet, and having a double or hip-roof, afforded room for a chapel or meeting-hall above the audience chamber.† This church stood until the spring of 1819.

In the interval between July 29th and the completion of the church, Pyrlaeus officiated for his charge in the house on Second street, near the north-east corner of Race, which house Zinzendorf

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tendent of the Lutheran church in 1742, subsequently afforded the Lutherans a pretext to claim the Brethren's property on Race St. "We heard a report, as if ye Lutherans of Philadelphia had a mind to take our church from us by fair or unfair means, and to use it for themselves, so as they have done with the church in Tulpehoken." Diary of the Brethren's Church in Philadelphia, Feb. 23, 1748.

* Hymn No. 1794 of "the Eleventh Supplement," treats of this occasion.

† For a full account of this building and its internal arrangements, illustrated with drawings possessed of much character, the reader is referred to Ritter's History of the Moravian Church in Philadelphia.

The lot on which this church was erected, had been devised by Andrew Hamilton, Esq., in his last will and testament, bearing date 31 July, 1741, to his daughter Margaret, who was married to Chief Justice William Allen. August 20, 1743, William Allen and Margaret his wife conveyed the premises, (described as being "a piece of ground containing in breadth east and west 35 feet, and in length or depth 102 feet; bordered northward with Sassafras Street, eastward with a lot of Lawrence Coons, southward with William Pywell's lot, and westward with a certain 20 foot lane or street, agreed to be left open across the lot of William Allen and Margaret his wife on the south side of said Sassafras St., and intended to be continued over the rest of the lots into Mulberry Street,)—together with the appurtenances, to Samuel Powell of Philadelphia, brazier, Joseph Powell of Bethlehem, husbandman, Edward Evans of said city, cordwainer, William Price of the same, carpenter, John Okely and Owen Rice,—under the proportionable part of the yearly quit-rent thereunto to accrue for the same premises to the chief Lord or Lords of the fee thereof, and yielding and paying to the said William Allen and Margaret his wife, and the heirs and assigns of the said Margaret, the yearly rent of £5 5s sterling money of Great Britain, or value thereof in current money of the Province, on the 16 day of November, forever." In conclusion, it may be stated, that Sir Lewis Thurnstein, *i. e.* Count Zinzendorf, David Nitschman, Joseph *alias* Augustus Spangenberg, Henry Antes, John Brownfield and Charles Brockden, were declared Trustees of the above property and the improvements thereon, by the original grantees, by indenture bearing date of April 2, 1746.

and his corps of assistants or "laborers" occupied on his arrival in the country. And here, too, the English brethren and sisters of the first colony, who were removed to Philadelphia in October of 1742, in order to aid in the Brethren's movement, had their first home, living together as members of one family,—in an economy. Thus it appears that Zinzendorf designed to make the capital of the Province one of the centres of Moravian activity, and to operate in the interests of evangelical religion among both the English and the German portions of its population. His last act in Philadelphia, was the organization of a Brethren's Church, or congregation. This he effected on the 12th of January, 1743, from thirty-four persons who had attended his ministry. Having in the evening of that day preached once more to his people in the sanctuary he had erected for them, he set out for New York, on his return to Europe. Between this date and February of 1749, (the limit of the following register), the charge of the Moravian congregation in Philadelphia devolved chiefly on the Brethren Pyrlaeus, Boehler, Rice, Yarrel, Utley, Reutz, Ronner and Reineke. To their pastoral duties, it must not be forgotten, they added those of evangelists, for they preached the Gospel statedly to hearers in Oley, Manatawney, Lancaster, Skippack, the Trap, Neshaminy, Durham, Dover, Three Runs, Lewes, Duck Creek, Maurice River, Penn's Neck, Raccoon, Cohansey, Burlington, Middletown, Trenton, Crosswicks, Maidenhead, Cranberry, Princeton, and on Long and Staten Islands.

In the summer of 1746, the Brethren undertook the erection of a parsonage and a home for such of their number as were engaged in the widely extended domestic mission, of which Philadelphia was the center. Ground was broken for the projected building, in front of the church, on the 30th of June, and as from considerations of economy, they resolved to depend upon the labor of their own hands with occasional assistance from Bethlehem, for the completion of the work, it was the 26th of August, 1747, when they first occupied apartments in the partially finished house.* Thus enlarged, the Moravian building, now fronting on Race St., and surmounted by a gambrel roof, became, by reason of its

* See *Ritter's History of the Moravian Church in Philadelphia*, p. 53, for a view of the parsonage or *Gemeinhaus* of 1746.

quaint architecture, an object of interest to curious passers by, and was for many years a landmark in that busy quarter of the town.* At the last mentioned date, therefore, the Brethren's Economy in Philadelphia, exchanged the premises on Second St., near the north-east corner of Race, which they held in rent of James Parrock, for the home of their own building adjoining their church.

Although several offers of ground for the interment of their dead were made to the Brethren within the first twelve years after their organization as a church,—(one in April of 1747, by Mr. Charles Brockden,—of a plot on his farm, situate within the present limits of the district of Moyamensing,—and a second of a plot of ground on the line of North Third Street,) it was as late as 1757, when they made the much-needed purchase. In May of that year, accordingly, they agreed with the heirs of Joshua Lawrence, for a parcel of ground situate "on the north side of Vine Street, and on the west side of a fifty foot street—subsequently called Lawrence Street, but now Franklin Street,—being eighty feet on Vine Street by one hundred and forty feet on Lawrence Street.† The first interment made within its precincts was that of the remains of Miss Mary Schuttehelm, on the 28th of June, 1757.‡ Their dead, up to that date, were buried in the various burial-grounds in the city,—most of them, in "Potter's Field," now Washington Square.

In accordance with their invariable custom, the Moravians in Philadelphia on finding themselves thus firmly established, turned their attention to educating the children of members of their communion and of others attached to their church. On the 9th of April, 1748, accordingly, Ernest and Eleanor Gambold, began a school in a frame dwelling adjoining the parsonage. Their first pupils were Jacob Worrell, William Daugherty, Samuel, Thomas and Becky Beatson, Julianna and Mary Serfas, Polly Moore and Patience Story.

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* The parsonage was demolished with the church in 1819.

† On the northern portion of this plot, now on the corner of Franklin and Wood Streets, the so-called "First Moravian Church of Philadelphia," was erected in 1855.

‡ On this occasion, an ordinance was passed at Bethlehem, enacting that the grave-stones to be used in the new yard at Philadelphia, should be cut 18 inches long and 12 inches broad, and in other respects be plain and uniform.

Abraham Reincke was settled in the ministry at Philadelphia, between June of 1747 and February of 1749; and a second time for a few months in 1751.

1. MEMBERS OF THE BRETHREN'S CONGREGATION IN PHILADELPHIA, JUNE, 1747.

Brethren.	*Sisters.*
BEATSON, THOMAS, (*Carter.* Baptized May 15, 1743, by Peter Boehler, aged at the time about 40 years.)	BEATSON, MARY.
BECKER, WILLIAM LEWIS, (first mercantile agent for the Brethren of Bethlehem.)	BECKER, ANN MARY, (d. June 6th, 1753.)
BROCKEN,* CHARLES, *md.*	DAVID, JANE, (b. in New York, Oct., 1717. W. of Peter David, *silversmith.* Admitted to membership, 1745. D. Sept. 1752.)
BURDEN,† JOHN, (*wool-comber.*)	BURDEN, SARAH.

* Charles Brockden's name and autograph are familiar to every student of the early deed history of the Province of Penna., as the former is endorsed on all patents of confirmation that were issued from the Proprietaries' Land Office in the interval between 1715 and 1767. Brockden was born in England in Oct., 1681, and before he attained his majority, emigrated to America, it is said, at the instance of influential friends, who had reason to believe that it was designed to implicate him in a plot which was directed by the Jacobites against the life of William III. In Philadelphia he entered the employ of Thomas Story the Penns' first keeper of the Great Seal and Master of the Rolls. On Story's retiring from office in 1715, Charles Brockden was appointed his successor, and for upwards of forty years, that is, until the infirmities of age rendered his further incumbency unsatisfactory to Governor John Penn, was Recorder of Deeds for the City and County of Phila., Master of the Rolls, and Keeper and Recorder of the Laws. Official relations with Count Zinzendorf in 1742, proved the means of his subsequent attachment to the Moravians, which extended over a period of twenty years, during which time he approved himself an eminently useful as well as a devoted member of that body.—It was in October of 1743 that he was admitted to their communion.—Brockden was twice married. His first wife Susanna died in May, 1747, and although professedly belonging to the Society of the Friends, was, in accordance with her request, buried on her husband's farm. Five of his children by his second wife Mary, were bapt'd by Moravian clergyman—viz: John, by Spangenberg in Aug. of 1749. He d. Aug., 1756;—Charles, by A. Reincke in Sept., 1751—Mary, by the same in Sept., 1752—Richard, by Valentine Haidt in Nov., 1754, he d. July, 1756;—and John, by Jasper Payne, in Sept., 1756. Charles Brockden d. October 20th, 1769, aged 95 years and 6 months, it is thought at his country-seat "Hospitality," in West Jersey, and was buried in his family burial-ground. Charles Brockden Brown, the novelist, b. Jan'y, 1771, d. Feb., 1810, was a grandson of the subject of this memior.

† This from the "Diary of the Moravian Church in Philadelphia," under date of April 3, 1744. "There is an aged woman, Sarah Warren by name, said to be 104 years old, residing at Burdens', who is concerned about her soul's salvation."

HERRINBOM, JOHN, (*tailor.* A native of Sweden, resided at Wicaco. D. Dec. 1751, and was buried in the Swedes' graveyard at Wicaco.)

HERRINBOM, SARAH. (Md. David Sussholz, in Sept., 1752.)

MOORE, JOHN, single. (*Blacksmith,* bapt'd by Peter Boehler Aug., 1744.)

MOORE, JENNIE, single. (Bapt'd by Spangenberg, Feb, 1747. D. March, 1756, in the 50th year of her age and buried in the Quaker burial-ground.)

NICKSON, WILLIAM, (*cedar-cooper.* b. Dec., 1714, on the Manor of Hamilton, Ireland. Admitted to membership May, 1743. Went to New York in 1755. Thence to Beth'm in 1758. Thence to New York in 1764. D. Oct., 1775, at Elizabeth Town, N. J.)

NICKSON, REBECCA.

PYNYARD, JOSEPH, (admitted to membership in March, 1746.)

PYNYARD, CATHERINE.

STORY, ENOCH, (d. Oct., 1748.)

DAUGHERTY, BETTY. (Admitted to membership in Sept., 1745.)

STOW, CHARLES.

DWIGHT, ———, (w. *nurse.*)

WORRELL JR., JOHN, (*carter.* Bapt'd by Spangenberg, Aug., 1746.)

WORRELL, ALICE, (bapt'd by P. Boehler, March, 1743.)

WORRELL, HANNAH ELIZABETH, (w. bapt'd by P. Boehler, Jan'y, 1744.)

FORDHAM, HANNAH. (Admitted Sept. 1745.)

HOPE, SALLY, (s.)

HOLSTEIN, ELIZABETH, (w. of Andrew Holstein of Pile's Grove, West Jersey. D. at Phila., Nov. 1747, and was buried in Potter's Field.)

PRICE, ANN E.

SPROGEL, MARY, (w. of John Sprogel, *saddler.* bapt'd by Spangenberg, March, 1736.)

2. NAMES OF PERSONS IN PHILADELPHIA ATTACHED TO THE BRETHREN, JUNE, 1747.

COLLINS, JOHN, (s.)

BENEZET, MRS. DANIEL.

HESSELIUS, GUSTAVUS, (*organ-builder;* a Swede.)

BIDDLE, HANNAH, (s.)

COATES, ——, (w. of John Coates, Jr.)

HOLSTEIN, ANDREW, (a Swede. Removed to Phila. fr. West Jersey, in the Spring of 1747.)

STOW, LYDIA, (w. of Charles Stow.)

STURGIS, JANE, (w. mother of Cornelius Sturgis.)

POTTS, WILLIAM, (md. *parchment-maker.*)

SUTOR, ELIZABETH.

FORDHAM, BETTY, (s.)

STURGIS, CORNELIUS.

FURNESS, ——.

Sctor, William.

Greaves. ——, (w. relict of Greaves, ——, *sea-captain.*)
Holstein, Elizabeth.
Jones, Elizabeth.
Lee, Mary.
Lueckhorn, ——.
Payne, Sarah, (s.)
Parsons, Ann Molly, (dr. of William and Hannah Parsons. Bapt'd by Boehler, Jan'y 1746. md. Jacob Rogers.)
Parsons, Susanna. (Sister of the above. Bapt'd by Matthew Reutz, Oct. 13, 1746. d. Oct. 17, 1746, and was buried in "Potter's Field.")
North, ——, (w.)
Redman, Patty. (s. Bapt'd by Spangenberg, Nov., 1759.)
Ripley, ——, (w.)
Story, ——, (w. of Enoch Story.)
Stow, Molly, (s.)

3. NAMES OF GERMANS IN PHILADELPHIA, ATTACHED TO, OR IN COMMUNION WITH THE MORAVIANS, JUNE, 1747.

Men.	*Women.*
Althomus, ——. (D. Sept. 1747.)	
Bube, Jacob. (D. Oct. 1748.)	
Edenborn, Martin. (Resided 3 miles from town. D. March, 1748, and was buried in "Potter's Field.")	
Etter, Peter, (*stocking-weaver*, removed to Boston.)	Etter, Rosina, d. June, 1755.)
	Etter, Mrs. Daniel.
Francke, Jacob, (*shoemaker.*)	Francke, Margaret, (communicant.)
Fenstermacher, Christmann, (widower, communicant. Md. widow Barbara Leibert in May, 1749. Subsequent to 1762 removed to Litiz, Pa. Was merchant there and d. in 1768.)	
Gus, John Adam, (*hatter.* b. May, 1712 in Rosenthal, Hesse Cassel. Immigrated in 1740. D. Nov. 1801 in the 93d year of his age.)	Gus, Elizabeth, (d. July, 1763.)
Heil, George Thomas.	Heil, Susan, (d. Aug., 1780.)
Hencke, Joachim.	
Illig, John Philip, (d. Sept., 1767.)	Illig, Amelia, (m. s. Ulrich, d. June, 1787, aged 92 years.)

KINZING, ABRAHAM, (d. Dec., 1759.)

KINZING, MARGARET, (d. Feb., 1786, in the 93d year of her age, and was buried by Rev. Wm. White D.D., Rector of Christ Church and St. Peter's Church, Phila.)

KRAFT, NICHOLAS, (*book-binder.*)

JONES, ——.

LOESCHER, GEORGE, (resides 2 miles from town.)

LEIBERT, BARBARA, (b. in Rhenish Bavaria, md. Michael Leibert in 1726. He d. in Sept. 1742. md. Fenstermacher in May, 1749. D. at Bethlehem, Dec. 1790, at which date, two of her sons, George and Martin resided at Emmaus, Northampton Co. Pa.)

MILLER, DANIEL, (*potter.*) Bapt'd by Boehler, Dec., 1743.)

SERFAS, PHILIP, (communicant. Removed to Head's Creek, Upper Northampton, in 1754. D. on his farm in Chestnut Hill township in 1786. Serfas assisted in building the Moravian Church in Phila., in 1742. Descendants of the name living.)

SERFAS, MARY CATHERINE, (communicant.)

SCHUELER, CHRISTOPHER.

SHUTTEHELM, ADAM, (d. May, 1789, aged 76 years. The name was changed by descendants into Helm.)

SHUTTEHELM, ANN MARGARET, (d. March, 1805.)

SUSSHOLZ, DAVID, (sometime an Elder in the Lutheran Church. Communicant.)

SUSSHOLZ, MARY C., (d. April, 1752.)

WEISS, JACOB, (*periwig-maker.* Immigrated in 1740. Father of Jacob Weiss, b. Aug. 1750 in Phila., the founder of Weissport. Descendants of the name living.)

ZWIEBLER, DANIEL, (*physician.* Sometime an inhabitant of Georgia. d. June, 1749.)

4. NAMES OF PERSONS WHO MEET STATEDLY FOR SOCIAL WORSHIP IN "THE MORAVIAN HOUSE" IN PHILADELPHIA, MAY, 1749.

(*Die Philadelphische Haus Viertelstunde.* A. R.)

Brethren.	*Sisters.*
BECKER, WILHELM L.	BECKER, ANN M.
BROCKDEN, CHARLES.	DAVID, JANE.
FENSTERMACHER, CHRISTMANN.	HOPE, SALLY.
FRANCKE, JACOB.	FRANCKE, MARGARET.
GAMBOLD,* ERNEST.	GAMBOLD, ELEANOR.

*Greening, James.
Greening, Elizabeth.
Gus, John Adam.
Gus, Elizabeth.
Herrinbom, John.
Herrinbom, Sarah.
Nickson, William.
Nickson, Rebecca.
*Reincke, Abraham.
Reincke, Sarah.
Shuttehelm, Adam.
Shuttehelm, Ann Mary.
Sturgis, Cornelius.
Leibert, Barbara.
Sussholtz, David.
Parsons, Hannah, (w. of William Parsons, Surveyor-General. B. 1699, in Germany. Bapt'd by Cammerhoff, Jan. 1751. D. at Beth'm, March, 1773.)
Worrell, John.
Worrell, Alice.
Sprogel, Mary.

5. PUPILS IN THE BOARDING SCHOOL FOR GIRLS, AT GERMANTOWN,* MAY, 1748.

Beck, Christiana.
Becker, Polly.
Edmonds, Rebecca, } drs. of William
Edmonds, Mary, } and Rebecca Edmonds, of New York.
Francke, Margaret.
Horsfield, Elizabeth, (*stewardess*)
Kingston, Molly, (fr. New York.)
Klemm, Susan, (dr. of Susan Klemm, widow of Frederic Klemm, *baker*, Phila. who d. Oct. 1744.)
Klotz, Ann Mary.
Lack, Elizabeth.
Montanye, Rebecca.
Moore, Becky.
Nickson, Becky.
Price, Susan, (*assistant.*)
Price, Mary.
Rose, Mary, (*elderess.*)
Rose, Ann.
Sieg, ——, (dr. of Paul Sieg.)
Smout, Sally, (dr. of Edward Smout Esq., of Lancaster.)
Worrell, Mary.
Wright, Margaret, } (drs of George and
Wright, Catherine, } Rebecca Wright.)

* In January of 1746, sundry residents of Germantown, to wit: John Peter Müller, Engelbert Lack, Jean de Dier, Peter Hoffman, Anthony Gilbert, Cornelius Weygand, Marcus Münzer and Hans Gerster, in behalf of themselves and others, made application to the Brethren at Bethlehem, desiring them to open a school for girls in their town. John Bechtel, at the same time, offering the use of his house and lot toward the project, arrangements were completed on the premises for boarders as well as day scholars, and on Sept. 21, the school was opened. James and Elizabeth Greening of Bethlehem were first intrusted with its supervision. The first boarders were five girls, late inmates of a girl's school at Nazareth.

In February of 1747, Mr. Bechtel donated a piece of ground in the rear of his property, for a Moravian burying-place. In April of that year, there were fifty children in attendance at this school. It was discontinued in May of 1749.

It should not be forgotten, that the first school conducted by the Moravians in this country, was one opened in the spring of 1742, in the house occupied by Zinzendorf and his corps of assistants in Germantown. His daughter Benigna was sometime one of the tutoresses. On the 28th of June of that year, the inmates were removed to Bethlehem, and domiciled in the so-called "Gemeinhaus."

MARTHA, a Mohegan of Shecomeco (*servitress.*)
MARY ANN, *alias* "Little Dove," a Mohegan of Shecomeco.
YSSELSTEIN, RACHEL.
YSSELSTEIN, SARAH.

BRETHREN AND SISTERS IN CHARGE OF THE ABOVE SCHOOL.

*PAYNE, JASPER, and Elizabeth his wife.
*MICHLER, J. WOLFGANG, and Rosina his wife.
*SHAUB, JOHN F. and Divert Mary his wife.
BOERSTLER, ANN MARY, (fr. Oley.)
HICKEL, JUDITH, (immigrated in Jan'y, 1747.)
WATERS, MOLLY.

6. MEMBERS OF THE BRETHREN'S CONGREGATION IN PHILADELPHIA, JANUARY 8th, 1749.

Brethren.	*Sisters.*
BECKER, WILLIAM L.	BECKER, ANN MARY.
BROCKDEN, CHARLES.	
FENSTERMACHER, CHRISTMANN.	FENSTERMACHER, BARBARA, (late widow Leibert.)
FRANCKE, JACOB.	FRANCKE, MARGARET.
GUS, JOHN ADAM.	GUS, ELIZABETH.
HEIL, THOMAS.	HEIL, SUSAN.
HOETH, FREDERIC, (fr. Zweibrücken. Immigrated in 1748. *Baker.* Removed with his family to Long Valley, in Upper Northampton in 1752. Was surprised and killed in his farm-house on Head's (Hoeth's) creek, by hostile Indians in the evening of Dec. 10, 1755.)	HOETH, JOHANETTE, (killed by the Indians, Dec. 10, 1755.)
HERRINBOM, JOHN.	HERRINBOM, SARAH.
HESSELIUS, GUSTAVUS.	
ILLIG, JOHN PHILIP.	ILLIG, AMELIA.
*KNOLTON, WILLIAM P.	KNOLTON, HANNAH.
KRAFT, NICHOLAS.	KRAFT, CATHERINE E.
NICKSON, WILLIAM.	NICKSON, REBECCA.
PFINGSTAG, MICHAEL, (D. Feb., 1758.)	PFINGSTAG, ROSINA, (D. Oct., 1765.)
SERFAS, PHILIP.	SERFAS, MARY CATHERINE.
SHUTTEHELM, ADAM.	SHUTTEHELM, ANN MARGARET.
WEBER, TOBIAS.	WEBER, MARGARET.
WEISS, JACOB.	WEISS, m. n. Cock, REBECCA.
WORREL, JOHN.	WORREL, ALICE.
Three Negroes and one Mulatto.	MARY, a negress.

7. NAMES OF "PILGRIMS"* IN PHILADELPHIA, FEBRUARY, 1749.

Married Brethren.	*Married Sisters.*
GAMBOLD,* ERNEST.	GAMBOLD, ELEANOR.
*NILSEN, JONAS.	NILSEN, ANN MARGARET.
OKELY,* JOHN.	OKELY, ELIZABETH.
*POWELL, SAMUEL.	POWELL, MARTHA.
*SPANGENBERG, JOSEPH.	SPANGENBERG, MARY.
Single Brethren.	*Single Sisters.*
ANDREW, a negro.	ANTES, ANN.
HOPSON, JOHN.	
WADE,* JOHN.	

8. MEMBERS OF THE BRETHREN'S CONGREGATION IN GERMANTOWN, FEBRUARY, 1749.†

Brethren.	*Sisters.*
DOEHLING,* JACOB.	BOERSTLER, ANN MARY, (single.)
LEINBACH, JOHN.	LEINBACH, CATHERINE.
LACK, JOHN ENGELBERT, (imported on the ship "Pennsylvania Merchant," in Sept., 1731. The Synod of Pennsylvania sat in his house in May, 1747. D. in July, 1768.)	
MUELLER, J. PETER, (*shoemaker.* D. in Nov.. 1753.)	
MUENZER, MARCUS.	
*PAYNE, JASPER.	PAYNE, ELIZABETH.
*TURNER, JOHN.	TURNER, do.
WERNER, PHILIP CHRISTOPHER, (d. Sept. 22, 1752.)	

* After having been relieved from this office of "General Elder of the Brethren's congregations in America," and prior to his taking ship for Europe, Bishop Spangenberg in February of 1749, took up his abode temporarily in the Moravian house on Race Street. Here he surrounded himself with a small corps of assistants, with whom he labored in the Gospel, in the city as well as in its neighborhood. A domestic mission among the colored population of the town, urthermore, was inaugurated by these so styled "Pilgrims." Spangenberg's stay in Philadelphia was prolonged into the month of September following, as his orders were to await the return of Bishop de Watteville from the West Indies, and to accompany him to London.

† Several of these were from Bethlehem, and were connected with the school; others had been attendants on Zinzendorf's ministry, or had attached themselves to the Brethren, during Spangenberg, Nitschman and Boehler's sojourn in Pennsylvania in the interval between 1736 and 1742.

LANCASTER.

Towards the close of the year 1742, Zinzendorf made the circuit of the German settlements in Macungy, Oley, Heidelberg, Tulpehocken and Conestoga for the last time before his return to Europe. Accompanied by Andrew Eschenbach, Anna Nitschmann and John Jacob Müller, his amanuensis, he set out from Bethlehem on the 2nd of December and in Warwick township, Lancaster County, preached one evening at the house of Jacob Huber, a farmer residing near Carter's Run.* The next day he held forth to a large audience in the court-house at Lancaster; and here it was that George Klein (one of Huber's neighbors) who, despite a prejudice he entertained against the Count, had followed him to the town, was not only much affected by what he heard, but was also moved to join others in requesting him to supply their neighborhood with the Gospel ministry. This Zinzendorf promised to do, and accordingly Jacob Lischy first, and then others from Bethlehem were appointed to itinerate in Warwick, and in the remote parts of what then constituted Lancaster, and Berks counties.

In this way the Brethren were brought to make a settlement in Warwick township, (called Litiz since 1756), and to collect a congregation in the town of Lancaster.

The Rev. Lawrence T. Nyberg was entrusted with the care of the latter congregation in 1745. Being a Lutheran by birth and education, and yet warmly attached to and cooperating with the Brethren in their movement, he drew upon himself as well as upon those in whose interests he labored, the ill will of the Lutherans. Thus animosities were engendered, and contentions ensued which culminated in a personal assault upon Spangenberg, while he was preaching in the court-house at Lancaster, on the first Sunday in Advent of the above-mentioned year. Twelve months after this riotous proceeding, the brethren dedicated a church they had erected on Orange Street to the worship of God. The building was of stone, and stood until 1821. In December of 1750 they completed a parsonage and school, "*Gemeinhaus*," which is still standing.†

* The stream which heads in "Litiz Spring," so called for Richard Carter who was appointed Constable for Warwick township in 1729, the year of said township's erection.

† The lot on which this church was built extended originally 252 feet on Orange

Abraham Reincke was settled in the ministry at Lancaster, between February of 1749 and November of 1750.

MEMBERS OF THE BRETHREN'S CONGREGATION IN LANCASTER,* FEBRUARY 28, 1749.

Brethren.	*Sisters.*
BENDER, LEONHARD, (a deacon in the Lutheran church. Resides on the Conestoga, one mile east from the town)	BENDER, MARY MARGARET.
DE HOFF, JOHN.	
EBERMAN, JOHN.	
GANTHER, PETER, (an Elder in the German Reformed Church.)	GANTHER, SUSAN.
GRAAF,† JOHN.	GRAAF, CATHERINE.
JUNG, MATTHEW, (a Trustee of the Church. D. in July, 1749.)	JUNG, ANN MARGARET.
JUNG, MARCUS.	JUNG, CHRISTIANA.
KRAEMER, MICHAEL.	KRAEMER, CATHERINE.
RIEHM, TOBIAS.	RIEHM, MARTHA.

Street, between Prince Street on the west, and a fourteen foot alley on the east. It was conveyed 20 Nov., 1747, by Matthew Jung, merchant, to Mark Jung, cordwainer,—and by him, 25 Sept., 1748, to Sebastian Graaf, John Hopson, Timothy Horsfield and others, for the use of the Brethren.

* Lancaster County was erected "from the backs parts of the Province towards Susquehanna," in May of 1729, and in May of 1730 Gov. Gordon approved of the choice of land made by John Wright and others for the "townstead of Lancaster," lying as they reported, on or near a small run of water, between the plantations of Rudy Meyer, Michael Schenk and Jacob Immel, about 10 miles from the Susquehanna. Rev. John F. Handschuh of the Lutheran church, writes as follows of the town of Lancaster in 1748. "It has about 400 houses, and the residents are principally Germans. The reputation of its neighborhood for fertility of soil and productiveness in the necessaries of life, proves a great attraction to immigrants, and hence the town is rapidly growing in size and population. Our church is a commodious building. Other churches are the German Reformed, the Catholic and the Moravian. The Episcopalians are erecting one. The Moravians are much at fault for having through the agency of Mr. Nyberg, who formerly belonged to our persuasion, sown dissension among both the Lutheran and German Reformed elements of the town."

† The Graafs came from Switzerland. Hans Graaf, the first of the name in the country, is said to have immigrated prior to 1700. In 1717 he settled on Grove's Run, in West Earl, which township perpetuates by a play of words, the name of the Graafs, *i. e.* the Counts or Earls. Others of the family immigrated subsequently, and thus the connection grew to be numerous. The "Hans Graaf Society" of Lancaster, meets annually in remembrance of this early pioneer.

SMOUT, EDWARD.*
THOMAS, JOHN.
SMOUT, ANN ELIZABETH, (late widow Price of Philadelphia.)
ZIEGLER, ANN BARBARA, (widow.)

NOVEMBER, 1749.

GALLATIN, JACOB, fr. (Switzerland.)
GRAAF, GEORGE.
GRAAF, CATHERINE.

AUGUST, 1750.

SCHWARTZ, CONRAD.
SCHWARTZ, SUSAN.
BECK, REGINA, (single.)
KRAEMER, CATHERINE, (wife of Michael Kraemer.)
THOMAS, CHRISTIANA.

JANUARY, 1751.

HAENNIG, JACOB.
HOPSON, JOHN, (md. widow Jung.)
THOMAS, JOHN JR.
HAENNIG, ELIZABETH.
GALLATIN, ELEANOR.
THOMAS, SALOME.
FREY, ANN E.

"*Our church in Lancaster was commenced Sept* 10, 1746. *The foundation-stone (der Grundstein) was laid on the* 11*th of the same month; and on November* 30*th, it being the first Sunday in Advent, the building was dedicated to the worship of God by the Brethren Nyberg and Lischy. The parsonage (das Gemein-haus) was commenced April* 10, 1750*; the foundation-stone was laid on the* 17*th of the month; on the* 27*th of Sept. it was dedicated by Bro. Cammerhoff, and in December it was occupied by the Brethren Nixdorff and Neisser.*" *A. R.*

NAMES OF PERSONS IN LANCASTER, ATTACHED TO THE BRETHREN, FEBRUARY, 1749.

(*Society Members. A. R.*)

Men.	*Women.*
BENDER, LEONHARD, (single.)	BENDER, BARBARA, (md.)
do. MICHAEL, do.	BALSPACH, ANN MARY, (single.)
BOMBERGER, MARTIN.	BOMBERGER, ELIZABETH.
CLAUSER, JACOB, (single.)	BALSPACH, GERTRUDE, (single.)
CURR, LUDWIG, do.	

* A man of note in the times of the early settlement of Lancaster County, Mr. Smout's name occurs frequently in the public records of the Province. While a Justice of the Peace in 1736, he figured in the war of the borders between Maryland and Pennsylvania, and was reported to President Logan by partisans of Lord Baltimore, as "one of the persons concerned in the felonious burning of the late dwelling-house of Thomas Cressap with all his goods, and in the murdering of Laughlin Malone." From a bitter opponent he became a warm friend of the Brethren, placed his children at their schools and contributed generously toward the support of the Indian mission. In March of 1747 he came to Bethlehem with choice grafts, to graft the fruit trees in the orchards of the settlement.

De Hoff, John, (single.)	
do. Abraham.	De Hoff, Susan.
Dressler, David.	Ebermann, Julianna, (md.)
Eichholz, Jacob.*	Eichholz, Ann Catherine.
Fischer, Jacob, (single.)	
Franciscus,† ——.	
Gallatin, Abraham.	Gallatin, Molly.
Goerner, John.	Goerner, Susan.
do. Paul, (single.)	
Graaf, Sebastian, (a trustee of the church.)	Graaf, Eve.
Gutjahr, John Christian.	Gutjahr, Margaret F.
Harttafel, Robert.	Harttafel, ——.
Hœhner, Christian, (s.)	
Hoenig, Jacob.	Hoenig, Elizabeth.
Hoffman, Valentine, (s.)	
Jesrong, George D.	Jesrung, Ann Margaret.
Jung, John.	Jung, ——.
Kampf, Adam, (md.)	
Kieffer, Peter, (s.)	Kielwein, Barbara, (s.)
Klein, Leonhard.	Klein, Rosina.
Koch, John.	Koch, Dorothea.
Kreamer, John Adam.	Kraemer, Susan E.
Krebs, Jno. Nicholas.	Kron, Ann Catherine, (s.)
Kohl, Conrad.	Kohl, Barbara.
Kron, Philip.	Kron, Ann Mary.
Kuhnz, Jacob.	Kuhnz, Ann Margaret.
Mueller, Jacob.	Mueller, Mary Agnes.
do. Conrad, (s.)	Meyer, Ann Mary, (md.)
Protzmann, Christopher, (md.)	Metz, Christiana.
Reigert, Ulrich.	Reigert, ——.
Reigert, Christopher, (s.)	
Rieihm, Adam, (widower.)	Rœsler, Ann Mary.
do. Christopher.	
Rœmich, Philip.	Rœmich, ——.
Rœser, Matthew.	Rœser, Christianna.
Reutzel, Hans George.	Reutzel, ——.
Schenk, John G.	Schenk, Margaret.
Schneider, Melchoir.	Schmetzer, Barbara, (widow.)
do. Anton.	Schmidt, Mary.
do. Philip.	
do. Simon.	

* A wagon-master in Braddock's expedition against Fort Du Quesne.

† The Franciscuses came from Switzerland. Christopher Franciscus was one of the first settlers of Pequea. For endurance and daring this family stood high among the pioneers of Lancaster County. See *Rupp's History of Lancaster County.*

Schwartz, Hans G.
Schweitzer, Henry.
Seger, Frederic.
Stoll, Hans G. (s.)
Weidel, Frederic.
do. Christian, (s.)
Wessenkessler, Jacob.
Weybrecht, Martin, (widower.)
Ziegler, William, (d. May, 1750.)

Schwartz, ——.
Schweitzer, Susan.
Seger, Ann Elizabeth.

Weidel, Gertrude.
do. Ann Barbara, (d. Jan'y 1750.)

PUPILS IN THE BRETHREN'S SCHOOL IN LANCASTER, FEB'Y 1749.*

Boys.

Ballspach, Henry.
Burckhardt, Andrew.
De Hoff, Henry.
do. Matthew.
Eichholz, Jacob.
do John.
Franz, Jacob.
Gallatin, Henry.
Ganther, Conrad.
Gœrner, Hans.
Graaf, George.
do. Andrew.
do. Conrad.
do. Sebastian.
Henning, Matthew.
Herculrode, Matthew.
do. Lawrence.
Jung, Jacob.
do. Matthew.
Kraemer, George.
Kron, David.
Kuhnz, Francis.
Mueller, Jacob.
do. George.
Reigert, John Adam.
Roeser, Matthew.
Schwartz, Conrad.

Girls.

Ballspach, Ann Margaret.
Becker, Catherine.
Brecht, Mary.
do. Catherine.
Conner, Ann.
do. Hannah.
De Hoff, Susan.
Eberman, Dorothea.
Eichholz, Elizabeth.
Ganther, Ann Margaret.
Gœrner, Philippina.
do. Christiana.
do. Susan.
Graaf, Elizabeth.
do. Catherine.
Henning, Ann Marg't.
do. Catherine.
Jung, Ann Mary.
do. Ann Catherine.
Koch, Mary Elizabeth.
do. Catherine.
Kuhnz, Ann Marg't.
do. Elizabeth.
Mueller, Catherine.
Roeser, Margaret.
Schwartz, Catherine
Thomas, Ursula.
do. Rosina.
do. Ann Marg't.

* At this date the school was in charge of George and Susan Ohneberg of Bethlehem. It was conducted only as a day-school.

WARWICK TOWNSHIP, LANCASTER COUNTY, PA.

It has been shown above how the Brethren came to include Warwick township within the field of their domestic mission. Their itinerants from Bethlehem, beginning with Jacob Lischy, at first assembled their hearers in the farmers' houses, when, in 1745, on the completion of the church of St. James, (which was built for the Rev. Lawrence T. Nyberg by his Lutheran adherents), near the site of the present village of Litiz, they occupied its pulpit. But in 1747 those of the settlers who had become attached to the Brethren, resolved to erect a school and meeting-house which they could call their own, and in which they might worship undisturbed. Toward this project George Klein* donated nine acres of land, at the lower or eastern end of his farm on Carter's Run. On the 29th of March, 1747, Daniel Neubert, of Bethlehem, formally laid the foundation-stone of the building. In February of 1748 it was occupied by Leonhard and Elizabeth Schnell. On the 9th of February, 1749, the meeting-hall was dedicated to the worsbip of God by Bishops Spangenberg and de Watteville. The *Gemeinhaus* in Warwick, like other Moravian houses in rural districts, served at once as church, parsonage and school.†

The church of St. James, a structure of hewn logs (which in 1748 reverted to the Brethren, and in whose yard they buried their dead for many years) stood as late as 1771. It, as well as the *Gemeinhaus,* were within the limits of the Moravian tract on which Litiz was laid out in 1756.

In addition to his charge at Lancaster, Abraham Reincke was called to minister to the Brethren's congregation in Warwick township on the day of its organization, Feb. 9, 1749.

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* George Klein, from Kirchart, circle of the Lower Rhine, Baden, settled in Warwick township prior to 1740, and took up several successive tracts of land, until he was the owner of 600 acres, which subsequent to his removal to Bethlehem in 1755, he conveyed to the Brethren. On this tract Litiz was laid out, as stated above, in 1756. One Proprietary patent to George Klein for 296½ acres is dated July 14, 1741; a second, for 32½ acres, is dated Dec. 12, 1747. Klein died at Bethlehem in July of 1783. He is popularly known as the founder of Litiz.

† Subsequent to 1763 this house was used solely for a school. Being a log structure, it was taken down in the spring of 1766, aad re-erected opposite the present church in Litiz, where it was consumed, it is said, in the fire of July 16, 1837.

MEMBERS OF THE BRETHREN'S CONGREGATION IN WARWICK TOWNSHIP, FEBRUARY, 1749.

Brethren.	*Sisters.*
KLEIN, GEORGE, (an Elder in the Lutheran Church.)	KLEIN, ANNA.
KIESEL, HANS GEORGE, (a Deacon in the Reformed Church.)	KIESEL, CHRISTIANA.
RODY, HENRY.	RODY, VERONA.
SCHERZER, JACOB.	SCHERZER, APOLLONIA.

NAMES OF PERSONS IN WARWICK TOWNSHIP, ATTACHED TO THE BRETHREN.

(*Society Members.* A. R.)

Men.	*Women.*
BENDER, HANS.	BENDER, VERONA, (d. April, 1749.)
BIEHLER, DAVID.	BIEHLER MARGARET.
BŒHLER, MARTIN.	BŒHLER, ESTHER.
BORT, ANDREW, (d. Oct. 1749.)	BORT, BARBARA.
BOSSERT, HENRY, (d. Sept. 1749.)	BASLER, ANN MARY.
ERB, MICHAEL.	ERB, ANN MARY.
FREY, ANDREW.	FREY, SUSAN.
FREY, CHRISTOPHER.	FREY, ANN MARGARET.
GROSH, VALENTINE.	GROSH, BARBARA.
HEIL, JACOB.	HEIL, CATHERINE.
HILTON, DAVID.	HILTON, MARY.
HUETTER, CHRISTIAN.	HUETTER, MARGARET.
JONES, JACOB.	JONES, JULIANA.
KLEIN, MICHAEL.	KLEIN, DOROTHEA.
KLING, CHRISTIAN.	KLING, MARGARET.
LEHN, HENRY, (Mennonite.)	HERCULRODE, ——, (widow.)
LEHN, PAUL,	LEHN, LOUISA.
NOHEL, JOHN.	NOHEL, MARGARET.
PALMER, MICHAEL, (d. Sept. 1749.)	PALMER, ELIZABETH.
PALMER, CHRISTIAN.	PALMER, BARBARA.
PLATTENBERGER, JOHN.	PLATTENBERGER, BARBARA.
STEINER, JOHN, (single.)	STAUFFER, BARBARA, (widow.)
SEIP, FRANCIS.	
TSCHUDY, HENRY.	TSCHUDY, CATHERINE.
ZAHM, MICHAEL.	

MACUNGY OR SALISBURY.

Through that fertile region of farming country which stretches between the Little Lehigh and the South Mountain, (comprised,

since 1812, within the limits of Lehigh County), Zinzendorf frequently journeyed in 1742, when on his way to the German settlements of Berks and Lancaster. It had been entered by pioneer immigrants at an early day in the history of the Province, was then already well peopled, and was called by the Indian name of Macungy.* Here, we are told, the good Count was wont to preach the Gospel from house to house, and once with great effect at the house of Henry Ritter,† who resided on Trout Creek, about six miles South by West from Bethlehem.

When in July of 1742, the Brethren's domestic mission was planned and organized, Macungy was assigned to Gottlieb Pezold, who, it is stated in his biography, by his zealous labors laid the foundation of a Moravian church in that district. From forty heads of families, who had been attending his ministry, or that of his successors, a Society in connection with the Brethren, was organized, July 30, 1747. The organization was made at Bethlehem, in order, it is said, to impress its members duly with their near relation to that place. Thereupon Anthony and Elizabeth Wagner, and John and Rosina Munster were settled in Macungy, to minister in the Word and Sacraments, and to superintend a school. On Oct. 1, 1747, Bishop Cammerhoff dedicated a church and parsonage (*Gemeinhaus*), a commodious log-dwelling, which the settlers had completed for the use of the Moravians in the course of the previous summer.

At the date of this Register, the Moravian Domestic Mission in the valley of the Little Lehigh, was confined to Salzburg (now Salisbury) township, which was erected in October of 1752, from the eastern part of Macungy.

In 1758 Jacob Ehrenhardt and Sebastian Knauss, (who in 1747 had been elected deacons or stewards of the Society,) donated jointly one hundred and two acres of land for the erection of a Moravian hamlet. The land lay at the foot of the South Mountain, and included the church and school, and the grounds adjacent.

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* In June of 1752 this name was restricted in its use to the *township* of Macungy, (now comprising Upper and Lower Macungy), which was then erected and organized by order of the Court at Easton.

† Ritter's farm bordered on the road, laid out by order of the Court held at Easton in Dec. of 1756,—"said road to run from the Easton Road, through Bethlehem, thence to the line of Berks County, in Upper Milford Township."

The village was surveyed and laid out in April of 1759, and in April of 1761 it received the name of Emmaus. Emmaus is now a borough, and a station on the line of the East Penn. R. R., five miles south by west from Allentown.

NAMES OF PERSONS IN SALISBURY TOWNSHIP, IN COMMUNION WITH THE BRETHREN, DECEMBER, 1754.

Brethren.	*Sisters.*
Biez, William.	Biez, Magdalene.
Ehrenhardt,* Jacob, (*blacksmith.*)	Ehrenhardt, Barbara, (m. n. Anders.)
Knauss,† Sebastian Henry, (*farmer and wheelwright.*)	Knauss, Ann Catherine, (m. n. Transou.)
Knauss,‡ John Henry, (*farmer and weaver.*)	Knauss, Mary Catherine, (m. n. Roeder.)
Koehler, John.	Koehler, Eve Mary.
Rauschenberger, Frederic.	Rauschenberger, ——.
Schutze, Christian. (See "The Second Sea Congregation," in this register.)	Schutze, Ann Dorothea.
	Wezel, ——, (widow. Relict of the late Conrad Wezel.)

ALLEMAENGEL (LYNN TOWNSHIP, LEHIGH CO.)

In 1753 the extreme western corner of Northampton County, drained by the sources of the Ontalaunee or Maiden Creek, was

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* Jacob Ehrenhardt, one of the founders of Emmaus, was born in 1716, at Marstadt, near Worms, Rhein Hessen. His parents John and Ann Magdalene belonged to the Lutheran Church, in whose tenets they educated their son. He immigrated to Pennsylvania in the autumn of 1739, settled in Macungy, and in 1740 married Barbara Anders. By her he had ten children, three sons, and seven daughters, descendants of whom are still found in the old Macungy settlement and elsewhere. His connection with the Brethren dates from the year 1742. Jacob Ehrenhardt d. July, 1760.

† Sebastian Henry, and John Henry Knauss, the ancestors of the Moravian family of Knauss, were the sons of Louis and Ann Margaret Knauss, m. n. Gœrlach. Sebastian, one of the founders of Emmaus, was born in Tittelsheim, near Frankfort-on-the-Main, in October, 1714. His parents were members of the Reformed Church. Both brothers immigrated to Pennsylvania in 1732, and settled in the region of country back of Pottstown, then called Falckner's Swamp. Here Sebastian learned his trade with Henry Antes, the pious layman of Frederic township, through him he was made acquainted with the Brethren. Knauss visited Bethlehem for the first time in 1742, one year after he had married and settled in Macungy. By his wife he had eleven children, eight boys, and three girls, of whom it is quaintly recorded "that they were of small stature, with an abundance of red hair, talkative and good-natured."

erected into a township and called Lynn. This then remote and border region of country had been entered by Germans prior to 1735, and thereupon received the name of Allemängel, which in their tongue signifies "utter destitution." When in July of 1742 the Moravians in Bethlehem began to send out their evangelists into the German settlements of the Province, they sent George Schneider of Zauchtenthal to Allemängel. He found it well peopled, and among the inhabitants a number of families who had immigrated to New York in 1709 under the auspices of Queen Anne, but who, after a succession of hardships and disappointments in that government, thought to better their fortunes on farms of their own in Pennsylvania. Here, however, they were almost entirely destitute as regards religious priviliges, and being nominally Lutherans, they hesitated to accept spiritual ministration at the hands of the Dunkers or German Baptists, who at the time were actively engaged throughout the Province in the work of proselyting.

During Schneider's three months' sojourn among that people, Count Zinzendorf passed through Allemängel, when on his way from the Delaware town of Meniolagameka in the valley of the Aquanshicola, to Tulpehocken. This was in the last week of the aforementioned month of July. With his retinue he passed the night in Charles Volck's barn, and the following morning, before setting out, as was his wont, spoke to the assembled neighbors on matters of religion, and then led in prayer and hymns of praise.

Such was the origin of a Moravian domestic mission in Allemängel, in which Leonard Schnell, John G. Nixdorf and other evangelists from Bethlehem labored occasionally, preaching or teaching from house to house, during the four years following. In 1747, in order to gratify the wish of several heads of families, J. Henry Herzer and Barbara his wife were settled in Allemängel, and steps were taken looking to the organization of a Moravian church. The Herzers were succeeded by Sven Roseen in 1748, he by John Brandmiller in 1740, and he by Henry F. and Sybilla Beck in 1750. Meanwhile, such of the settlers as had united with the Brethren, were regarded as members of the Moravian church in Macungy, and having no place of worship, they repaired thither for the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and on specially festive occasions. But on the 30th of August, 1751, the corner-stone of a

Moravian church and parsonage in Allemängel was solemnly laid, and on the 7th of December the former was dedicated to the worship of God, by Nathaniel Seidel. The parsonage was hereupon occupied by Daniel and Hannah Neubert, and a Moravian congregation was organized. John Henry and Rosina Mœller were settled over this rural charge at the date of the following register.

MEMBERS OF THE MORAVIAN CHURCH IN ALLEMAENGEL, 1754.

Brethren.	*Sis'ers.*
BIWIGHAUSEN, JOHN G., *wheelwright.* B. 1708 in Elshoff, Witgenstein. Immigrated in 1739 with his first wife Christiana m. n. Gerhard. In 1743 resided in Muddy Creek where he united with the Brethren. Removed to Allemängel in 1750. D. March 1788 at Gnadenhütten on the Mahoning in Penn township.)	BIWIGHAUSEN, ANN M., m. n. Hunsecker, fr. Anspach, Zweybrucken. (md. in 1740. D. Oct. 1759.)
DEMUTH, GOTTLEIB. (B. 1716, in Carlsdorf, Moravia. Went to Georgia in 1736. Thence to Penna. in 1739. May, 1740, md. Eve Gutsler. Resided between that date and 1753 in Saucon and Frederic townships. In the last named year removed to Lynn, and thence to Schoeneck in 1756, where he d. Oct. 1776.)	DEMUTH, EVE, m. n. Gutsler.
HALLER, HENRY, (B. 1719 in Alsace. In 1740 md. Ann M. Hunsecker. Admitted to membership in Muddy Creek in Jan'y 1745. Settled in Allemängel in 1751. In 1755 removed to Warwick.)	HALLER, ANN MARY, m. n. Hunsecker.
HAMMER, GEORGE.	HAMMER, ANN MAGDALENE.
HEIL, JOHN.	
HOLDER, SR., JOHN, (B. in London, 1694. Immigrated in 1710 to New York and md. Barbara Volck in 1722.)	HOLDER, BARBARA, m. n. Volck. (Dr. of Andrew Volck, Sr., and Catherine, his wife.)
HOLDER, JR., JOHN, (B. 1725 in Manatawny.)	HOLDER, REBECCA.
LUCKENBACH, ADAM, *schoolmaster.* (B. 1713 in Winckelbach, Hackenburg. Immigrated in 1741. D. in Saucon, 1785.)	LUCKENBACH, EVE MARY.

Luckenbach, John.

Volck, Andrew, (B. May 1721, in the Highlands of New York. Removed fr. Lynn to Schoeneck in 1762, thence in 1768 to Quitopehille.)

Volck, Charles, (B. Nov. 1709, at sea. Removed fr. Lynn to Quitopehille in 1766.)

Volck, George, (B. near Worms, in 1705. Immigrated with his parents in 1709. Was a resident of Friedensthal in 1756. D. in Lynn in 1761.)

Volck, Jacob, (B. 1717 in the Highlands of New York.)

Volck, Mary Margaret, m. n. Romig, fr. the Palatinate.

Volck, Catherine, m. n. Harvey, b. in Plymouth twp. Phila. co.

Volck, Dorothea, m. n. Davis, from Amity township, Phila. co. (After the death of her husband, she md. Andrew Eisenhard of Macungy in 1764.)

Volck, Mary, m. n. Davis, (sister of the above.)

Volck, Catherine, m. n. Meckel, widow. (Relict of Andrew Volck Sr., of "the Meadows" near Worms. With him she immigrated to New York in the autumn of 1709, and settled at the Dans Kammer, near Newburgh. Thence the couple removed to Allemängel, cir. 1735. Old Andrew Volck d. there in Sept. 1747. His widow united with the Moravians in 1749, and d. in Jan'y, 1762, in the 82nd year of her age.)

Note.—On the reoccupation by the Moravians of their lands on the Mahoning, (the site of the Gnadenhütten mission) in 1770, the few remaining members of the congregation in Allemängel removed thither, and were incorporated into that church.

MILL CREEK, (MUEHLBACH.)

The oldest settlement within the limits of the present county of Lebanon was that along Mill Creek, a small branch of the Tulpehocken which drains Mill Creek township and flowing between Schaefferstown and Newmanstown, crosses the county-line into Berks. It was here that a wing of German Baptists, last from Germantown, seated themselves as early as 1716; and hither Conrad Beissel, George Stiefel and others retired into the wilderness to devise that scheme of religion, which the former afterwards per-

fected on the banks of the Cocalico. Moravian itinerants, (among these Jacob Lischy) visited the Mill Creek settlers as early as 1743, in which year, furthermore, "the Synod of Pennsylvania" convened in that district. Not long after this event, the Brethren occupied a school and meeting-house, erected on Mill Creek specially for the use of their evangelists and schoolmasters. It stood on the farm of Michael Brecht, who, with his wife Magdalene, are mentioned in records of 1747, as being among the most active members of the Society there, in connection with the Brethren of Bethlehem. In that year Anthony and Elizabeth Wagner, occupied the school-house, which is stated to have stood "*twelve miles south-west from the Heidelberg Meeting-house*," the site of the latter being within the limits of North Heidelberg township, Berks County.

MUDDY CREEK.*

Muddy Creek heads in Berks County, a few miles north of Adamstown, and dividing East Cocalico and Brecknock townships, Lancaster County, empties into the Conestoga, ten miles south of that place. Along this stream, then in the upper part of Chester, (but since 1729 in Lancaster County), a settlement was commenced by one Eberhard Riehm in 1724. Descendants of old Riehm still reside in and about the village of *Reamstown*, so named after the first proprietor. At the time that Mr. Riehm arrived in that neighborhood it was still occupied by Indians. Venturing into the woods with his wagon and horse, he unloaded his worldly effects under an oak tree, that afforded himself and his small family shelter, until he had blocked up a log cabin, which he built upon what is now (1844) "*Lischer's farm.*" Riehm's nearest mill was on the Brandywine, and his nearest neighbors the settlers on Mill Creek. After clearing a small spot of ground, he procured a warrant and located about 400 acres of land, which, in 1725, were confirmed to him by patent.

Some time in 1742, while on a circuit through the German districts of the Province, Zinzendorf preached at the house of Eber-

* Written invariably *Mode Creek* in Moravian records of that day.

hard Riehm; and on his recommendation the Brethren thereupon fixed upon the settlement on Muddy Creek for the seat of a domestic mission. As the majority of the people were Calvinists, Jacob Lischy was sent among them. This was in the spring of 1743. Thus Muddy Creek became one of several points in Lancaster County at which Lischy preached the Gospel as an itinerant, becoming in this way instrumental in extending the Brethren's influence for good among a population which was almost wholly destitute of religious privileges. In 1745 a school and meeting-house was built by the settlers for the use of the Brethren, on the farm of Henry Haller, Sr. In it, a Synod, composed chiefly of members of the German Reformed Church (attended, however, by Lischy and other Brethren), convened in March of that year. It was thus, as it were, dedicated to its legitimate uses, and soon after occupied by a couple from Bethlehem, whose instructions were, to gather the children of the neighborhood into a school, and to meet with their parents for worship, both in the week and on the Lord's day, whenever an ordained itinerant was not sojourning among them.

On the 28th of May, 1747, Bishop Cammerhoff administered the Lord's Supper to twenty-two persons in the Muddy Creek school-house.

In the summer of 1748, some months after Jacob Lischy's disagreement with the Brethren (which resulted in his withdrawing from their fellowship and uniting with the Church of his birth and education), the latter were refused further use of the meeting-house on Muddy Creek. It is said that Lischy, or Riehm, or Rev. Conrad Templeman, or all of them, were instrumental in depriving the Moravians of this rural pulpit. So much is certain, that Lischy about this time succeeded in extorting from Haller a promise, that within ten years, he, Haller, would make him a deed for the lot on which the school-house stood, although Lischy was named in the original deed one of several "Trustees for and in behalf of the congregation in connection with the Brethren worshipping at Muddy Creek." Riehm was known to be displeased with the Moravians for having refused to entertain an offer made by him, on their coming into the neighborhood, to build a meeting-house for their use on his farm. Urged, as is said, by Lischy, he now took an active part in the movement against the Brethren

and spoke openly of making his tract of seven hundred acres the seat of a religious society, such as was at Bethlehem, arguing that as he was the proprietor of two hundred acres of land more than the Brethren, the feasibility of his project could not be questioned. It was natural that Templeman, who was a clergyman of the Reformed Church, should have failed to appreciate the Brethren's motives in operating among a people who belonged to his own confession of faith.

Thus it happened that at the date of this register the settlers on Muddy Creek who were attached to the Brethren, were without a resident spiritual advisor; for since August of 1748, Henry and Barbara Beck had been living with Michael Rancke, whose farm lay nine miles to the South of the deserted school, in Earl township, Lancaster County. From here they statedly visited their charge.

NAMES OF PERSONS ALONG MUDDY CREEK ATTACHED TO THE BRETHREN IN 1749.

Men.	*Women.*
Brendel, George.	Brendel, Eve Catherine.
Haller, Henry.	Haller, Ann Mary.
Rancke,* Michael, (an Elder in the Reformed Church—resided in Earl township, Lancaster Co.)	Rancke, Barbara.
Riehm, Nicholas, (a son of Eberhard Riehm.)	Riehm, Sarah Elizabeth.
Riehm, John Eberhard, (do.)	Hirsch, Judith.
Stoehr, Henry.	Stoehr, Barbara.
Westhaeffer,† Valentine.	Westhaeffer, ——.

DONEGAL.

Donegal, the most westerly township of Lancaster County, was settled principally by Scotch-Irish immigrants (*Ulster Scots*), and organized in 1722, while yet within the limits of Chester. It was subsequently subdivided into East and West Donegal, and Mount Joy. Jacob Lischy preached to the Germans of this district as

* One of eighty Palatines who with their families were imported in the ship Mortonhouse, John Coultas, master, from Rotterdam, in August of 1828.—*Col. Records.*

† One of thirteen Palatines who with their families were imported in the ship Norris, Thos. Lloyd, master, in May, 1732.—*Ibid.*

early as 1743, and in 1745 dedicated a meeting-house (erected by the settlers there for the use of the Brethren), to the worship of God. It stood on an eleven acre tract, for which Francis Seib, John Kapp, Peter Ricksecker, and John Etter had taken out a warrant in October of 1745. In 1749, a German Reformed faction, taking advantage "of a wrong direction which had been given to the tenor of the deed by Lischy,* in virtue of which it was made to appear that the tract had been taken up for the benefit of a *Calvinist church*,—forcibly dispossessed the Brethren of their pulpit. Hereupon the latter met for worship at Peter Schneider's until in the spring of 1750, when a school and meeting-house was erected for their use, on ground donated by Schneider. But when in August of 1750, Thomas and Richard Penn released the eleven acre tract and improvements thereon to the Brethren by a Patent of Confirmation, and after the latter had reimbursed their opponents for the expense they had incurred in the erection of the church, the log school was transferred to its side, the church itself renewed, and then dedicated by Bishop Matthew Hehl, Sept. 28th, 1753.† This ancient church is still standing near the village of Centreville, in the north-west corner of Lancaster County.

At the date of this register there was no Moravian clergyman residing in Donegal. The first couple to occupy the parsonage were John and Dorothea Schmidt. This was in 1752.

In Feb. of 1754 the Brethren convened in Synod in the Donegal meeting-house. It was the thirty-ninth religious convocation (if we include the seven convoked during Zinzendorf's stay in Pennsylvania) in which they had participated since January of 1742.

MEMBERS OF THE MORAVIAN CHURCH IN DONEGAL, 1749.

Brethren.	*Sis'ers.*
ALBERT, FRANCIS, (*shoemaker*. Born at Deux Ponts, *Zweibrücken*, July 20, 1719. Calvinist. Surprised, murdered and scalped by Indians, June 26, 1756, while ploughing on Fisher's farm, in "the Hole"‡ (Tolheo) in	ALBERT, ——.

* *Patent of Confirmation for lands in Donegal.* On record in Patent Book A, Vol. 14, p. 4761, in the Recorder's Office for the City and County of Philad'a.

† *Brüder Blatt.* Feb. 1854.

‡ "In dem Wilden Krieg sind folgende vier Brueder, *Franz Albert, Jacob*

Bethel Township. At that date he was a member of the church in Swatara.)	
Baumgaertner, Matthew.	Baumgaertner, Barbara.
Etter, John.	Etter, Engela.
Friedrich, Abraham.	Friedrich, Elizabeth.
Kapp, John.	Kapp, Catherine.
Kuentzele, Rudolph.	Leydolt, Verona, (d. Feb. 13, 1772.)
Ruecksecker, Peter, (an Elder in the Reformed Church. The ancestor of the Moravian family of Ricksecker.)	Ruecksecker, Ann Christiana, (d. 1751.)
Schneider, Peter, (an Elder in the Reformed Church.)	Schneider, Mary L., (a born Jewess.)

OLEY.

The Swedes, it is said on good authority, prior to Penn's arrival in this country, had explored the valley of the Schuylkill and its tributaries upwards as far as the source of the Manatawney. In this way they became acquainted with and drew the attention of immigrants to the fertility of the region of country, which, in 1752, was incorporated under the old Indian name of Oley among the townships of the newly erected county of Berks. It was then well peopled, not only by the representatives of the different circles of the Rhineland, but also by descendants of French Huguenots, some of whom had come down from Esopus as early as 1710.

During his sojourn among the Schwenckfelders of Skippack, Spangenberg, in the course of the year 1737, visited the German settlements of Oley, and preached, we are told, at Jonathan Herrbein's and at Abraham Bartolett's. Andrew Eschenbach, how-

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Haendsche (zwei Männer)—*Friedrich Weiser* und *John Georg Mies* (zwei Knaben,) die in der Hohl welche, da sie daselbst auf des alten *Fischer's* Feld, um der Gefahr wegen, gemeinschaftlich pfluegten, nachmittags, der 26 Juni, 1756, von den wilden Indianern zugleich ploetzlich ueberfallen, getoedet und gescalpt worden; und Sontags den 27 Juni mit einer starken Bedeckung von Soldaten und anderer Mannschaft aus "*der Hohl*" gefahren, und mit einem starken Gefolg von etwa zwei hundert Menschen, unter Bruder Friedrich Schlegel's Liturgie, im beysein des Bruder Samuel Herr's der auch zu der zeit hier war, zugleich auf unser Gottesacker, unter einem Gottesfrieden beerdigt worden."—*Swatara Church Book.* "The Hole" is the valley lying between the Blue Mountain to the North and Little Mountain to the South, East of the Swatara, and is now called *Monroe Valley.*

ever, was the Moravian pioneer in this inland district of the Province. Immediately upon his arrival in Pennsylvania in October of 1740, he made Oley the central point of his Gospel ministry, in which he labored for upwards of two years with untiring industry, with persuasive eloquence and with remarkable success. He was assisted for a time in the care of souls by Anna Nitschmann and Johanna Sophia Molther. During Eschenbach's residence in Oley the so-called Synod of Pennsylvania convened in John de Turck's farm-house in the month of February, 1742, on which occasion three Mohegans attached to the Moravian mission at Shecomeco, were admitted to church-fellowship by the rite of baptism. At the same time steps were taken looking to an organization of the attendants on Eschenbach's ministry into a religious society, and the erection of a place of worship was recommended. A log church was, accordingly, completed before the expiration of the year. Zinzendorf was deeply interested in the prosperity of this domestic mission, devoting much of his time and personal attention to its concerns. Nevertheless, in consequence of disagreement between the pastor and his people, which engendered partisanship, and the appearance at this time of new claimants for spiritual sway in Oley, the Moravians lost influence, and eventually, in 1765, withdrew altogether from the field.

The succession in the ministry between Eschenbach's recall, toward the close of 1742, and the date of the following register, was this: Henry Antes and Jacob Kohn in 1743—Abraham M. Meinung in 1744—John W. Michler from 1745 to '48—Richard Utley in 1749 and '50—John C. Francke in 1751—John W. Michler in 1752, and John Schneider in 1753.

During their occupation in Oley the Moravians erected two dwellings on land donated to them by John de Turck. The first was completed and occupied early in 1745. The second was completed in 1748, and thereupon occupied for upwards of three years by a flourishing boarding-school, into which were incorporated the Moravian schools from Germantown and Frederic township. This building was recently standing.

MEMBERS OF THE MORAVIAN CHURCH IN OLEY, APRIL, 1753.

Brethren.	*Sisters.*
BOERSTLER, JOHN G., (b. 1677, in Turkheim an der Hartz. Immigrated in 1732. United with the Moravians in 1748. D. May, 1789.)	BOERSTLER, CATHERINE, m. n. Lück, fr. Savoy.
BOERSTLER, JACOB, (b. 1700, in the Upper Palatinate. United with the Moravians in 1747.)	BOERSTLER, CATHERINE, m. n. Peter fr. Soelingen.
BUETTING, JUST, (b. 1713, in Frantzheim. Immigrated in 1723. United with the Moravians in 1743.)	
LEINBACH, FREDERIC, (b. 1703, in Hochstadt, Bavaria, circle of Upper Franconia. Immigrated with his parents, John and Elizabeth Leinbach in 1723. United with the Moravians in 1742.)	LEINBACH, ELIZABETH, m. n. Frey, fr. Skippack.
LEINBACH, HENRY, (b. 1705, in Hochstadt. Brother of the above. United with the Moravians in 1753.)	LEINBACH, JOHANN, m. n. Herrmann, fr. Conestoga.
LEINBACH, JOHN, (b. 1712, in Hochstadt. Brother of the above.)	LEINBACH, CATHERINE, m. n. Riehm, fr. Muddy Creek.
NEUKIRCH, JOHN HENRY, (b. 1703, at Hahn, near Dusseldorf. Immigrated in 1738.)	NEUKIRCH, GERTRUDE, m. n. Hartmann, fr. the Palatinate.
SCHNEIDER, JOHN.	SCHNEIDER, ELIZABETH.

THE MORAVIAN SCHOOL FOR BOYS IN FREDERIC TOWNSHIP, PHILADELPHIA COUNTY, JUNE, 1745, TO SEPTEMBER, 1750.

During the sessions of the Synod of Pennsylvania, which sat in Henry Antes' house in Falckner's Swamp in the second week in March of 1745,—Mr. Antes, desirous of contributing to the gratification of a wish which had repeatedly been expressed by persons attached to the Brethren to have their children educated by them—made the offer of his plantation for the site of a Moravian Boarding School. After due consideration, the offer was accepted, and on the 3d of June following a school for boys was opened on the aforesaid premises. Christopher and Christiana Francke of Bethlehem were chosen to superintend the Institution, and John C. Heyne was appointed tutor. At the same time Christopher and

Ann M. Demuth occupied the farm-house and John H. and Rosina Moeller the mill, as both farm and mill were worked for the benefit of the school.

During the latter's existence, the following additional couples were employed at various times and in various capacities: Thomas and Ann C. Schaaf, John G. and Ann Jungmann, C. Frederic and Ann Oerter, David and Mary Digeon, and Mary Haus and John Tanneberger, Sr.

PUPILS OF THE MORAVIAN SCHOOL IN FREDERIC TOWNSHIP, ENUMERATED ACCORDING TO THE YEARS IN WHICH THEY ENTERED.

1745.

ALBRECHT, ELIAS, s. of Anthony and Catherine Albrecht. B. in Philadelphia township.

BECK, JONATHAN, s. of H. F. and Barbara Beck. B. in Georgia.

BLUM, STEPHEN,
BLUM, JACOB,
BLUM, FRANCIS,
} sons of Francis and Catherine Blum. B. in Saucon, Bucks Co.

DANIEL, a Mohegan of Shecomeco.

DEMUTH, CHRISTOPHER,
DEMUTH, CHRISTIAN,
} sons of Gotthard and Regina Demuth. B. in Germantown.

DEMUTH, TOBIAS, s. of Gottlieb and Eve Demuth. B. 1741 in Saucon.

EMANUEL, a negro, fr. St. Thomas.

GARRISON, BENJAMIN. B. on Staten Island.

HARTMANN, LAWRENCE,
HARTMANN, THOMAS,
} sons of Frederic and Margaret Hartmann. B. in Frankford, Phila. co.

KLEMM, FREDERIC, s. of Frederic and Susan C. Klemm. B. in Philadelphia.

KLOTZ, ANDREW,
KLOTZ, JOHN NICHOLAS,
} sons of Albrecht and Ann M. Klotz. B. in Tulpehocken.

MILLER, ABRAHAM,
MILLER, JOSEPH,
} sons of Abraham and Mary M. Miller. B. in Milford twp., Bucks co.

NEUBERT, DANIEL, s. of Daniel and Regina Neubert. B. in Holstein.

SCHAUS, CONRAD, s. of J. Adam and Barbara Schaus. B. Jan'y 1738, in Henry Antes' mill.

VETTER, DANIEL, } sons of Jacob and Magdalene Vetter. B.
VETTER, JOHN, } in Oley.
VETTER, PETER, }

(*Note.*—With the above twenty-three, who up to that date had been inmates of Moravian schools at Bethlehem and Nazareth, the school of which this register treats, was opened on the 3d of June of the aforementioned year.)

ANTES, HENRY, } sons of H. and C. Antes.
ANTES, JOHN, }

FREY, MATTHIAS, s. of William and Verona Frey. B. in Falckner's Swamp.

JONES, JESSE, } sons of John Jones of New Providence twp.,
JONES, LEVI, } Phila. Co.

KNAUSS, HENRY, fr. Macungy.

MONTANYE, ABRAHAM, s. of James and Mary Montanye, of New York.

NEUMANN, CHRISTIAN, s. of John W. and Elizabeth Neumann.

NOBLE, ISAAC, } sons of Thomas and Mary Noble, of New
NOBLE, THOMAS, } York.

SCHUTTEHELM, PETER, fr. Philadelphia.

1746.

(*Note.*—On the 25th of February of this year, Bishop Spangenberg organized the school as a religious association, (*Kinder Gemein*) by appointing Abraham Montanye *Elder*, John Antes *Superintendent*, and Thomas Hartmann and Peter Vetter *Assistants*).

ABRAHAM, a Mohegan of Shecomeco.

BEUTEL, JOHN, s. of Henry Beutel of Neundorf, Upper Silesia, who d. at Herrnhut, Dec. 1763, after 23 years service among the Arawacks of Berbice and Surinam. B. at Pilgerruh, Surinam, 21st Dec. 1740. D. at Nazareth, 27th Sept. 1840, aged 99 years, 9 mos. and 7 days. (Descendants of the name living.)

BIRD, JAMES, s. of Wm. and Bridget Bird. B. in Amity twp., Chester Co.)

BRUCKER, DAVID, of Bethlehem.

DAVID, a Mohegan of Shecomeco.

EDMONDS, JOHN, s. of Wm. and Rebecca Edmonds. B. on Long Island, June, 1743. D. April, 1824, in Bushkill township. (Descendants of the name living.)

Horsfield, Israel, s. of Timothy and Mary Horsfield of Long Island.

Isaac, a Mohegan of Shecomeco.

Jones, Jonathan, from New Providence township.

Little Heart, ("Hertzel") a Mohegan of Shecomeco.

Vollert, Henry, } sons of Jost and Mary E. Vollert. The
Vollert, Joseph, } former was b. in 1741, in Falckner's Swamp—the latter in 1739, in Oley.

1747.

Abraham, a negro belonging to Edward Smout, Esq., of Lancaster.

Bastian, a negro.

Beckel, Caspar, } sons of Frederick and Elizabeth Beckel. B.
Beckel, Tobias, } in Heidelberg twp., Berks Co.

Bird, Mark, from Amity twp.

Blum, David, } sons of F. and C. Blum. Both b. at Naza-
Blum, Daniel, } reth.

David, a Mohegan of Shecomeco.

Hartmann, Adolph, s. of Fred'c and Marg't Hartmann. B. 1744, at Nazareth.

Joshua, a Mohegan of Shecomeco.

Mahab, do. do.

Meinung, Ludwig, b. 1743, in Oley.

Micksch, Nathaniel, s. of Michael and Hannah Micksch. B. 1743, in Philadelphia.

Rice, Peter, s. of Owen and Elizabeth Rice.

Schaus, Gottlieb, s. of J. A. and B. Schaus.

Servas, William, s. of Philip and Mary C. Servas of Phila.

Walton, John, s. of Elizabeth Walton.

1748.

Bivighausen, Abraham, } sons of George and Marg't Bivig-
Bivighausen, John, } hausen. B. in Muddy Creek.

Crocker, Benjamin, (b. in Philadelphia, Jan. 1737. Franklin's sister's son).

Haller, Abraham, s. of Henry and Ann M. Haller. B. in Muddy Creek.

Jones, Peter.

KRAEMER, MICHAEL, s. of Michael Kraemer, of Lancaster.

RIEHM, JOHN, fr. Muddy Creek.

WEBER, JOHN, s. of John and Gertrude Weber, of Muddy Creek.

1749.

ARY, a mulatto, b. Sept. 1745, in Berbice. Brought to Bethlehem by the missionary William Zander, in April of 1749. Subsequently baptized and named Jacob. D. in Bushkill twp., June, 1816. Descendants of the name living.

BECK, DAVID, fr. Bethlehem.

BENJAMIN, s. of Anthony Roberts and Elizabeth, his wife.

FREDERIC, *alias* DAGOHS, a Delaware Indian.

GRAAF, GEORGE M., s. of Sebastian and Eve Graaf, of Lancaster.

ISAAC, a Mohegan, fr. Gnadenhütten.

KLOTZ, ELIAS, fr. Oley.

LEINBACH, ARAHAM, s. of John and Catherine Leinbach, fr. Oley.

STURGIS, JOSEPH, s. of Joseph and Jane Sturgis. B. in Phila. in 1737. Baptized by Whitefield. D. at Litiz, in 1817. Descendants of the name living.

Note.—On the 31st of July, 1750, a beginning was made to dissolve this school by tranferring the following nineteen pupils to other Moravian schools, viz.: Jacob Blum to Bethlehem; the Indians Philip, David and Joshua to Gnadenhütten, on the Mahoning; Ary, Tobias and Caspar Beckel, Jonathan Beck, John Beutel, Francis and David Blum, Christian F. and Tobias Demuth, Christian, Thomas and Adolph Hartmann, the Indians Frederic, Isaac and Joseph, and John Joseph Meurer to Macungy.

In the last week of August following, there were transferred to Oley seventeen, viz.: David Beck, Abraham and John Bivighausen, George M. Graaf, Abraham Haller, Israel Horsfield, Isaac, Jonathan and Peter Jones, Frederic Klemm, Michael Kraemer, Abraham Leinbach, Isaac Noble, John Riehm, Peter Vetter, John Walton and John Weber.

On the 3d of September, 1750, Elias Klotz and the Indian Benjamin were transferred to Bethlehem, and the school was closed.)

HEIDELBERG.
1747.

Tobias and George Frederic Beckel, brothers, from Turkheim in Rhenish Bavaria, immigrated to Pennsylvania in the fall of 1736 and settled,—the former in Heidelberg township, south of the Tulpehocken Creek,—and the latter on the Schuylkill, within the limits of Bern township, Berks County. They, and some of their neighbors, such as Frederic Gerhard and John Meyer, were attendants on Zinzendorf's preaching in Tulpehocken, and being deeply impressed thereby, requested him to supply them with a minister of the Gospel, when in December of 1742 he bade them farewell. As they had been educated in the doctrines of the Reformed Church, they were commended to Jacob Lischy's spiritual care. Lischy preached in Heidelberg statedly until in September of 1743. Anthony Wagner succeeded him in January of 1744 and at first resided with Tobias Beckel. Meanwhile George Frederic removed from the Schuylkill within the limits of what is now North Heidelberg township, where, on land donated by his brother Tobias, a church and parsonage was erected for the Moravians, in the summer of 1744. On the 4th of November of that year the building was dedicated to its legitimate uses in the opening sessions of a Synod, at which Henry Antes presided.

The first Moravian congregation in the rural districts of the Province was the one which was organized in Heidelberg on the 9th of April, 1745, by Bishop Spangenberg.

Its members were:

Beckel, G. F., and Ann Elizabeth, his wife.
Beckel, Tobias, and Christiana, "
Brecht, Stephen, and Elizabeth, "
Fischer, Sr., John, and Sybilla, "
Fischer, Jr., John, and Ann M., "
Gerhard, Frederic, and Barbara, "
Glas, Nicholas, and Ann Mary, "
Graeter, Jacob, and Barbara, "
Keller, John, (widower).
Meyer, John, and Margaret, his wife.
Minier, George, (widower).
Zerbe, John, and Elizabeth, his wife.

At the date of this register, Daniel and Elizabeth Neubert occupied the parsonage in Heidelberg.

QUITTOPEHILLE.

In the autumn of 1729, a settlement was made by German immigrants on the banks of the Quittopehille, a branch of the Great Swatara, which drains the townships of Lebanon, Annville and Londonderry, in Lebanon County. First among these was Michael Borst, and after him George Steitze, who is said to have laid out Steitzetown (now the borough of Lebanon) about 1755. This district, long after the erection of Lebanon township by the court of Lancaster in June of 1729, continued to be called Quittopehille, it being a common custom in those days to name a region of country for the main stream by which it was watered. The fertility of its soil proving attractive to immigrant yeomen, the neighborhood soon became populous, and a Moravian writer, in 1747, in adverting to its prosperity and natural advantages, calls it "a garden spot." At that time farms there were also held by Swiss Mennonites.

Jacob Lischy preached to the settlers in Quittopehille in 1743. Two years thereafter the Rev. L. T. Nyberg met with them for worship statedly in a log church, that had been erected on John Peter Kucher's farm near "the Oratory" which is still standing on the Philadelphia and Harrisburg turnpike, a short distance east from the borough of Lebanon. This was the first pulpit occupied by the Brethren within the limits of what is now Lebanon County. In February of 1748 the Synod of Pennsylvania convened in Kucher's log church. The Moravians were well represented at that gathering, and the tones of Moravian French-horns served in place of signal-bell to notify the delegates of the hour to meet in session.

On the 12th of Jan'y, 1750, Christian H. Rauch who was then superintending the Brethren's domestic mission in the counties of Lancaster and Berks, organized a Moravian Society from such persons in Quittopehille as were attached to its ministry. Hereupon they undertook the erection of a substantial church and parsonage, on land donated by Kucher, lying south of the Quittopehille Creek,—and on the 16th of July, 1751, the hall in the same was dedicated to the worship of God. This now venerable house, bearing on its south face, inscribed on stone, the legend, "*Oratorium Unit. Frat. liber. fundat,*" (signifying probably, *The United Breth-*

ren here found a free house of prayer) is an object of special interest to the searcher for olden landmarks in the vicinity of the borough of Lebanon.

In July of 1761, the Brethren of Bethlehem had surveyed and laid out a town (designed to be an exclusive settlement) on a tract of fifty acres, south of the creek and in the heart of Kucher's farm. On paper it presents a pleasing appearance, with its squares, gardens and orchards—its tiers of lots for dwellings and larger spaces for schools, "choir-houses," and whatever other buiidings were then regarded as essential to the perfectness of a Moravian village.* It was to have been called Hebron. Hebron, however, was never built; instead, the name was given to the stone church and parsonage, in which the scattered members of a rural congregation met with their minister for worship as late as the year 1848.

NAMES OF RESIDENTS IN QUITTOPEHILLE ATTACHED TO THE BRETHREN IN 1749.

Men.	*Women.*
Etter, Peter.	Etter, Catherine.
Germann, Jacob.	Germann, Madeline.
Hederich, John G.	Hederich, Ann C.
Kapp, Michael.	Kapp, Mary Margaret.
Kettering, Adam.	Kettering, Magdalene.
Kucher, John Peter, (*blacksmith.* Imported on the Loyal Judith in Sept. 1732. An Elder of the German Reformed Church. D. July 1788.)	Kucher, Barbara.
Loesch, George, (B. April, 1699, at Gernsheim, near Worms. Immigrated with other Palatines under the auspices of Queen Anna in 1710, and settled in Scoharie. In 1723 removed to Tulpehocken, united with the Moravians in Quittopehille in 1747. Removed fr. Tulpehocken to Gnadenthal in 1767. D. at Nazareth, Aug. 15, 1790. Descendants of the name living.)	Loesch, Christiana.
Mies, Philip.	Mies, Louisa.

* See draft in the Moravian Archives at Bethlehem, entitled "Moravian lands in Lebanon township, and plan of a village to be built on the same, July, 1761.

Orth, Balzar, (Immigrated in 1729. Resided at the foot of the Conewago Hills, 6 miles south by west fr. Kucher's. D. Oct. 1788.)	Orth, Gertrude Catherine.
Stephan, Ulrich.	Stephan, Ann Mary.
Zander, Henry.	Zander, Johanna, (D. May, 1750.)

(*Note.*—Additional families attendant on the Moravians' ministration in "the Oratory" were the Meylins, the Kleins, the Riegers, the Hubers, the Rathvons, the Wagners, the Waschenbachs, the Ohlingers, the Schmals, the Christmanns, the Struebigs and the Urichs.

SWATARA.

Bethel township (since 1816 in Lebanon County) was separated from Lebanon township by an order of the court at Lancaster in May, 1739. Excepting a few French Huguenots, the first settlers were Germans, the major part of whom had been reared in the tenets of the German Reformed Church abroad. When on his way to Shamokin, in the autumn of 1742, Zinzendorf preached in Bethel at the house of Ludwig Born. On this occasion he was induced, we are told, to include its neighborhood within the circuit he subsequently assigned to Jacob Lischy. In April of 1743, Lischy preached for the first time in Bethel. John Brandmiller and Christian H. Rauch were occasionally his successors in this field, and in the summer of 1747 the former was permanently settled on the Swatara, whither he had been sent in response to a request made to the Brethren at Bethlehem by the people there, to furnish them with a minister of the Gospel. Brandmiller lodged with Ludwig Born, and in his house he met the attendants on his ministry for worship. The Swatara mission was a dependency of Quittopehille for a number of years, until the purchase of land in Bethel, by the Moravians, in 1754.

MEMBERS OF THE MORAVIAN CHURCH IN SWATARA, 1749.

Brethren.	*Sisters.*
Ayres, Robert.	Ayres, Mary.
Born, Ludwig, (an Elder in the German Reformed Church.)	Born, Ann Mary.
Kohr, Casper, (*Steward.*)	Kohr, Barbara.

Ohrendorf, Hermann.	Ohrendorf, Catherine.
Spittler,* John, Sr.	Spittler, Catherine.
Weiser, John F.	Weiser, Catherine.

(*Note.*—Other residents of Bethel attached to the Moravian mission at this time and subsequently were, Rudolph Houck, Jacob Dubbs, William Fisher, Christian Binne, George Mies, Jacob Gausser, Thomas Williams, John Haendsche, Bernard Faber and Michael Kohr and their families. In Aug. 1755, 26 adults and 35 children were enrolled on the register of this rural church.

GRIST CREEK, YORK, CODORUS, AND CONEWAGO.

The first white settlement within the present limits of York County (erected from Lancaster in August, 1749,) was made along Grist Creek, a small stream that drains Hellam township, and empties into the Susquehanna, near Wrightsville. The valley which here stretches back from the river toward York, was entered by German immigrants prior to 1735; and for one of these, *George Kreis*, the creek is said to have been named. In Moravian records it is called "*Kreutz*" or "*Crice* Creek," and in a return of the survey of the Manor of Springettbury (made by order of Gov. Keith in 1722) "*White Oak Branch.*" There is, however, some plausibility in the conjecture, that the name Kreutz or Crice was a corruption of *Grist* and that the present name of the stream is the correct one, as on its bank *John Grist* (the first white man in the Province to settle on the south side of the Susquehanna,) squatted some time in 1721. Grist, as we read in the Colonial Records, was ejected from his clearing, and to prevent similar trespassing on lands still within the Indian country, a large survey was made for the Proprietaries (the manor of Springettbury), and the Indian claim gradually extinguished. It was within the limits of this reserve that the Grist Creek settlement lay.

Jacob Lischy was the first of the Brethren's evangelists to cross

* "Mai den 16, 1757—Wurde Johannes Spittler, Jr., ohneweit von seinem Ha use an der Schwatara von moerderischen Indianern überfallen und ermordert. Er war im 38ten Jahr seines Alters, und verwichenes Jahr im April an der Schwatara aufgenommen. Seine übelzugerichtete Leiche wurde den 17ten Mai hieher (Quitopehille) gebracht, und bei einer groszen Menge Leute begleitet, auf unsern hiesigen Gottesacker beerdigt."—*Church Book of the Congregation at Quittopehille.*

the Susquehanna. This he did in the summer of 1744, at John Wright's ferry, beyond which he struck the German settlement, and following Grist Creek, came to the growing town of York.* Along his route he preached in the farmers' houses, and in Yorktown, in a so-called Union Church, and being a Calvinist, his ministry was generally acceptable, as most of the German hearers had been reared in the tenets of the Reformed religion.

Lischy's labors in the Gospel here were followed up by Lawrence T. Nyberg and Christian M. Rauch.

Late in October of 1746, the Brethren convened in a Synod,† held in the house of Jacob Westhaeffer, in the Grist Creek settlement. One result of its deliberations was the appointment of Rauch as evangelist for the region of country directly south of the Susquehanna, embracing within it four separate points, viz.: Grist Creek, Yorktown, a German settlement‡ on the Codorus, ten miles south-west, and a second, eight miles due west from that town. The latter stretched back to the foot of the Conewago Hills. At the same time, Abraham and Martha Bühninger, of Bethlehem, were settled at the third of the above named points, to attend principally to the education of the farmers' children.

But soon after this, in 1747, the Brethren saw themselves combated in their movement by partisans and churchmen, and the use of the pulpits they had been occupying in Grist Creek and in York was denied them. Thus it happened that for upwards of a year they assembled their adherents for worship in the house§ of

* Yorktown, on the Codorus, was laid out in October of 1741, by Thomas Cookson, Deputy Surveyor of Lancaster County, by the special order and according to the directions of John, Thomas and Richard Penn. In November of that year twenty-three building lots were taken up, and by March of 1746 forty-four additional ones had been disposed of.—*Carter's and Glossbrenner's History of York County*, 1834.

† The twentieth of the religious convocations held in Pennsylvania, in which the Brethren participated until the institution of Church Synods of their own in 1748.

‡ It was here that Lischy, on withdrawing from the Brethren, bought a plantation, farmed and preached for some time to a faction that adhered to him in a building of their own; and hither, too, he retired on his expulsion from the German Reformed Church in 1760, to end his career.

§ This was exchanged in 1749 for a more commodious place of worship, which the Brethren held in rent until the completion of the first Moravian Church in York, erected in the course of 1755, and dedicated by Bishop Matthew Hehl, on

Leonard Immel, on the Codorus, which house at that time stood on the outskirts of York.

The first reception of persons attached to the Brethren and residing south of the Susquehanna, into the Moravian communion, falls within the time of this Register, and was that of John Heckedorn, Jr., and Jacob Francis Müller. They were admitted to fellowship at a Synod that met in Warwick, in November of 1749. Philip A. Meurer was settled in York in 1751.

NAMES OF PERSONS RESIDING SOUTH OF THE SUSQUEHANNA, ALONG GRIST CREEK, AT YORK, AND ON THE CODORUS, ATTACHED TO, OR IN COMMUNION WITH THE BRETHREN.

1747 TO 1749.

Men.	*Women.*
BEROT, FRANCIS L. (B. at Alsheim, in the Palatinate in 1699, of French Huguenot parents. Immigrated to Pennsylvania in 1738. An Elder in the German Reformed Church, was residing at the date of this Register one mile S. W. from the school-house in the Grist Creek settlement. D. in York in August of 1778. A daughter, Mary Elizabeth, was one of the first teachers in the Bethlehem Boarding School. John Jacob and John, sons of Francis Berot, settled on the Moravian lands in North Carolina.)	BEROT, SUSAN (m. n. Reiter).
	GEYER, ——, (widow).
HECKEDORN, SR., HANS, (from Switzerland. Imported on the ship "Princess Augusta," in Sept. of 1736, and was buried on his farm in Nov. of 1749.)	HECKEDORN, ——.
HECKEDORN, JR., HANS. (B. 1716, near Basel, Switzerland. Immigrated with his father. Moved to York in 1761. For a number of years a steward of the congrega-	HECKEDORN, CATHERINE, (m. n. Scheubel.)

Dec. 21st of that year. George Neisser was the first pastor settled in this congregation. Some of its principal members then were—John Heckedorn, Francis J. Müller and Lewis Protzman, of York; Francis L. Berot, Jacob Lanius and George Herbach, of Grist Creek; Philip Rothrock, Peter Pinckele, John Peitzel and Adam de Hoff, of Codorus; and Mark Hoen, Frederic Roemer and Martin Ebert.

tion. D. July, 1785. Ann Elizabeth, a daughter, married Wm. Lanius in 1769.)

Heckedorn, Daniel.

Immel, Leonard, (a Deacon in the Lutheran Church. Resided on the Codorus on the outskirts of York.)

Luckenbach, John Adam. (In Oct. of 1743 was schoolmaster in the Grist Creek settlement.)

Mueller, John Francis, (born near Heidelberg, Oct. 1719. Immigrated in 1732. D. Sept. 1785. For many years a steward of the congregation in York.)

Rothrock, Philip I. (Born near Worms, Dec. 1713. Imported on the pink *Mary*, in Sept. 1733. A deacon in the German Reformed Church. Resided on the Codorus, near York. Two sons, Peter and Jacob, settled on the Moravian lands in North Carolina.)

Peitzel, John.

Pinckele, Peter, (from Switzerland. Immigrated with the Heckedorns. Resided on the Codorus, 10 miles S. W. from York, near the temporary line of the Province.)

Westhleffer, Jacob, (an elder in the German Reformed Church. Resided in the Grist Creek settlement.)

Mueller, Ann Mary, (m. n, Bohl.)

THE MINISINKS.

A Moravian school and domestic mission in the upper valley of the Delaware were results of Zinzendorf's transit through that region in August of 1742. Through him, and afterwards through missionaries from Bethlehem, who traveled that way, from Shecomeco, a knowledge of the Brethren's religious principles and their views of education were disseminated in the neighborhood. In consequence, it was not long before some of the settlers applied to the

Moravians for a school and for the Gospel ministry. Both were granted them; and in this way the Brethren came to occupy the Minisinks, which embraced the Brodhead settlement (Dansbury), Walpack, and the region drained by Pawlin's Kill. The last two were at that time within the limits of Sussex, now Warren County, N. J.

David and Judith Bruce were the first couple in charge of this mission. After the expulsion of the Moravians from Shecomeco, Joseph Shaw was sent to the Minisinks. He resided in Walpack as late as 1747. He was succeeded in the following order by James Burnside, Andrew Ostrom, Reinhard Ronner, Sven Roseen, Abraham Reincke, Jasper Payne and Joseph Powell.

A church and parsonage, erected for the use of the Brethren's evangelists in the Minisinks, on the Brodhead tract, was dedicated to the worship of God by Abraham Reincke, May 19, 1753. It was burned by the Indians in December of 1755, whereupon the mission was abandoned.

NAMES OF PERSONS RESIDING IN THE VALLEY OF THE UPPER DELAWARE ATTACHED TO THE MORAVIAN CHURCH IN 1747.

1. *Dansbury.*

Daniel and Esther Brodhead.
John Baker.
John and Catherine Hillman.
Joseph and Helen Haines.
Edward and Catherine Holly.
Francis and Rebecca Jones.
William and Mary Clark.
John and Hannah McMichael.
Daniel Roberts.
George and Mary Salathé.

2. *Walpack.*

Nicholas Schoonhoven.
Henry and Hannah Schoonhoven.
Rudolph and Dorothea Schoonhoven.
Benjamin and Catherine Smith.
Christiana Carmer. Hannah Carmer.

3. *Pawlin's Kill.*

Samuel and Abigail Green.

NEW JERSEY.

1748.

Paul Daniel Pryzelius, who had been ordained a minister of the Gospel by Bishop David Nitschmann in January of 1743, was thereupon sent by Zinzendorf to preach the Gospel to the descendants of the early Swedish settlers on the shores of the Delaware and Delaware Bay. His appointments were on Maurice River,* Cohansey,† Penn's Neck,‡ Raccoon,§ Ammasland,‖ Potomock, and Calkoen's Hook.¶ He labored in this mission for upwards of two years. Meanwhile, however, the Swedish churches had been supplied with pastors from abroad, the Moravian movement met with opposition at their hands, and in 1745 Pryzelius was recalled.** But the Brethren, nevertheless, continued to minister to the spiritual wants of such families as had become attached to them, visiting them in their houses, and preaching also, wherever they found a church or school-house unoccupied. It was seldom, accordingly, that one or more of their evangelists from Bethlehem or Philadelphia, were not on the circuit of the old Swedish settlements in Delaware, in the interval between 1745 and 1755. Among these were the Brethren, Owen Rice, Matthew Reuz, Abraham Reincke, Sven Roseen, Hector Gambold and Thomas Yarrel.

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* So called by the Dutch, for Prince Maurice of Orange. Also called *Riddare's Kyl.* Leesburg, Dorchester, Millsville and Port Elizabeth are villages along this stream, which drains Cumberland County.

† Bridgeton is the principal town on the Cohansey.

‡ The name given to the point or neck of land between the mouth of *Asamehaecking* or *Vaxcken's Kyl* (now Salem Creek) and the Delaware. Sometimes called *Quihawkes.*

§ The district drained by this creek was called by the Indian name of "*Naraticons.*"

‖ A tract of about 1000 acres lying on the Mackinipattus and Darby Creeks, in Delaware County. "It was formerly called *Ammes-land,* i. e. the *country of the nurse,* one having lived there formerly, where Archard's place now is. For that reason this farm, and afterwards the whole region, was given the name of Amasland, i. e. the country of the nurse.—*Acrelius' History,* quoted in the *Record of Upland Court,* p. 65.

¶ The point of land between Cobb's and Crum Creek in Delaware County. So called, it is said, by the Swedes, whose historian states that "*Wilde Kalkoen* (wild turkeys) very much abounded in that vicinity."

** For a valuable paper on Pryzelius' ministry in the Swedish churches on the Delaware, from the pen of Rev. Levin T. Reichel, the reader is referred to the March number of the *Moravian Miscellany* for 1850.

At the date of this register (1748) there were four principal points in this domestic mission, viz: Raccoon, Piles' Grove, Penn's Neck and Maurice River.

1. RACCOON.

The old Swedish church, which according to Evans' map of 1755, stood on Beaver Creek (about five miles above its mouth) within the limits of Gloucester County, and which was standing within the recollection of men living, was closed on Pryzelius in December of 1744, and thereupon to all Moravian evangelists.

NAMES OF PERSONS ATTACHED TO THE BRETHREN IN RACCOON.

DENNIS, THOMAS.
GUEST, WILLIAM, and wife.
GILL, MATTHEW, do.
HALTON, JAMES, do.
HOPMAN, ANDREW.
HOPMAN, LAWRENCE.
JONES, STEPHEN.
JONES, JOHN, (widower).
KYN, JOHN.
LOCK, JOHN, and wife.
LAWRENCE, NATHANIEL.
MATSON, PETER.
MATSON, MATTHEW.
MATSON, JACOB.
MULLICAS, ERIC.
PETERSEN, ZACHARIAS.
RAMBO, PETER, and wife.
SEHNES, ROBERT, (Quaker).
STANTON, WILLIAM.
WALLACE, WILLIAM.

2. PILES' GROVE.*

In December of 1747 the Brethren were preaching in a church on Oldman's Creek,† in Piles' Grove, then building for them by friends of theirs (principally English, some Germans, however, and others descendants of the early Dutch and Swedish settlers) residing in Raccoon and Piles' Grove. It was five miles distant from the old Raccoon church, within the limits of Gloucester County, and was dedicated to the worship of God in 1749, by Bishop Spangenberg, and Pastor Lawrence T. Nyberg.

NAMES OF PERSONS ATTACHED TO THE BRETHREN IN PILES' GROVE.

AVIS, GEORGE.
DAHLBERG, ——, and wife.
DORSAW, CHARLES.
HOLSTEIN, ANDREW.
HOLSTEIN, LAWRENCE, SR.
HOLSTEIN, LAWRENCE, JR.

* So named, it is said, for James Piles, an early settler. One Sarah Pyle bought 10,000 acres on Salem Creek, of John Fenwick, an agent of Wm. Penn, in 1683.

† *"Alderman's Kyl,"* as the Dutch and Swedes called it, empties into the Delaware, opposite Maretties Kill, or Marcus Hook.

Hopman, Lars.
Kett, Michael.
Kyn, Mouns.
Lauterbach, Peter.
Lehberger, Adam.
Lynch, Samuel.
Linmeyer, Christoper.
Lloyd, Bateman.
Lloyd, Obadiah.
Mueller, Alexander.
Roalin, John.
Samson, (Lynch's slave).
Van Immen, Garret, and wife.
Van Immen, John, do.
Van Immen, William, do.
Van Immen, Andrew, do.
Wood, Jechoniah.
Wood, Jeremiah.

3. PENN'S NECK.

At the date of this Register, the Brethren again occupied the pulpit of a church that stood in this district, perhaps either in Salem, or near the site of Fort Elfinsboro. It is stated by Moravian writers of that day to have been seven miles distant from the church on Oldman's Creek, in Piles' Grove. In 1746 its doors had been closed on Moravian preachers.

NAMES OF PERSONS ATTACHED TO THE BRETHREN IN PENN'S NECK.

Bartelsen, Sarah, (widow).
Cornelius, Carl, and wife.
Graceberry, William, and wife.
Kalkloeser, ——.
Masslander, Abraham.
Philpott, William, and wife.
Philpott, Nicholas, "
Senecksen, Senec, "
Van Immen, Jacob, "
Van Immen, Peter, "

4. MAURICE RIVER.

Thirty-six miles south-east from the Penn's Neck church, and on the bank of Maurice River, stood a meeting-house, which had been built for the use of the Brethren, and then dedicated to the worship of God by Abraham Reincke, Pastor Lawrence T. Nyberg, Owen Rice, and Matthew Reutz, Dec. 18th, 1746. From this point the resident missionary would occasionally itinerate by way of Cape May along the Jersey shore as far as Great and Little Egg Harbours.

NAMES OF PERSONS RESIDING ON MAURICE RIVER ATTACHED TO THE BRETHREN.

Cabb, Samuel, and Catherine, his wife.
Camp, Paul.
Hopman, Nicholas, and wife.
Hopman, John, do.
Hopman, Peter, do.
Hopman, Frederic, do.
Jones, Joseph.
Jones, Abraham, and wife.
Kyn, Eric, do.
Lommus, ——.
Masslander, Peter.
Margaret, ——, (widow).
Mullicas, Stephen, and wife.

Mullicas, Eric, and wife.
Petersen, Lucas.
Petersen, Lars, and wife.
Petersen, Aaron.
Petersen, Thomas.
Powell, Gabriel.
Purple, ——.
Shiloh, an Indian.
Van Immen, Samuel, and wife.
Van Immen, David.
Van Immen, Peter.
Van Immen, Gabriel.

SUPPLEMENT.

Abraham Reincke's private record of official acts performed among his countrymen and others in New Jersey on Delaware, during his occasional ministry in the Brethren's mission of that Province.

1. *Baptisms.*

April 18, 1745.—*Eric*, infant son of Eric and Catherine Kyn, of Maurice River born Dec. 25, 1744. The act was performed in Goevan Kyn's house.

May 4, 1745.—*Deborah*, infant daughter of Lorenz and Molly Hopman.

On the same day, *Seth Samuel*, infant son of Samuel and Sarah Ward. Both acts were performed in Lorenz Hopman's house in Raccoon.

May 7, 1745.—*Priscilla*, infant daughter of John and Rebecca Locke. The act was performed in the parents' house in Raccoon. She died in Aug. 1748.

June 20, 1745.—*Elizabeth*, infant daughter of Nicholas and —— Philpot. The act was performed in the church in Penn's Neck.

June 21, 1745.—*Mary*, infant daughter of John and Rachel Kyn. The act was performed in the parsonage in Raccoon.

June 22, 1745.—*Margaret*, infant daughter of John and Margaret Roal (the father a Swede, the mother Irish). The act was performed in William Gracebury's house, in Piles' Grove.

June 27, 1745.—*Jeremiah*, infant son of Lars and Susan Petersen, in the new church on Maurice River, at the close of the first sermon preached within its walls.

Dec. 18, 1746.—*Rebecca*, infant daughter of Abraham and Gunla Jones, born Dec. 5. On the same day, *Elizabeth*, infant daughter of Abraham and Elizabeth Masslander. Also, *William*, infant son of Samuel and Caroline Cabb. These families are all residing on Maurice River. The act was performed in the church on Maurice River, immediately after its dedication to the worship of God.

Oct. 20, 1748.—*Christina*, infant daughter of Christoph and Anna Linmeyer, born in Piles' Grove, in West Jersey, March 27, 1748. The act was performed in the new church on Oldman's Creek, on the twentieth Sunday after Trinity. Garret van Immen and Willian Guest and their wives were sponsors.

Nov. 24, 1748.—*Rebecca*, infant daughter of John and Rebecca Locke, born in Raccoon, Oct. 31st, 1748. The act was performed in the father's house, in the presence of Garret van Immen, John Jones, old Stephen Jones, Eric Mullicas, and ten other witnesses.

Nov. 27, 1748.—*Mary*, infant daughter of Lorenz and Molly Holstein, born in

Piles' Grove, Nov. 11, 1748. The act was performed in Yerred van Emmen's house. (N. B.—Her mother deceased on the 19th of Nov., eight days after the birth of the child, and was buried near the new church on Oldman's Creek. Hers was the first interment there, after the erection of the church.)

Nov. 30, 1748.—*Frederic*, infant son of Frederic and Catherine Hopmann, born on Maurice River, Aug. 1, 1748. The act was performed in the church on Maurice River, at the close of the Swedish sermon.

Jan. 19, 1751.—*Abraham*, infant son of Frederic and Catherine Hopmann, born in *Marantico*, Dec. 10, 1750. The act was performed in the father's house in *Marantico*.

Jan. 20, 1751.—*Sarah*, infant daughter of Joseph and Margaret Jones, born Oct. 30, 1750, at *Menomuskin*. The act was performed in the church on Maurice River.

Jan. 22, 1751.—*Catharine*, infant daughter of William and Christina Guest, born Nov. 18, 1750, in Raccoon. The act was performed in our church on Oldman's Creek.

April 21, 1751.—*Mary*, infant daughter of Matthew and Mary Gill, born in Raccoon, March 16, 1751. The act was performed in the father's house.

April 12, 1752.—*Charity*, infant daughter of Obadiah and Rebecca Lloyd, born in Piles' Grove, March 12, 1752. The act was performed "at the close of the public service in our church on Oldman's Creek."

August 16, 1752.—*James*, infant son of George and Jane Avis, born in Piles' Grove, Dec. 2, 1751. The act was performed in the church on Oldman's Creek.

2. *Marriages.*

June 8, 1745.—George Kyn, a widower, aged 64, to Margaret Justis, a widow, aged 53, after the bans had been thrice published—first in Raccoon, next in Penn's Neck, and for the last time in Maurice River. The ceremony was performed in the groom's house on Maurice River, in the presence of the entire Swedish congregation of said neighborhood.

NEW YORK.

NEW YORK, LONG ISLAND AND STATEN ISLAND.

Spangenberg and David Nitschmann, while in New York in the spring and summer of 1736, were the means of introducing the cause of their Church and her missions (in behalf of which they were sojourning in the British Colonies of North America), to the favorable notice of some persons of influence and piety in that metropolis. Among these was Thomas Noble, a respectable merchant, who warmly sympathized with the Brethren in their move-

ment, as he did a few years years subsequent with Whitefield, being a man who heartily approved of whatever tended to promote vital religion. It was he who entertained the missionary, Christian H. Rauch, on his arrival from Europe in July of 1740, and then forwarded him as far as Rhinebeck, on his way to Stissick. David Nitschmann landed at New York, on his return to America, in December, 1740, and in January, 1741, accompanied Peter Boehler from Nazareth to that port, whence the latter designed taking ship for Europe. Three weeks, however, elapsed before he found a vessel ready to sail for London. This interval of time was employed by the devoted young minister in visiting the friends of the Brethren, and in gathering them together for social worship from house to house, whereby the members of their small circle were united in the ties of a closer fellowship. It is said that they first met to hear him in the house of widow Matje van Dyck. This may be regarded as the date of the organization of a "Moravian Society" in New York City.

Zinzendorf, during his sojourn in America, between December, 1741, and January, 1743, extended the influence and enlarged the membership of this association, both in New York and on Long and Staten Islands. From that time religious intercourse was maintained unbroken between those points and Bethlehem; and after the arrival of the first colony of Moravians in June, 1742, the above named three places were jointly constituted one of many fields, in which the Brethren sought to labor, for the furtherance of Gospel truth. It was without delay entered by their evangelists, or itinerants. Among these were the Brethren Bruce, Almers, Gambold, Neisser, Utley, Rice and Wade.

Between 1742 and 1746 the Moravian Society in New York met for worship at Mr. Thomas Noble's; after that time at Mr. Henry Van Vleck's, in whose house also the ministers were accustomed to lodge during their sojourn in the capital. In the spring of 1748, at which time there were upwards of fifty persons attached to the Brethren in the City and on the adjoining Islands, an ineffectual effort was made to secure the use of the Lutheran church in New York for public services statedly. Thereupon a hall was rented for holding meetings, and apartments for the residence of ministers. In the former there was preaching, in both English

and German, once on the Lord's day, and public and private worship on several evenings of the week.

Abraham Boemper, Henry Van Vleck, William Edmonds, John Kingston, Ismaiah Burnet and Jannetje Boelen, of New York; Timothy and Mary Horsfield, William and Charity Cornwall and Jacques and Jacomyntje Cortellyau, of Long Island; and Jacobus and Vettje Van Der Bildt, of Staten Island, are in Sept. of 1747 mentioned as being the most active members of the triple Moravian Society in the Province of New York.

On December 27th, 1748, Bishop de Watteville organized a Moravian congregation in New York from members of the Society in connexion with the Brethren since 1741. George Neisser was installed as pastor. In 1751 a church was built on Fair Street (now Fulton), between Nassau and William Streets, and dedicated to the worship of God by Spangenberg and the Brethren Owen Rice, and Jacob Rogers, on the 18th of June, 1752. Before the close of the year a parsonage also had been erected on the line of the street, in front of the church. It was first occupied by Owen and Elizabeth Rice. These buildings were removed in 1828.

Abraham Reincke was settled at New York in 1754, the date of one of the following Registers. In 1763 a Moravian church and parsonage were built, and dedicated to the worship of God, on Staten Island. The Moravians never had a church on Long Island. Subsequent to 1749, Timothy Horsfield's house, near Brooklyn Ferry, was for several years the seat of an "Economy," or "Family," composed of Brethren and Sisters laboring in the Gospel or in the cause of education. Thence these missionaries went forth statedly into the adjacent parts of New England also.

NAMES OF PERSONS IN NEW YORK, AND ON LONG AND STATEN ISLANDS, ATTACHED TO THE BRETHREN'S CHURCH, IN 1744.

Men.	*Women.*
ARDEN, JAMES, (*joiner*. Resided at Bethlehem in 1747. Returned to New York. D. in 1765.)	
CORTELLJAU, (now Cortelyou) JACQUES. (An Elder in the Dutch Reformed Church on Long Island. D. in October, 1757. Descendants of the name living.)	CORTELLJAU, JACOMYNTJE, (m. n. Pett, b. June, 1689, on Staten Island. A member of the Dutch Reformed Church. D. September, 1769, and was buried on Long Island.)

Edmonds, William. (Removed to Bethlehem in 1749.)

Florentine, Abraham, (*shoemaker*. Born in New York in 1718. Withdrew.)

Hopson, John, (Long Island. *Butcher*. Born in Gloucestershire, O. E. Admitted to church fellowship at Bethlehem in 1748. Resided some time in Lancaster.)

Horsfield, Timothy, (*butcher*, Long Island. Removed to Bethlehem in 1749. Sometime a Justice of the Peace and Colonel in the Province service. D. at that place, March, 1773.)

Kingston, John, (*blacksmith and shopkeeper*. B. in Philadelphia in Nov. 1717. A member of the Church of England. Married Rachel Bell, of New York. D. in August, 1767.)

Montagne, Jacobus, (*shopkeeper*. B. on New York Island in May of 1704. D. at Hackensack, N. J., 1769.)

Noble, Thomas, (*merchant*. D. March 22, 1746.)

Schaefer, Joseph.

Van Vleck, Hendrick, (*merchant*. B. Sept. 1722, in New York, of Dutch Reformed family. United with the Brethren in Dec. 1748, and became their agent. In 1774 removed with his family to Bethlehem, where he d. July 25, 1785. Three sons and one daughter survived their father. Jacob, the oldest son, was ordained a Bishop in 1815, and d. at Bethlehem in

Edmonds, Rebecca, (m. n. de Beauvois. D. in New York, 1749.)

Brashier, Judith, (m. n. Gasherie, born in Kingston, Esopus, May, 1700. Relict of Luke Brashier. Her grandmother, Judith Gasharie, fled from France in the great persecution under Louis XIV.)

Horsfield, Mary, (m. n. Doughty.)

Hume, Elizabeth, relict of —— Hume. (B. at Berwick-on-Tweed, O. E., in 1690. In 1738 came to her uncle James Rockhead, merchant, of New York. In Oct. 1745, married John Okely, of Bethlehem. D. there in Dec. 1775.)

Bryan, Martha. (md. Rev. Lawrence T. Nyberg in 1748. Went to Europe with her husband in May of 1750.)

Burnet, Ismaiah, (m. n. Thomas, born in Cheshire, O. E., wife of George Burnet. D. in June, 1773.)

Boelen, Jannetje, (m. n. Waldron, wife of Hendrick Boelen, silversmith. Born 1698. D. August, 1776.)

Montagne, Marij, (m. n. Pell. B. Sept. 1704, in New York. D. Dec. 31, 1773.)

Noble, Mary.

Smith, Deborah, widow, (m. n. Pell—Mrs. Montagne's sister. D. in 1763.)

Wendover, Marij, (m. n. Peterse, relict of Hercules Wendover, one of the first friends of the Brethren in New York. He d. in 1743. Mrs. Wendover removed to Bethlehem in 1745, and in August of that year married James Burnside. After his death, in 1755, she returned to New York, and d. in Jan. 1774.)

1831. Jacob's son, William Henry, was ordained a Bishop in 1836, and d. at Beth'm in 1853. The Rev. Henry J. Van Vleck of South Bethlehem is a great grandson of Hendrick Van Vleck of New York.)

WYTON, ELSIE, daughter of widow Alice Wyton.

MEMBERS OF THE BRETHREN'S CONGREGATION IN NEW YORK, IN 1754.

Married Brethren.	*Married Sisters.*
ARDEN, JAMES.	ARDEN, URSULA, (d. in 1764.)
CARGILL, JOHN, (*butcher*. B. in the Highlands of Scotland. Withdrew, and in 1781 removed to Staten Island.)	BOELEN, JANNETJE.
	BURNET, ISMAIAH.
CORNWALL, WILLIAM, (*farmer*. Born in Hempstead, Long Island, in 1704. D. in 1780.)	CORNWALL, CHARITY, (m. n. Doughty, sister to Mrs. T. Horsfield. D. in 1756.)
DOELING, JOHN, (*shopkeeper*. Born, 1715, on the Island of Ruegen. Attended the University at Jena. In April of 1746 married Mary Van Dusen, at Amwell, N. J. She was born near Albany in 1729. He d. in New Jersey in 1778.)	INYARD, ELIZABETH, (widow, sister to Capt. Nicholas Garrison. Resided on Staten Island.)
	HINCHMAN, MARY, (Long Island, east end.)
FUTER, DANIEL, (came to New York from London in April, 1754. Returned to Europe in 1769.)	FUTER, CATHERINE.
KINGSTON, JOHN.	
KUIPER, ——.	
MUELLER, DANIEL, (*potter*. In 1747, was residing in Philadelphia, and attached to the Brethren. D. in 1760.)	MUELLER, MARY, (m. n. Kreuzmann, b. in Pennsylvania in 1720. D. in 1763.)
MONTAGNE, JACOBUS.	MONTAGNE, MARIJ.
NIXON, WILLIAM, (*cooper*. Born on the Manor of Hamilton, Ireland, in 1714. In 1747, was attached to the Brethren in Philadelphia. Came to New York in 1754. Removed to Bethlehem in 1758. D. in Elizabethtown in 1776.)	NIXON, REBECCA, (m. n. Hartshorn. D. in New York in 1780.)
PETERSEN, PETER, (Long Island).	PETERSEN, SARAH, (m. n. Robbins, of Phila. Married Peter Petersen in Aug. 1746.)
REED, JACOB—ROHR—(*tailor*. B. in Canton Bern Switzerland, in 1714. Was a member of the Brethren's Church in London in 1723. Came to New York in 1750.)	REED, JANE, (m. n. Mintborne.)

ROEBUCK, JARVIS, (*cork-cutter*. A member of the "Fetter Lane Society" in London in 1743. Came to Philadelphia in Sept. 1745. Thence removed to New York. Withdrew in 1765.)

SMITH, ——.

VAN DER BILDT, JACOBUS, (formerly an elder in the Dutch Reformed Church on Staten Island. D. Dec. 1760. An ancestor of Commodore Vanderbilt.)

VAN DEUSEN, JAN, (*shoemaker*. Born in 1700. D. in 1770.)

VAN VLECK, HENDERICK,

ROEBUCK, SUSAN, (late widow Klemm, of Philadelphia. Married Jarvis Roebuck in Oct. 1746.)

VAN DER BILT, NIELTJE, or Vetje.

VAN DEUSEN, TRIJUTJE, (m. n. Minthorne. B. in 1703. D. in 1772.)

VAN VLECK, JANE, (m. n. Cargill. B. on an island off Argyleshire, Scotland, in Dec. 1723.)

Single Brethren.

BURNET, WILLIAM, (son of George and Ismaiah Burnet. George Burnet came to New York with His Excellency, Col. William Burnet, the newly appointed Governor of that Province in Sept. 1720.)

FELDHOUSEN, JOHN G.

FELDHOUSEN, CHRISTOPH.

FRITZ, ——.

KIELBRUNN, LORENTZ, (B. in Denmark, in 1720.)

MONTAGNE, ABRAHAM.

Single Sisters.

ANTHONY, MARGARETA. (Removed to Pethlehem in 1755, and married Wm. Edmonds, widower.)

HALEY, JANE, (Long Island.)

PELL, ESTHER. (B. in New York in 1716. D. in 1781.)

WALDRON, SARAH, (withdrew in 1765.)

Widows.

BRASHIER, JUDITH.

BURGER, SUSAN, (m. n. Whitman, b. 1696, on Staten Island. Relict of Elias Burger. D. at Peekskill, Nov. 1772.)

CAFFTON, ELIZABETH, (m. n. Lord. B. in Lancashire, O. E., in 1714.)

SMITH, DEBORAH.

VAN DYCK, MATJE, (m. n. Hollaard. B. in New York in 1688. D. on Second River in 1775. In her house the Brethren first met for worship.)

WYTON, ALICE, (m. n. Van Oort. B. in Schenectady in 1683. Relict of Richmond Wyton. D. in 1767.)

NAMES OF PERSONS IN NEW YORK AND ON LONG AND STATEN ISLANDS, ATTACHED TO THE BRETHREN'S CHURCH, IN 1754.

Married Men.	*Married Women.*
BOELEN, HENDERICK, (*silversmith.* B. in New York, 1697. D. in 1755.)	ANDERSON, ——.
	CAMPBELL, MARGARET. (B. in Ireland.)
BOEMPER, LUDWIG. (B. in the Duchy of Nassau in 1714. Came to New York from Surinam in 1748. A brother of Abram Boemper of Bethlehem.)	BOEMPER, GERRITJE, (m. n. Brouwer. B. in Zeeland. In 1744 married Ludwig Boemper in Paramaribo. D. on Long Island in 1781.)
	CONNOR, CATHERINE.
BOWIE, JOHN. (B. on the Island of Gery, North Scotland. D. March, 1760.)	
CORTELLJAU, JACQUES, (Long Island.)	CORTELLJAU, JACOMYNTJE.
FLORENTINE, ABRAHAM, (*shoemaker*)	FLORENTINE, ELSJE, (m. n. De Gree.)
LEPPER, THOMAS. (B. in Northamptonshire, O. E., in 1714. D. in 1767.)	HAGEN, ——.
	KINGSTON, RACHEL, (m. n. Bell. B. in New York, Oct. 1719. Wife of John Kingston.)
HENDERICKSE, FRANCIS. (D. in 1764.)	HENDERICKSE, CHARITY. (B. 1711, in Hackensack, N. J.)
MARTENSE, ——.	MARTENSE, ——.
PEARSON, WILLIAM, (*butcher.* A member of "the Fetter Lane Society" in London in 1743. Came to New York in 1754. D. in New Jersey in 1777.)	PEARSON, MARY, (m. n. Ewsters.)
PELL, SAMUEL, (*shoemaker* and *tobacconist.* Born in New York in 1690. D. in 1770.)	PELL, MARY, (m. n. Mesier. B. in Bergen County, N. J., in 1692. D. 1780.)
PUNTENIER, ——.	PUNTENIER, MARTHA. (D in 1765.)
RUNCY, JOHN, (*tobacconist.* Born in Scotland. Married Elizabeth Cafton. D. in 1773.)	SCHOUT, ——.
SCHUYLER, DIRCK, (*alderman* in New Brunswick.)	SCHUYLER, ——.
SWAN, JAMES. (B. in the Orkney Islands, 1710.)	
TIEBOUT, COENELISE. (B. in New York, 1699.)	TIEBOUT, MATJE, (m. n. Custer. B. in New York, 1706. D. in 1766.)
VAN DEVENTER, JAN, (*shipwright*, Long Island. He built the Brethren's snow *Irene.* D. Oct. 1758.)	VAN DEVENTER, LYSBET. (D. March, 1762.)
VAN DER BILDT, JR., JACOBUS.	VAN DER BILDT, ——.
	VAN DYCK, ——.
	VAN HORNE, ——.

Widows.

ALLEN, CORNELIA, (Long Island; m. n. Bedeuw, b. 1701, in Albany.)

CUMMINGS, EVE, (m. n. Anthony. Long Island.)

HELMES, GRITIE. (B. in 1716. Relict of Erasmus Helmes. D. 1761.)

HONES, CATHERINE. (B. in New York in 1722.)

KINGSTON, ——.

MINTHORNE, TRAUTJE. (B. in New York in 1704.)

SOMMERS, SUSAN. (Came to New York on the Irene, in 1752. In 1757 removed to Bethlehem.)

Unmarried Women.

ALLEN, HANNAH, (daughter of Mrs. Cornelia Allen. Married —— Giles.)

ALLEN, MARY. (Do. Married John Green, of Newport, in 1762.)

ALLEN, CATHERINE. (Do. Married John Floghardt. Withdrew.)

BOND, HANNAH.

BOELEN, JANNETJE, (daughter of Henderick and Jannetje Boelen.)

KETCHAM, MARY. (D. in 1760.)

SOMMERS, ELIZABETH, (dr. of Susan Sommers. B. in Grafenhaag, Holland. Removed to Bethlehem, and in 1763 married the Rev. Andrew Langaard, who d. at Emmaus in 1777. She d. at Bethlehem in 1785.)

VAN VLECK, SARAH, (dr. of Henderick and Jane Van Vleck.)

VAN VLECK, CATHERINE. (Do.)

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

MORAVIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

VOLUME I.

WHITEFIELD HOUSE.
NAZARETH:
PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY.
1876.

PREFACE.

The volume of the Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society, herewith issued, constitutes an important addition to Moravian history and biography, presenting many facts, nowhere else to be found in print, with regard to the early period of the Church in this country and the still earlier time in Bohemia and Moravia.

It will be seen that no less than six papers, all of them of unusual importance, with geographical and biographical notes which are invaluable, were furnished by the late Rev. William C. Reichel, the most prolific and distinguished local historian the Church has ever had. His graceful pen will be missed in the future Transactions of the Society, and their first volume would be incomplete without a brief memorial of his life and labors.

William Cornelius Reichel was born at Salem, N. C., on the 9th of May, 1824. His father was the Rev. Gotthold Benjamin Reichel, Principal of the Salem Female Academy, and, at the same time, one of the Pastors of the Church at that place. His grandfather was the Rt. Rev. Charles Gotthold Reichel, D.D., Bishop of the Church, and President of the Southern and, subsequently, of the Northern Provincial Boards, from 1802 to 1817. His great grandfather was the Rev. Charles R. Reichel, a distinguished clergyman of the Lutheran Church in Germany, whose father, grandfather, and great grandfather were all ministers of the Gospel. Professor Reichel belonged, therefore, to a family the heads of which, for six generations, devoted themselves to the holy ministry and accomplished great things in the name of the Lord. At the age of ten years he entered Nazareth Hall, and passed through a complete course in that school, as also in the Theological Seminary at Bethlehem. In 1844 he re-entered Nazareth Hall as a teacher.

This was the beginning of his career as an educator, which embraced the remaining thirty two years of his life. After leaving Nazareth Hall he taught in the Parochial School and in the Seminary for Young Ladies at Bethlehem, until 1858. In that year he was appointed Professor in the Theological Seminary, where he served for four years, and was then constituted Principal of Linden Hall, in 1862. His labors in this school were

crowned with great success. It numbered only about thirty scholars when he took charge of it, but soon reached the same height of prosperity which it had formerly occupied, comprising about one hundred and twenty-five pupils. At the close of the year 1867, he resigned his office as Principal, and re-entered the Theological Seminary as a Professor. In 1870 he accepted a vacant professorship in the Moravian Seminary at Bethlehem, and labored in this position until his death. Hard literary work during the intense heat of the summer of 1876 brought on a nervous prostration, which developed into a typhoid fever. He died in the night of the 25th of October, 1876, in the fifty-third year of his age.

Professor Reichel was a man of rare and manifold talents, a ripe scholar, and an indefatigable student. He excelled as a linguist in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; he was at home in the natural sciences, especially in botany; he had a decided gift for painting, and produced a number of pictures of no little merit; and, in his youth, he delighted and gained great proficiency in music. In fact, there were few branches of knowledge in which he could not excel, if he chose to pursue them with the determination to succeed.

About the year 1858 he began his career as a writer, and pursued it with enthusiasm until his death. He took up local Moravian history, read thousands of pages of ancient manuscripts preserved in the Bethlehem Archives, examined piles of old account books, and gathered a vast fund of information with regard to the early times of the American Moravian Church. Such information he knew how to present in an attractive form. His style was graceful, full of poetic beauty, flowing like the gentle waters of a brook.

Besides numerous articles in the *Moravian* and the *Daily Times* of Bethlehem, he wrote the following papers and works:

1. *A History of Nazareth Hall*, based on the MSS. of the Rev. Levin T. Reichel, his uncle. pp. 162. Philadelphia, 1855.

2. *A History of the Rise, Progress and Present Condition of the Bethlehem Female Seminary, with a Catalogue of its Pupils*, 1785–1858, pp. 468. Illustrated. Philadelphia, 1858.

3. *Moravians in New York and Connecticut. A Memorial of the dedication of monuments erected by the Moravian Historical Society, to mark the sites of ancient Missionary Stations in New York and Connecticut.* pp. 185. Illustrated. Philadelphia, 1860.

4. *Historical Sketch of Nazareth Hall from* 1755 *to* 1869, *with an account of the Re-unions of Former Pupils, and of the Inauguration of a Monument at Nazareth* 11*th June*, 1868, *erected in memory of the Alumni who fell in the late Rebellion. pp.* 356. Illustrated. Philadelphia, 1869.

5. *Memorials of the Moravian Church*, Vol. I. pp. 366. Philadelphia, 1870.

6. *Wyalusing, and the Moravian Mission at Friedenshuetten.* Part V. Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society, pp. 45. Bethlehem, 1871.

7. *Names which the Lenni Lennape or Delaware Indians gave to rivers, streams, and localities within the States of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and Virginia, with their significations. Prepared from a MS. by John Heckewelder.* Part VI. of Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society. pp. 55. Bethlehem, 1872.

8. *A Red Rose from the Olden Time; or, A Ramble through the Annals of the Rose Inn, on the Barony of Nazareth, in the days of the Province.* pp. 40. Philadelphia, 1872.

9. *The Crown Inn, near Bethlehem, Penna., 1745. A History, touching the events that occurred at that notable Hostelry, during the reigns of the Second and Third Georges, and rehearsing the transmission of "the Simpson Tract," in Lower Saucon Township, Bucks County, in unbroken chain of title, from William Penn, of Worminghurst, in the County of Sussex, Esqr., to Margaret and William Lowther; to Margaret Poole of Coney Hutch; to Joseph Stanwix, of Bartlett's Buildings; to John Simpson, of Tower Hill; and last, to Jasper Payne, of Bethlehem, wine-cooper, for the sole use and behoof of his Moravian Brethren, between* 1681 *and* 1746*: Being a partial unfolding of the particular annals of early Moravian settlement, and other settlement, in the Province of Pennsylvania.* pp. 162. Illustrated. Philadelphia, 1872.

10. *The Old Sun Inn, at Bethlehem, Penna., 1758, now the Sun Hotel An Authentic History.* pp. 51. Doylestown, Pa., 1873.

11. *A Register of Members of the Moravian Church, and of persons attached to said Church in this country and abroad, between* 1727 *and* 1754. *By Rev. A. Reincke. Illustrated with historical annotations by William C. Reichel.* Part VII. Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society. pp. 142. Bethlehem, 1873.

12. *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations who once inhabited Pennsylvania and the neighboring States. By the Rev. John Heckewelder. New and revised edition, with an introduction and notes.* pp. 450. Illustrated. (Publication Fund of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.) Philadelphia, 1876.

13. *A Sketch of Northampton County, in Dr. Egle's Illustrated History of Pennsylvania.* pp. 30.

14. Two MS. Monographs, namely, *Friedenshuetten, or the Stockaded Mill, and History of the Trombone.*

It thus appears that he did more than any other writer to preserve and make known the local history of the American Moravian Church. Under the patronage of a few members of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, he was preparing to write at the time of his death, "The History of Bethlehem," a "Centennial Memorial Volume of the Bethlehems," and the "History of Northampton County, Pennsylvania," for which works he had been patiently collecting materials for many years. He left a large mass of notes, memoranda, maps drawn by his own hand, and plans of old buildings, which he meant to use in writing these works.

The Moravian Historical Society may well be proud of having had such a historian among its membership, and will ever remember him as one of its most indefatigable coadjutors.

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The Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the Moravian Historical Society, which was held on Wednesday, October 18th, 1871, and the Vesper during the afternoon, will long be memorable in its annals, for upon that day, in addition to occupying its new hall, in the lately renovated Whitefield House, it also entered upon a new epoch in its existence. There were present a larger number of members and their friends, than at any previous meeting, and but one opinion was expressed, that fresh vigor would be infused, and new life aroused in the membership. The Whitefield House and lot were purchased of the Trustees of the Nazareth congregation early in the present year, by the projector of the Missionary Home, and a deed was by him executed to the "Society of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen," from which the following recitals are taken :

"In Trust and to hold the said lot or piece of ground above described hereditaments and premises hereby granted or mentioned and intended so to be with the appurtenances unto the said the Society of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen, their successors and assigns; to and for the only proper use and behoof of the said the Society of United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen, their successors and assigns forever.

"In Trust nevertheless to and for and upon the following uses, ends and interests and purposes and no other, that is to say, to permit and suffer 'The Moravian Historical Society' to solely and uninterrupedly occupy, use and enjoy the second story of the building erected on said lot, with free ingress and egress to and from the same for the purposes of said Society so long as the same shall continue to exist and as to all the other parts of the hereby granted premises and also as to the second story of the said building after the dissolution of the said Historical Society, if ever, in trust to hold the same for and as a home for visiting and retired or pensioned missionaries or ministers of the Moravian Church under the care of the Board of Elders of the Northern Diocese of the Church of the United Brethren in the United States of America, subject however

as to the whole of the said premises to such rules and regulations as the ex-officio Directors of the Society may from time to time establish."

In the spring the work of renovation, or more properly rebuilding, to adapt it to the uses for which it is designed, was commenced under the direction of a joint committee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Heathen and the Historical Society. The external appearance of the building has not been materially changed, the walls and the timbers of the roof having been found perfectly sound,—its broken roof, which is its distinguishing feature, being retained. The interior is divided into three floors, connected in the north-west gable by a wide and easy stairway, with a fine heavy balustrade made of the old oaken timbers torn away during rebuilding.

On the first floor there are six apartments, and on the third seven smaller ones, the whole constituting three comfortable suites of rooms. By the exertions of the sisters of Bethlehem, Nazareth and Lititz these have been partially furnished. Two suites are occupied at present by Rev. Henry M. Weiss and family, from Barbadoes, W. I.; and Rev. Francis W. Knauss and family, recently in charge of the congregation at Moravia, Iowa.

On the second floor is the hall of the Society. It is a light and spacious apartment, forty feet in length, by thirty in width, having its ceiling supported by four iron columns. Here the historical museum and library are deposited, and here, too, the stated meetings and annual Vespers are held. In this hall, on the day of dedication, the first business meeting was held at 10 o'clock, A. M., when officers were elected for the ensuing year.

The Vesper of the afternoon always takes precedence in point of interest, being in fact the main feature of the day. That expectation ran higher than usual on the present occasion could be inferred from the extraordinary number of guests who, by a quarter to two o'clock, had seated themselves around the tastefully adorned and bountifully supplied tables. The exercises began with a "choral" by the Nazareth church-choir, who had kindly consented to enhance the pleasure of the day by their performance. This was followed by reading of the Scriptures and prayer by Bishop Henry A. Shultz, and the dedication of the Missionary Home. After the usual grace,

"Be present at our table Lord;
Be here and everywhere adored:
From thy all-bounteous hand our food
May we receive with gratitude,"

had been sung, the company were invited to partake of what was set before them. Sufficient time having been allowed for this purpose, the retiring President, Rev. Eugene Leibert, addressed the Society. After words of cordial welcome, he proceeded to compare the present with the past condition of the Society, calling attention to the new dignity of permanent occupancy to which they had now risen, and the heretofore unfelt comfortable feeling which attended it.

The accounts of the "Missionary Home," as read by Rev. Sylvester Wolle, showed the following results:

Cost of building and renovation	$6,125.29
Receipts from all sources	5,128.30
Deficiency, (which has since been paid)	996.99

Towards the furnishing of the Home:

Receipts	$379.83
Disbursements	374.62
Balance on hand	5.21

This was followed by the reading of a paper prepared by the Rev. William C. Reichel entitled,

DISJECTA MEMBRA.

The house in which the members of the Moravian Historical Society are met on this the fourteenth anniversary of their organization, is invested with peculiar interest, in addition to being associated with the name of George Whitefield, the founder of Calvinistic Methodism, and with the movements of the first Moravians who came into the Province of Pennsylvania, full one hundred and thirty-one years ago.

The very ground on which it stands is rich in history, it being one portion of 25,000 acres, devised to his daughter Laetitia, by William Penn;—said 25,000 acres being located and surveyed at different times, and in different parts of the Province. The tract of 5,000 acres, with which we are concerned, (it being the balance of the original grant,) was formally released to their sister Laetitia, by John, Thomas and Richard Penn, (who had succeeded their

father in the proprietaryship in 1718), on the 25th of September, 1731. Her right to this balance of 5,000 acres, Laetitia, (now Mrs. Laetitia Aubry) conveyed to William Allen, of Philadelphia, merchant, by release dated 10 April, 1735, for the consideration of £500 sterling of Great Britain, and the specified quit-rent, to wit: "the payment of one red rose on the 24th day of June yearly, if the same shall be demanded." It being left for Allen to locate the 5,000 acres wherever he felt inclined, he sent Surveyor General Eastburn into the Forks of Delaware (in what was then Bucks County) to select and survey a desirable tract, without delay.* Thus it came to pass that the survey was completed on the 4th day of June, 1735; and it is remarkable that its bearings and courses (with but a slight deviation on the southern boundary), are identical with those of Upper Nazareth township. These 5,000 acres are often referred to in early Moravian records, as the Barony of Nazareth, the original grantee being privileged by the grantor to erect *the entire tract or any part or parts thereof* into a *Manor* and to have and hold *Court Baron thereon;*—a privilege which was, however, never claimed,—and which was subsequently annulled. Thus much of the early "deed" history of the land on which this venerable house stands.

George Whitefield, erst a servitor of Pembroke College, Oxford, landed at Savannah, Georgia, for the first time, in May of 1738. He had been ordained a deacon in the Church of England, and was come to the New World, with a commission from the Trustees of Georgia, to preach the Gospel within their jurisdiction. Sympathizing deeply in the temporal destitution of the colonists also, he, on his return to England in December of 1738, agitated Oglethorpe's scheme of erecting an Asylum for Orphans in Georgia. On the 9th of May, 1739, he tells us, the Trustees in London granted him an audience. Before them he now appeared, as the champion of the suffering poor, plead their cause, dwelt on the benefits likely to accrue to the colony from an institution such as Oglethorpe designed, and finally made proposals. To these the Trustees agreed, granting "him and his successors" 500 acres of land "for the use of an Orphan House."

Whitefield sailed for America, a second time, in August of

* The County of Northampton was erected on March 11th, 1752.

1739; landed at Lewes;—visited Philadelphia and New York;—made a tour of the colonies on the sea-board, and arrived at Savannah early in January of 1740. Wherever he had preached in the course of his journey, he had appealed to the sympathies of his audience in behalf of the needy and suffering of Georgia. It was with funds collected in this way, that he was enabled at once to proceed to the erection of the Orphan House,—and on the 19th March, 1740, its corner-stone was laid with becoming solemnities. He named it Bethesda, *i. e.* "a house of mercy." Such, we are told, it proved for almost twenty years, although its existence was a precarious one, depending altogether upon the free-will offerings of the charitable. The building stood upon "a low pine-barren, surrounded on one side by a large tract of salt-marsh, extending to Vernon River, and on the other side by woods," about fourteen miles south-east from the town of Savannah.* It was here that Bro. John Hagen (who deceased at Shamokin in 1747), engaged as a day-laborer in the summer of 1740, when on his arrival in Georgia, he found to his dismay, that all the Brethren had left the colony. A difference of opinion respecting doctrinal points between him and some of Whitefield's employees at the Asylum, prejudiced the great field-preacher against the Brethren, and was the indirect occasion of the breach between the two, which led to the expulsion of the latter from the Nazareth tract.

During his late stay in England, Whitefield had been ordained a priest and was thus qualified to act as rector of Christ Church in Savannah. To his duties as such, he added those of Superintendent of the Orphan Asylum. In its interests he set out for Pennsylvania on board his sloop "The Savannah," on the 13th of April, 1740. His fellow passengers were William Seward of London, his faithful financier, and the remnant of the Moravian colonists, led by Peter Boehler. "On the 20th of April," writes Seward in his Journal, "it being the seventh day out from Savannah, Mr. Whitefield proposed to me to go to England in behalf of the Orphan

* "The funds originally designed to support this Institution, founded by George Whitefield, are chiefly rice-plantations and negroes. On the death of the Countess of Huntingdon, to whom Mr. Whitefield bequeathed this property as Trustee, the Legislature in 1792 passed a law, vesting it in thirteen Commissioners with power to carry the original intention of Whitefield into execution."—*Morse's Gazetteer, Boston*, 1797.

House, and to *collect subscriptions for a negro school in Pennsylvania, where he proposes to take up land, in order to settle a town for the reception of such English friends whose heart God shall incline to come and settle there.*"

The sloop arrived at Philadelphia on the 25th day of April. The Brethren repaired to Germantown, or sought out acquaintances in the rural districts or townships adjacent,—Whitefield remained in the capital, and Seward opened negotiations for a tract of land on which to erect a school for negroes and to found a Methodist settlement. It was on the 3rd of May, he tells us, that he agreed with Mr. William Allen for 5,000 acres of land in the Forks of Delaware, at £2,200 sterling, the conveyance to be made to Mr. Whitefield, and after that assigned to him, as security for his advancing the money. Mr. Whitefield, he adds, " purposes to give orders for building the school on the purchased land before he leaves the Province."

These orders were given, on the 5th of May at the farm-house of one Christopher Wiegner, a Schwenkfelder, in Towamensing township, then Philadelphia, where in the forenoon of said day Whitefield preached to some 2,000 hearers. Peter Boehler happened to be here, as Wiegner was a friend of the Brethren, he having resided at Berthelsdorf, near Herrnhut, prior to 1734. Here then, Whitefield proposed to Boehler to superintend the erection of the projected school-house, and to engage the Brethren whom he had led from Georgia, to do the carpenter work. Boehler entertained the proposal favorably, and at Whitefield's suggestion, accompanied by Mr. Henry Antes of Frederic township [at whose house he had preached in the evening of the same day], set out on the afternoon of the 6th of May to view the tract. Bro. Anton Seyffert rode along, and the three horsemen spent the night of the 7th in the woods, on Whitefield's recent purchase.*

On their return to Antes', Whitefield's proposal was put to the lot, (May 10th) and meeting with its approval, was accepted by Boehler.

On the 27th of May, Boehler and the Brethren, set out from Germantown for the Whitefield tract, named by him Nazareth.

* Welagamika, signifying *rich soil,* was the name of the Delaware town on the " Nazareth tract," when the Moravians came there in 1740. The Indians applied the name to the entire tract.

They arrived there on the 30th, and encamped on the lowland that skirts the northern limits of the present borough. Boehler's company consisted of Anton Seyffert, J. Martin Mack, John Boehner, David and Rosina Zeisberger, David Zeisberger their son, Hannah Hummel, and Benjamin Sommers and James, two indentured lads.*

A few days subsequently Whitefield's agents arrived from Philadelphia, and selected a site for the school. Thither the Brethren now transferred their encampment.

Towards the close of July they completed the first house, having up to that time lived in huts made of branches and bark of trees. The season had been unusually rainy. In the first week of September the walls of the school were built no higher than to the door-sills, and £300 had already been expended. As rains again set in, it became evident that the building could not be brought under roof before winter. Boehler now repaired to Philadelphia to report to Whitefield's agents, and obtained their consent to put up a comfortable building in which to pass the winter.†

On his return from Philadelphia, Boehler dismissed the masons and lime-burners he had engaged in Skippack and Goshenhoppen; and he and his Brethren turned their attention solely to their own wants, as has been stated,—making provision for wintering in the wilderness.

Towards the close of November, Boehler went a second time to Philadelphia, on learning of Whitefield's arrival from Georgia. On this occasion, he met with the memorable repulse,—"Sic Jubeo; stet pro ratione voluntas!" which threatened to render himself and his Brethren a second time homeless wanderers in Pennsylvania. But Nathaniel Irish, the miller on Saucon Creek (Shimersville) interposed, and so it came to pass that the Brethren were permitted to remain at Nazareth during the winter of 1740 and 1741. It proved to be unprecedentedly rigorous.‡

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* For biographical notes of this company, and for those whose names subsequently appear in this paper, refer to the paper entitled, "A Register of Members of the Moravian Church, and of Persons Attached to said Church in this Country and Abroad between 1727 and 1754," p. 285 of this volume.

† This was subsequently the "Widow's House" of the Church until the completion of the present one at Bethlehem, in October, 1768; and is now occupied by Bro. John C. Brickenstein.

‡ According to Eastburn's MSS. map of 1740, Nathaniel Irish was in that year settled on 306 acres, at the mouth of "Saucong Creek." Here he built a mill, and

December 15, 1740.—The Brethren David Nitschman, *episcopus*, David Nitschman, Sr., Christian Froehlich, and the sisters Anna Nitschman and Johanna Sophia Molther, who had landed at Philadelphia on the 5th, joined the little company at Nazareth.

December 27.—Bro. Boehler left Nazareth for New York, thence to sail for Europe.

David Nitschman, *episcopus*, succeeded him in the administration of the Brethren's affairs, and in April of 1741, concluded to purchase a tract of 500 acres of land, situate at the confluence of the Monacasy creek with the Lehigh, on which to make a settlement. The deed for this tract was made between William Allen, of Philadelphia, merchant, and Margaret his wife of the one part, and Henry Antes of Frederick township, in the county of Philadelphia, wheelwright, as agent of the Moravians, of the other part, and executed on the 2d day of April, 1741.

On this tract Bethlehem was commenced in the early spring of the year; and yet, we are told, that the Brethren did not fully abandon the improvements at Nazareth until the 27th of June, 1741. They therefore resided a full year on Whitefield's purchase.

Meanwhile William Seward, who was the actual owner of Nazareth (in as far as Whitefield had released the 5,000 acres to him by mortgage deed, dated May 6, 1740), deceased. This was in the early spring of 1741. Pecuniarily embarrassed, Whitefield concluded to dispose of his estate in parcels of 500 acres, reserving the one-tenth, on which the improvements had been made, for himself. But he could find no purchasers. In the course of the summer, Spangenberg, then in England, offered to buy the entire tract, to which, after long demurring, Whitefield finally consented. The deed of sale was executed July 17, 1741, the indenture being made between George Whitefield, of the one part, and George Stonehouse of the Parish of St. James, Clerkenswell, in the county of Middlesex, clerk, of the other, in behalf of the Brethren, the consideration being £2,500 sterling of Great Britain. Intelligence of this purchase reached Bethlehem on the 15th of September, 1741.

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hither Boehler was wont to come to await the grinding of grist for his Brethren at Nazareth. Irish's house stood on the site of Mr. Wm. Shimer's residence, in Shimersville. It was removed in 1816. The ruins of the mill are yet to be seen on the premises of Mr. John Knecht, of that place. It was demolished in 1812.

Count Zinzendorf landed at New York on the 2d of December, 1741. In the summer of 1742 he instituted proceedings for the removal of Capt. John, and his Indian retainers, (near the site of whose village Boehler, Seyffert and Antes had encamped in May of 1740), from Nazareth. In this he succeeded finally, towards the close of the year.*

Meanwhile he had visited Nazareth on the 24th of July; and perhaps earlier. Between this date and October 9th, the two log-houses at Nazareth, were occupied by the English Brethren and Sisters, who had been imported on the snow Catharine, in June;—they having been formed into a distinct congregation, with David Bruce as their Elder. The following were the members of this ephemeral organization:

Thomas Yarrell, and Ann, his wife,
Samuel Powell, and Martha, his wife,
James Turner, and Elizabeth, his wife,
Joseph Powell, and Martha, his wife,
Owen Rice, and Elizabeth, his wife,
Robert Hussey, and Martha, his wife,

and the single brethren, John Okely, Joseph Shaw and Hector Gambold.

On the 9th of October, this company passed through Bethlehem, on its way to Philadelphia.†

October 16, 1742, Matthias Seybold, and Mary his wife, set out from Bethlehem, to take charge of the improvements at Nazareth, this being rendered necessary by the growing disposition manifested by Capt John's Indians to trespass. In the middle of December, the last of these unpleasant neighbors evacuated their town, much to the relief of the Brethren, who were now the sole possessors of the soil, of the two log-houses with garden adjacent, and the stone walls of the ill-fated and unfinished school.

Meanwhile Zinzendorf abroad, in the summer of 1743, was busy in fitting out a second colony of Brethren and Sisters, one portion of which he designed to locate at Nazareth. Certain intelligence of this reached Bethlehem in the second week of September, and on

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* Capt. John, a Delaware, son of old Capt. Harris of Pocopoco, and half-brother of Teedyuscung.

† They formed the English part of the Philadelphia congregation, organized by Zinzendorf, in January of 1743.

the 18th of the month masons were sent up to Nazareth to resume work on the "stone-house," (as it is called), and hasten its completion. Two years therefore, had fully elapsed, since the trowel had last rung on the limestones that were built into the walls of this now venerable pile. By the close of the year the work was done, and on the 2d of January, 1744, it was occupied by thirty-three couples, members of the colony that had been imported on the "Little Strength," Capt. Garrison, in November previous.*

The following are the names of these first occupants, of the "stone-house" in which we are met on this festive afternoon. Scarce twelve of these names are familiar in our circles, the rest having all passed away with those who once bore them.

Gottlieb Anders, and Ann Christiana, his wife,
Tobias Hirte, and Mary, his wife,
John Jorde, and Ann Margaret, his wife,
Jonas Neilsen, and Margaret, his wife,
Matthew Schropp, and Ann Mary, his wife,
John C. Weinert, and Mary, his wife,
Martin Boehmer, and Margaret, his wife,
John Michler, and Barbara, his wife,
John G. Partsch, and Susan L., his wife,
David Reichardt, and Elizabeth, his wife,
Matthew Reutz, and Magdaline, his wife,
Thomas Schaaf, and Ann C., his wife,
George Crist, and Ann Mary, his wife,
John G. Grabs, and Ann Mary, his wife,
Abraham Hessler, and Mary, his wife,
George Kremser, and Ann Mary, his wife,
John Schaub, and Divert Mary, his wife,
David Boehringer, and Gertrude, his wife,
Matthew Krause, and Christina, his wife,
Daniel Kunckler, and Ann M., his wife,
Andrew Schober, and Hedwig, his wife,
Matthias Weiss, and Margaret C., his wife,
John H. Biefel, and Rosina, his wife,

* The building contained eleven dwelling rooms, three large rooms or halls, and two cellars.

Thomas Fischer, and Agnes, his wife,
John C. Fritsche, and Margaret, his wife,
John Mozer, and Mary Philippina, his wife,
Peter Goetje, and A. Barbara, his wife,
Matthew Hancke, and Elizabeth, his wife,
Andrew Kremser, and Rosina, his wife,
John H. Moeller, and Rosina, his wife,
John M. Mücke, and Catharine, his wife,
George Ohneberg, and Susan his wife.

On the 2d day of January, 1744, these thirty-three couples, led by Bro. John Hagen, set out afoot from Bethlehem for Nazareth. The Brethren led the way, each with his axe in hand to clear the path from obstructions. The Sisters followed, provided with a lunch of buttered bread. There was as yet no highway between the two places.*

At Nazareth the Brethren Boehler and Seyfferth introduced the new comers into their future home, and then met with them for worship in the chapel on the first floor. This hall served as a sanctuary for all who resided on the Nazareth tract, until the dedication of the chapel in Nazareth Hall, on the 13th of November, 1756. Thus the stone house was first inhabited.

In 1745, the first of the group of buildings at the improvement called by later generations "Old Nazareth," was built;—thither the adult inmates of the "stone house" were gradually removed, and the building assigned for the children of the settlement, and for a "boarding school for girls."†

This Boarding School was commenced, 28th March, 1745, with eighteen pupils. In 1746 its inmates were the following:

Antes, Mary, daughter of Henry Antes,
Beata, alias "Chicken," an Indian,
Beck, Christiana, daughter of Henry and Barbara Beck, from Georgia,
Burnside, Beckie, daughter of James Burnside of Georgia,
Quatsch'l, an Indian,

* The "King's road," leading from Bethlehem N. N. E. to Nazareth, 2840 perches, was ordered by the Court of Quarter Sessions, held at Newtown in March of 1745.

† *May* 26, 1756.—A trench for the palisades around Old Nazareth was begun to be dug; and on *June 4th*, the Brethren, who had now done setting the stockade, met in a Lovefeast. The timber had been cut earlier. (*Nazareth Diary.*)

Franke, Margaret, daughter of Jacob Franke, of Philadelphia,
Frey, Elizabeth, from Falckner Swamp,
Horsfield, Elizabeth, daughter of Timothy Horsfield of Long Island,
Klemm, Susan, from New York,
Klotz, Ann M., from Tulpehocken,
Leibert, Mary, from Philadelphia,
Lock, Elizabeth, from Germantown,
Martha, an Indian,
Little Dove, an Indian,*
Montanye, Beckie, from New York,
Miller, Ann C., from Falckner Swamp,
Noble, Polly, from New York,
Price, Sally, from Philadelphia,
Price, Polly, from Philadelphia,
Pricelius Ann,
Rose, Mary, from Germantown,
Rose, Ann C., from Germantown,
Schaus, Ann M., from Falckner Swamp,
Spangenberg, Mary, an Indian,
Sarah, alias "Little Worm," an Indian.
Tanneberger, Ann, from Bethlehem,
Ysselstein, Sarah, from Bethlehem,
Ysselstein, Rachel, from Bethlehem.

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* "During a conference with the sisters in charge of the children, and in which the baptism of Little Dove was under consideration Sister Kearney handed in a letter which had been dictated by Little Dove. We finally agreed to perform the ceremony. The children were then brought into the chapel, and seated on three benches that were placed obliquely. Before them chairs were arranged in a half circle for the sponsors, eight in number, among whom sat Little Dove arrayed in white. The service was commenced by singing the first stanza of hymn No. 2006, and thereupon Bro. A. Reinke spoke on the word of the day. He then asked Little Dove the following questions:

Do you believe that the Lamb is your Saviour?

Ans.—I do.

Do you believe that the blood of the Lamb is efficacious to save your soul?

Ans.—Yes.

Is it still your sincere wish to be baptized into the death of Jesus?

Ans.—Yes.

During the singing of the hymn a tub of water was brought in, covered with white linen, before which she knelt, and the children and sisters stood. Bro. Reinke then sprinkled the water upon the *little brown sister* and called her *Ann Mary.*"—*Nazareth Diary, January,* 1747.

November 11, 1748, the Brethren Spangenberg, John von Watteville, and Henry Antes viewed the "stone-house" at Nazareth, in order to ascertain whether or not it would provide suitable accommodations, for the infants of the church, who at this time were collected together in the Nursery at Bethlehem. It was found to answer, and so it came to pass that on the

7th of January, 1749, fifty-six infants, varying in age from fifteen months to five years, with their attendants and instructors, (widows and single sisters) removed from Bethlehem into the "stone-house," which henceforth was called the Nursery.

Year after year, for upwards of fourteen years, the infants of those parents who, as the Brethren expressed it, were engaged "in the work of the Lord," whether as ministers of the Gospel, or as evangelists, or itinerants, or missionaries, or handicraftsmen in the Economy, were cared for and reared in this church Institution. The measure it was thought, would prove an economical one, and the Brethren of those days were somehow or other simple-hearted enough to believe that no sacrifice was too great, if made for the Lord and in the advancement of His kingdom. There were sometimes upwards of seventy nurslings within these walls. "October 10th, 1754," says the Nazareth Diarist, "Bro. John Stoll brought his infant daughter, Ann Mary, aged 1 year and 9 months, from Bethlehem, to be entered in the Nursery." This infant was the mother of our venerable brother Andrew G. Kern, who has wrought so industriously in the mine of Moravian antiquities.

The Indian war broke in rudely upon the quiet of this "home of little ones," and when the savages came down into the settlements in the autumn of 1755, it was thought prudent to remove the nurslings and the pupils of the Boarding School to Bethlehem It was Bro. John Michael Graff, who dreamed in the night of November 30th, "that it was mid-winter, and yet lo! his bees were swarming!" Bro. Graff was superintendent of the schools at Nazareth; and when next day orders came from Bethlehem for the speedy removal of the children, his dream no longer needed an interpreter. On that day, December 1st, 1755, the inmates of the Nursery and Boarding School, with their attendants, numbering in all ninety-three souls, were transported to Bethlehem.

During the six months following, the "Nursery," as well as the two log-houses adjacent, were occupied by refugee settlers from the

frontiers, many of whom had escaped with their lives only, from the torch and tomahawk of the infuriated savages. Several of these unfortunates came here to die. There were orphan children too, and mothers with new-born babes, men and women, naked, and famished and cold! What a blessing then was this old stone house, to the homeless and houseless, in the terrible winter of 1755 and 1756!* While the Brethren provided for the temporal wants of these sufferers, during their sojourn at Nazareth, they also gave to them of the Bread of Life.

February 22, 1756, writes the Diarist, "Bro. Payne baptized the infant son of George Clevel, a refugee, and named him Daniel." Bro. Philip Clevel of Schoeneck is, we believe, the son of this Daniel Clevel. On the 3rd of June, 1756, the nurslings and pupils of the Boarding School returned from Bethlehem, and reoccupied the Nursery.

In June of 1759, the "little girls" of the Institution were removed to Bethlehem. From this time on, boys only were admitted.

In December of 1763, the number of these had diminished to five. With the abrogation of the Economy at Nazareth, in the spring of 1764, the Nursery was closed. Thus we have traced the history of this house from the summer of 1740 to the spring of 1764.

We know but little of the uses to which it was subsequently put. Within the memory of the oldest person living it was occupied by families and individuals in the common walks of life. As far as the Church is concerned, saving its having been the seat of the Theological Seminary between 1854 and 1859, it ceased to have a history. And yet it was always to most persons a house of an undefined or an undefinable interest; whether this interest centred in its unique architecture, or its dingy walls, or its mysterious presence, or its hipped-roof that was all of it that looked out over the tree tops, upon the world around; or in the curious historical associations that cling to it, and carry us far back, even to the days of old William Penn.

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* The palisades that were erected around the Whitefield House, during the war, were 236 by 170 feet, and 10 feet high; and it was ordered that not less than eight persons should constitute the watch.

There was a time, within our memory, when it stood back from the dusty street, and when its approach from the highway was by a stile, which being crossed, led you under the shade of embowering trees, to the carpet of green, that spread out invitingly on the sunny-side of its gray limestone walls. Thus we saw it for the first time! and we believe that others too, whenever they read or hear of Whitefield's Ephrata, or the Nursery, or the Whitefield House, will choose to see it before them, with the rural accessories that beautified its precincts in the days of the past.

A pleasing occurrence of the afternoon, also, was the presentation of a handsome cane cut from an oaken beam of the building, to the friend who had made the purchase of the building and devoted it to its present uses. To the great regret of all, he could not be present, and the cane was therefore received in his stead, and the presentation address of the Rev. Edward T. Kluge responded to by Bro. John W. Jordan.

Bro. John Beck, of Lititz, being called upon, related in his happy way, the pleasure he felt in revisiting this building, which in his childhood, seventy-two years ago, he had passed so often and used to be so much frightened at, because it had the notoriety of being bewitched by two ugly old women who lived in it. The thought that seventy-two years ago this building was already old enough to be bewitched, tended to place its antiquity in bolder relief.

Other speakers were the Rev. W. W. Spear, D.D., formerly rector of St. Luke's Episcopal Church, Philadelphia, and Mr. Green, "the last of the Moravians in Newport, R. I.," as he had been introduced. The former spoke in terms of high commendation of the project which had here been carried out, of providing a home for those laborers, who after having borne the heat and burden of the day, found themselves destitute of a home.

The ladies for the most part engaged in the orthdox and useful work of knitting, and the brethren in the just as orthodox but certainly less useful occupation of smoking.

The doxology

> "Praise God, from whom all blessings flow;
> Praise him, all creatures here below;
> Praise him above, ye heavenly hosts;
> Praise Father, Son and Holy Ghost!"

was then sung, and the members and their friends dispersed, having pleasantly and profitably passed the afternoon, and had their highest anticipations realized.

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1876.

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ERRATA.

[A comparison of several papers contained in this volume revealed frequent discrepancies in names and dates. The importanee of having these correctly stated in a historical work has made it necessary to prepare so extended a list of Errata.]

PAGE.

14—2d line from foot, dele (Wagner), and so subsequently.

15—2d line from top, for Anthony Seiffert read *Anton Seiffert.*

37—9th line from top, second column, for Hath. Wilcke read *Matthew Wittke.*

38—10th line from top, for Joan read *John.*

51—5th line from top, for Anvil read *Amwell.*

53—4th line from top, for Golgosky read *Golkowsky.*

69—10th line from foot, for Mahoni read *Mahoning.*

77—7th line from top, for economy read *Economy.*

80—5th line from top, for Cond. Harnett read *Cornelius Harnett.*

82—3d line from top, for Poure read *Du Pui.*

82—8th line from top, for Marmol read *Marbletown.*

82—13th line from foot, for Maquines read *Maquas.*

84—12th line from foot, for Skehantowa read *Skehandowana.*

85—11th line from foot, for compassed read *composed.*

108—6th line from foot, for Antess read *Antes.*

109—2d line from foot, to Stephen Benezet prefix *John.*

120—2d line from foot, for Schrop read *Schropp.*

129—19th line from top, for cantana read *cantata.*

139—1st line top, for John read *Jacob.*

143—3d line from top, for G. W. read *W. G.*

145—1st line from foot, for Thiel read *Theil.*

148—13th line from top, after The Apocrypha insert the date, 1588.

152—9th line from top, for 1799 read 1779.

288—14th line from top, dele "*and who is still living.*"

288—13th line from foot, for "his three sons" read "*Samuel's three sons.*"

289—17th line from foot, for Leonard Dober read *John Leonhard Dober.*

291—22d line insert, *Tunneberger, David* born 1696 at Zauchtenthal Moravia, and *Judith* m. n. *Till*, his wife.

295—26th line from top, for Sunninam read *Sunniman.*

303—7th line from foot, for On thy read *On this.*

310—4th line from foot, for Chaderick read *Chadwick.*

318—9th line from top, for Bischweiler read *Buchsweiler.*

320—10th line from foot, for Gernert read *Henry Gerner.*

325—6th line from top, for Leitkau read *Leitzkau.*

326—6th line from foot, for 1860 read 1760.

12th line from top, for 1774 read 1744.

340—14th line from foot, for 1745 read 1746.

344—8th line from top, for 1739 read 1740.

345—4th line from top, for Klotz read *Glotz.*

352—3d line from foot, for Bedford, England, in 1810, read *Bristol, England, in Dec.* 1811.

355—21st line from top, for Krumberg read *Grünberg;* and carpenter, read *cutler and clockmaker.*

376—12th line from top, for Brocken read *Brockden.*

392—6th line from foot, for 1740 read 1749.

405—6th line from top, for April read *May.*

406—3d line from top, for Turkheim, read *Durkheim.*

413—11th line from top, for John Francis Mueller, read *Jacob Francis Mueller.*

423—7th line from foot, first column, for 1776, read 1777.

423—3d line from foot, second column, for (m. n. Minthorne) read (*late Minthorne.*)

APPENDIX.

HISTORICAL SKETCH

OF

NAZARETH HALL,

A MORAVIAN

BOARDING SCHOOL FOR BOYS,

LOCATED AT

NAZARETH, NORTHAMPTON CO., PA.

FOUNDED 1785.

By Rev. W. C. REICHEL.

BETHLEHEM:
MORAVIAN PUBLICATION OFFICE.
1876.

NAZARETH HALL,

A MORAVIAN BOARDING SCHOOL FOR BOYS, LOCATED AT NAZARETH, NORTHAMPTON CO., PENNA. FOUNDED 1785.

This long established and widely known school is one of five institutions of higher learning in the United States, which are the property of the American Moravian Church, and which are conducted for the benefit of that Church and its Christian enterprises, under the supervision of the Executive Boards of its Provinces, North and South.

Four of these schools have been in successful operation for three-quarters of a century.* The one of which the following pages briefly treat is rapidly approaching its centennial, and is, as far as known, the oldest boarding school for boys in this country.

THE AMERICAN MORAVIAN CHURCH

is an integral part of the Moravian Unity, whose organic centre is at Herrnhut, Saxony, where, in 1727, the ancient protestant Unity of the Moravian and Bohemian Brethren was resuscitated among a handful of spiritual descendants of those early confessors of evangelical truth, who left their ancestral seats in search of religious toleration. The Renewed Church of the United Brethren, or the Moravian Church of the present day, dates therefore from the year 1727. Aided in its organization and directed in its Christian enterprises for upwards of thirty years subsequently, by Nicholas Lewis, Count Zinzendorf, a Saxon nobleman of influence, learning and eminent piety, this church of Moravian refugees rapidly enlarged its borders, and before the

* Nazareth Hall—the Seminary for Young Ladies at Bethlehem, founded in 1785—Linden Hall, a Boarding School for Young Ladies, at Litiz, Lancaster Co., Pennsylvania, founded in 1794—and the Hope Academy for Young Ladies, at Hope, Bartholomew Co., Indiana, founded in 1866, are under the supervision of the Executive Board of the Province North. The Academy for Young Ladies at Salem, Forsyth Co., North Carolina, founded in 1802, is controlled by the Board of the Province South.

expiration of the first decade of its existence, was firmly established at different points on the Continent, and in Great Britain. It was, however, through the work of Foreign Missions, to which the Church, simultaneously with its renewal, directed its energies with remarkable zeal and singleness of purpose, that it came to take root in the four quarters of the world. Through this noble work and its widely distant centres in Greenland, Labrador, Canada, the United States, the Mosquito Coast, the West Indies, Surinam, South Africa, Australia and Thibet, the Moravian Church of the present day is perhaps best known among her sister churches of Protestant Christendom.*

THE MORAVIANS IN PENNSYLVANIA.

The Moravians effected their first permanent settlement in the British Provinces of North America, at Bethlehem, Penna., in 1741—after an unsuccessful attempt to colonize in Georgia. Encouraged in their enterprises in this direction by the British Government, which, by Act of Parliament, granted them special privileges within its Colonial possessions, they resolved to plant their Church within its jurisdiction in the New World, with the Province of Pennsylvania for the centre of its operations, and a mission among the Indians as one of its principal objects. To this end the heads of the Church purchased lands in that Province—eventually becoming the proprietors of 10,000 acres in two parcels, lying within the limits of the present Northampton County—and in the interval between 1742 and 1762 annually forwarded colonists from abroad, some of whom were settled at points on these estates, and others, subsequent to 1752, on a great tract of 100,000 acres in western North Carolina. Bethlehem, as has been stated, was begun to be built in 1741, and immediately became the seat of the Board of general control, at the head of which stood the senior Bishop. It was the only settlement made on the lower Moravian tract in the Forks of Delaware. On the upper tract—which is now included within Upper Nazareth township, Northampton County—improvements were made in time at four distinct points, and in 1771, the present town of Nazareth was laid out on a parcel of 600 acres.† Near its site Nazareth Hall was erected in 1755.

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* According to recent returns, the number of converts attached to the Moravian Missions exceeds a grand total of 70,000.

† Litiz, in Lancaster Co., was laid out in 1756, and Salem (now in Forsyth Co., North Carolina), in 1766. The latter was the third settlement made by the Moravians on their great tract, and eventually became the seat of the Executive Board of the Province South.

THE MORAVIAN ECONOMY.

For upwards of twenty years after entering Pennsylvania, the Moravians at their different settlements in that Province, constituted one body politic, being united in an Economy. Co-operative as was this feature in their system of colonization, it differed materially from the communistic movements of a later day, in as far as aggrandizement in things temporal, either for the individual or for the corporation, was utterly foreign to its design and spirit. Its sole aim was the support of a Gospel ministry and the maintenance of foreign and domestic missions. It was for this that the mother-church ventured of her limited means in the purchase of real estate and in the transportation of colonists,—and to aid her in her efforts to extend Christ's kingdom, those colonists now voluntarily entered into an agreement to live and labor as members of one family. The surrender of personal property into a common treasury was no requirement for admission into this Economy. Its members contributed merely their individual labor for the common good, whether as artisans or husbandmen, and in return were supplied with the necessaries of life. The mutual obligation ended here. In this way the farms, mills and workshops which had been cleared or erected at different points, were made to do service in the interests of the work which the Church had taken in hand, the revenues accruing from them aiding materially in the support of a flourishing mission among the Delaware and Mohican Indians, a stated ministry, and a corps of evangelists who preached the Gospel in the rural districts of the Province. The period of greatest activity in the history of the American branch of the Moravian Unity of the last century, falls within the times of its Economy. It was only when the spirit which had animated its founders began to decline, that it ceased to be efficacious as an auxiliary, and then it was dissolved. This came to pass in the spring of 1762. Subsequent to that year, the relations hitherto existing between the mother-church and her colonial dependencies began to be modified. The landed investments in this country, which were held by the the former, for the use and behoof of the Unity, were, by synodical enactment, gradually conveyed to the American branch of the Church, with a view of enabling it to become self-sustaining. This change, in course of time, brought with it others touching matters of government, and eventually affecting the constitution of the Unity.

THE MORAVIAN UNITY,

as constituted at present, comprises three Provinces. The churches

of Germany, Holland and Russia constitute the *Continental Province*, with Herrnhut for its seat of government;—those of the United States, the *American Province*, which is subdivided into the Church North and South, with Bethlehem and Salem, respectively, for their seats of government;—those of Great Britain and Ireland, the *British Province*, with London, at present, for its seat of government. These Provinces are united into one Church, on the basis of a common historic descent, a common faith, and the prosecution in common of the work of Foreign Missions. Touching matters of constitution and government in their respective domains, however, and touching the enterprises in which they have engaged, whether the cause of home missions, education,* or local charities, each is an independent organization. The frame of government adopted by both Provinces and Unity is strictly representative. A Provincial Synod legislates for the Province, and in a Provincial Board is vested its executive power. A General Synod, convened as occasion may require, at Herrnhut, legislates for the Unity, and in a Unity's Board is vested its executive power.

THE FIRST MORAVIAN BOARDING SCHOOLS

in this country, were the institutions in which the children of the Moravian Economy were educated. As the parents of these children, by reason of the responsibilities they assumed, were incapacitated from providing for their offspring, the education and maintenance of the latter devolved entirely upon the Church. The sons and daughters of both laymen and clergymen were accordingly placed at schools, at Betlehem and Nazareth, whose government, domestic arrangements and routine life closely resembled those of the family, and which, in fact, were designed as far as possible to compensate the pupils for the loss of home. Parental discipline, thorough instruction in useful knowledge, and scrupulous attention to religious culture, were characteristics of these early Moravian schools. With the dissolution of the Economy, which was followed by important changes in the polity of the Moravian settlements, these institutions, excepting in one instance, were closed. Each community hereafter made provision for the education of its children.

The Moravians, in this way approving themselves conscientious

* There are twenty-five Boarding Schools, conducted in the interests of the Continental Province: ten for boys and fifteen for girls. Those at Lausanne and Montmirail, Switzerland, and at Montauban, Province of Guienne, France, are most favorably and widely known. The British Province has fifteen: seven for boys and eight for girls.

educators in their own commonwealth, were now sought to do service in that capacity in a new and wider sphere.

THE HALL ON THE BARONY NAZARETH.

In 1740, George Whitefield, then in the zenith of his activity in the British Provinces of North America, purchased of Mr. William Allen of Philadelphia, 5,000 acres of land in the Forks of Delaware, which he named Nazareth. Here the great champion of Calvinistic Methodism projected a school for negroes, and here he designed settling such of his adherents in England as might be compelled to leave their country for conscience' sake. His plans, however, were never consummated. The school-building—at the present day called the Whitefield House*—was only in course of erection, when, in 1741, the death of Whitefield's financial agent compelled him to relinquish his noble enterprise. Becoming pecuniarily embarrassed, he threw his estate in Pennsylvania on the market, and in the summer of the above mentioned year it was purchased by Bishop Spangenberg, then in London, for the Moravian Church.

This estate was known as the Barony Nazareth, because, when in 1682 it was granted to his daughter Letitia by William Penn, on the condition of rendering service to him and his heirs by paying, if demanded, a red rose in June of each year forever, it was invested with the right of court baron. Subsequent to its reversion to the Moravians, it was for a time the property of Countess Zinzendorf.

On this historic tract Nazareth Hall was begun to be built in the spring of 1755. Originally designed for the residence of Count Zinzendorf (who, however, failed to revisit the scenes of his former activity in Pennsylvania), it was eventually twice made the seat of a Moravian Boarding School—being occupied as such, for the first time in the interval between 1759 and 1779—and again from 1785 to the present day. In the annals of the American Moravian Church there is honorable mention of this now venerable pile.

NAZARETH HALL

was opened as a Boarding School for Boys in the interests of the American public on the 3d of October, 1785, after the Moravians had been repeatedly urged to engage in the cause of education outside of

* This historic pile stands within the limits of the borough of Nazareth, and is well preserved. In 1871, after having been remodeled as a Home for Retired Missionaries, it was donated by a friend to the Moravian Church. The Moravian Historical Society has its hall on the second floor.

their own Church. The General Synod of 1782 having sanctioned the assumption of such a responsibility on the part of the American Executive Board, the development of the project was by it entrusted to Bishop John de Watteville, who was in the country in the interval between 1784 and 1787.

How the Moravians proposed to conduct this new enterprise, and what they promised to do in things temporal and spiritual for the welfare of the pupils committed to their care, is set forth in the following circular. Although many of the matters which it touches are of minor importance, while others are inapplicable to new modes of thought and new generations of men, we are here distinctly pointed to those inviolable principles of government and mental and religious culture, which underlie all true systems of education.

"*Regulations adopted for the Pedagogium or Boarding School, about to be established by the United Brethren at Nazareth, in the County of Northampton, in Pennsylvania.*

"1. The principal intention of this Institution is to educate youth for the service of the Brethren's congregations. But since various persons of other denominations have repeatedly signified a wish to have their children educated by the Brethren, it has been resolved to admit also children of such parents, who, though not members of the Brethren's congregations, approve of their manner of instructing and educating youth, and are desirous to have them brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, preserved from the seduction and the prevailing vices of the age, and at the same time to become useful members of society.

"2. The general direction of this Institution is lodged in the hands of the Elders and Teachers, who have the superintendence of all congregations of the Brethren in Pennsylvania.

"3. But the special care and management of this school is committed to the minister of the congregation at Nazareth, the Rev. Charles Gotthold Reichel, as Inspector of said school. To him all those parents or guardians who desire to place their children or wards in the said school will make application in writing, giving notice at the same time of the age and capacity of the boy, what proficiency in learning he has already made, and (if he is above the age of ten years) what their intention with him may be relative to his future life; also how many years they propose to leave him at this school. Such application will be considered by the Directors of the Institution, and

as soon as possible an answer will be given whether the request can be complied with or not.

"4. No boy under the age of seven years, and above the age of twelve years, can be admitted, some particular cases excepted.

"5. The usual time for admittance is in the beginning of the months of April and October.

"6. Boys who have already been seduced into sinful practices and irregularities cannot be admitted, and it is requested, where this is known, that no application may be made in their behalf. In like manner it is unavoidably necessary to reserve the liberty to return to their parents or guardians such scholars as shall be so unhappy as to come into and persevere in evil courses, and seduce others into sinful things. But in such cases previous notice will be given.

"7. Instruction will be given in this school in Reading, Writing, Arithmetic; the English, German, French, Latin and Greek languages; and in History, Geography, Mathematics, Music and Drawing.

"8. If it is desired that any scholar, besides the public lessons, shall have private instuction in any particular language or science, a separate consideration will be paid for the same, which, in every such case, will be settled beforehand, with the parents or guardians.

"9. A particular attention will be paid that *the scholars are constantly under inspection, not only in school hours, but also at all other times.*

"10. A like regard will also be paid as well to their morals as to their health, by proper exercises, cleanliness, gentleness of deportment, etc.

"11. It is earnestly wished that the visits of the scholars to their parents, relations and friends, especially if they live at a considerable distance, may occur as seldom as possible, because they frequently dissipate the mind of youth and cause more damage than pleasure.

"12. Every scholar from six to twelve years of age pays for tuition, board, lodging, wood, etc., $66.66 per annum, and every scholar above twelve years, $80.00. The payment to be made quarterly, the first quarter to be paid at the admittance of a boy, and so every quarter following.

"13. Besides the above, every scholar who comes to this school pays at his entrance one guinea, for the use of the library, procuring musical instruments, etc. If parents of property should find themselves inclined to add to this entrance money, it will be thankfully acknowledged.

"14. The diet of the boys is plain and wholesome. For breakfast,

bread and butter and milk, now and then tea or coffee; at dinner, boiled or roasted meat, with suitable vegetables; for supper, bread and butter, milk, salad, etc.

"15. Clothing, linen, bedding, books, medicine, etc., will be provided by the parents or guardians, or, if desired, by the Inspector of the school. An account of these extraordinary expenses will be sent in every quarter of a year, and it is expected that the payment will be made punctually and without delay.

"16. All parents and guardians are requested to provide decent but plain clothes for the scholars, and to avoid all excess and vanity therein."

Thus then, did this now time-honored Institution set out upon its career, in which it soon won a wide-spread reputation for salutary discipline and well-grounded instruction. An inspection of its Register, on which are recorded the names of upwards of *Three Thousand Pupils* from the States, Canada, the West Indies and the old country, testifies how ably that reputation was sustained.

Thirteen Principals have thus far administered the affairs of Nazareth Hall; the present incumbent is the fourteenth.

THE FOURTEEN PRINCIPALS OF NAZARETH HALL.

I. *The Rev. Charles G. Reichel, 1785–1802.*

Mr. Reichel, a graduate of the Moravian Theological Seminary at Barby, Saxony, came to this country in the autumn of 1784, in response to a call from the Executive Board to take charge of the recently planned Boarding School at Nazareth. On the 3d of October, 1785, the day on which it was opened, he assumed the duties of presiding officer. Its beginnings were necessarily humble. There were but eleven pupils entered on that day, and these were sons of members of the Moravian Church. Joseph Shaw of Philadelphia was the first lad, not of Moravian parentage, admitted. In 1787 John Konkaput, a Housatonic Indian from Stockbridge, Mass., was placed at the Institution by the United States Government. Accessions of pupils from the West Indies date from the year 1788; and from that time forward scarce a year but what sons of English and Danish planters from those Islands were inmates of the Hall. In 1791 it was found necessary to divide the scholars into three distinct classes or "room-companies." During Mr. Reichel's administration, one hundred and sixty-three pupils were connected with the Institution.

The order of daily scholastic exercises, in 1798, was the following:

"From 7½ to 8½ A. M.—German and English Reading, Grammar and History.

"From 8½ to 9 A. M.—Children's meeting, a short devotional exercise, in English and German.

"From 9 to 10 A. M.—Latin, Corn. Nepos and Gedike's Reader, Geography, (Reichel's or Morse's United States), Natural History, with Seman's Text Books.

"From 10 to 11 A. M.—Arithmetic, Geometry, Book-keeping and Mathematical Geography.

"From 2 to 3 P. M.—Writing and Drawing.

"From 3 to 4 P. M.—French."

Special attention, furthermore, was paid to the study of the English and German languages, the pupils being required to express themselves exclusively in the one or the other, on alternate days, in their intercourse with each other and their preceptors. The first examination of classes open to the public was held in October of 1789.

In August of 1786, fifty-five and a half perches of land lying west of the Hall, were laid out into a park. It was subsequently enlarged, planted with forest trees, shrubs and wild flowers, and thus became "the shades of the Academy," in which successive generations of its inmates sought rest and recreation from mental toil.

In the spring of 1802 Mr. Reichel was called to the pastorate of the Moravian church at Salem, and appointed President of the Executive Board of the Southern Province. Preparatory to entering upon his new office he was consecrated a Bishop. Having in the interval between 1811 and 1818 resided at Bethlehem, he returned to Europe in the last mentioned year, and died at Nisky, Lower Silesia, in April of 1825.

II. *The Rev. Jacob Van Vleck, 1802–1809.*

Mr. Van Vleck was a native of New York, and his parents members of the church which the Moravians organized in that city in 1748. After having pursued a collegiate course of instruction in the school which was opened in the Hall subsequent to the dissolution of the Economy, he, in 1771, went abroad to prepare for the ministry at the Theological Seminary at Barby. Returning to his native country after a seven-years' absence, Mr. Van Vleck was ordained, was in 1790 appointed Principal of the Young Ladies' Seminary at Bethlehem, and in 1802 succeeded Mr. Reichel at Nazareth Hall.

One hundred and nineteen pupils, of which number but eighteen were Moravians, were admitted during his administration. As the

sons of American parents were now beginning to preponderate in the school, the German language, which had at first been the vehicle of instruction to a great extent, was supplanted as such by the English. It was found necessary also to bring the curriculum more in conformity with that of other schools in the country.

With the growth of the Institution, the difficulty of procuring liberally educated preceptors grew apace, and as the expense incurred in engaging the services of tutors from the Church abroad was burdensome, it was resolved to make special provision for this pressing want at home. Accordingly, in 1807, a collegiate and Divinity school was established at the Hall, in which young men of the Church were trained as preceptors while studying for the ministry. Such was the origin of the present Theological Seminary of the American Moravian Church, now located at Bethlehem. Since 1810 this Institution has supplied most of the teachers employed in Nazareth Hall.

In July, 1809, Mr. Van Vleck was called to the pastorate of the congregation at Nazareth. He next ministered to the churches at Litiz and Salem. In 1815 he was consecrated a Bishop, and removed to Bethlehem. At that place he died in July of 1831.

III. *The Rev. Charles F. Seidel, 1809–1817.*

Mr. Seidel, a graduate of the Moravian Theological Seminary at Nisky, came to the country in 1806, and entered the service of his Church in the Province South. In 1809 he took charge of the Hall, and for eight years superintended its affairs. A memorable day in his administration was the 3d of October, 1810, it being the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the school. The occasion was impressively observed; the chapel was tastefully decorated, the pupils for the first time occupied a common refectory, and a musical entertainment closed the festivities of the day. In 1815 the customary examination of the pupils before the annual summer vacation, was made public.

In 1817 Mr. Seidel was called to the pastorate at Bethlehem. He was Principal of the Young Ladies' Seminary at that place between 1823 and 1836. In the ministry up to his 78th year, and some time a member of the Executive Board af the Province North, he retired from official life in 1855. He died at Bethlehem in April of 1861.

IV. *The Rev. John C. Beckler, 1817–1822.*

Mr. Beckler, a graduate of the Theological Seminary at Nisky, having served for six years in the joint capacity of tutor at the Hall

and assistant Professor in the Divinity School, was settled in the ministry successively at Philadelphia and on Staten Island. In the autumn of 1817 he entered upon his duties as Principal.

Subsequent to 1822, he was pastor at Litiz, and having been consecrated a Bishop, was appointed President of the Executive Board of the Province South. In 1836 he returned to Europe, filled several appointments in the Continental Church, and died at Herrnhut in August of 1857.

A residence for the Principal, who with his family had hitherto been domiciled in the Hall, was erected and occupied during this administration.

V. *The Rev. Wm. H. Van Vleck, 1822–29.*

Mr. Van Vleck, a son of the second Principal, was educated in the Theological Seminary at Nazareth, and discharged the duties of a tutor in the Hall, prior to his entrance into the ministry. His first charge was the Moravian church in Philadelphia, to which he was appointed in 1817. As a Principal he was as successful as he was esteemed as a pastor, and the Institution entrusted to his care flourished as it had never done before. The number of pupils reached seventy-one.

Subsequent to his retirement from the school, Mr. Van Vleck took charge of the Moravian church in New York, was sometime President of the Executive Board of the Province South, and while senior pastor at Bethlehem, died in January of 1852.

Bishop William Henry Van Vleck was well known as a divine beyond the limits of the Church in which he labored diligently and acceptably in the Gospel.

VI. *The Rev. John G. Herman, 1829–1837.*

The sixth Principal of the Hall was a graduate of the Theological Seminary at Nisky, came to this country in 1817, and after having labored in the ministry for twelve years, successively at Newport, R. I., at Philadelphia and Lancaster, took charge of the Institution at Nazareth.

His administration was eminently prosperous, the number of pupils eventually reaching seventy-three. These were now divided into five "room-companies," entrusted to nine tutors for supervision and instruction.

The semi-centennial of the Institution was observed with fittting demonstrations on the 3d of October, 1835. A "love-feast," of

which the pupils and the members of the Nazareth congregation jointly partook in the chapel, and an illumination of the park at night with transparencies bearing texts of Scripture, were among the pleasing features of the day's celebration. "Hitherto the Lord hath helped us," and "Jesus Christ, the same to-day, yesterday and forever," were texts indicative of trust in the Divine aid for the success of a work undertaken for the glory of God.

Eight hundred and seventeen pupils were admitted during the first half-century of the Institution's existence.

204	were from	Philadelphia.
117	"	other points in the State of Pennsylvania.
159	"	the City and State of New York.
53	"	Baltimore.
82	"	the West India Islands.
49	"	Bethlehem.
18	"	Nazareth.
14	"	Litiz.
12	"	Salem, N. C.
109	"	other States of the Union, Canada and from abroad.

In 1836, the refectory, which had hitherto been in the basement of the Hall, was transferred to a wing attached to the east end of the building.

On severing his connection with the Institution for whose welfare he had labored so successfully, Mr. Herman assumed the pastorate of the Bethlehem congregation. In 1844, on being called to the Missions-Department of the Unity's Executive Board at Herrnhut, he sailed for Europe. In 1846 he was consecrated a Bishop. On his return from abroad in 1849, he was settled at Salem. Here he was President of the Executive Board of the Province South. He died in July of 1854, in the State of Missouri, while on an official visitation to the Cherokee Mission in the Indian Territory.

VII. *The Rev. Charles A. Van Vleck, 1837–1839,*

a brother of the fifth Principal and a graduate of the Theological Seminary at Nazareth, after having been settled in the ministry successively at Bethania, in the Province South, at Newport, R. I., at Lancaster and York, was called to Nazareth Hall.

On severing his connection with the Institution, Mr. Van Vleck was appointed a Professor in the Theological Seminary, then at Bethlehem. In 1844 he removed to Greenville, Tenn., took charge of a Female College at that place, and died in December of 1845.

VIII. *The Rev. Charles F. Kluge, 1839–1844.*

The eighth Principal of Nazareth Hall was a graduate of the Theological Seminary at Nazareth, a tutor in the Institution between 1821 and 1828, Principal of Linden Hall at Litiz, and subsequently pastor of the Moravian Church in New York.

Important changes in the internal and domestic arrangements of the school were effected in the course of this administration. Ever since the erection of the Hall, its lower floor was occupied as a place of worship, by the Nazareth congregation. As, on the completion of a church edifice in 1840, it was vacated, the Trustees of the Institution resolved to purchase the building, which up to this time had been rented from the steward of that congregation,—it having been conveyed to that body in 1771, when a division of a portion of the Unity's estates in this country was effected. It was hereupon thoroughly renovated, and remodeled and modernized as to its interior. The lower floor was converted into a suitable chapel, a new refectory and kitchen were added, and the providing of table-board assigned to a matron under the immediate direction of the Principal's lady. Previous to this date the pupils had been boarded by contract. It was soon apparent that these changes were decidedly beneficial.

In 1844 Mr. Kluge was appointed the Unity's Financial Agent for the Province South, and removed to Salem. Having been elected a member of the Finance Department of the Unity's Executive Board at Herrnhut, he sailed for Europe in 1854. He returned to this country in 1857, and resides at Nazareth.

IX. *The Rev. John C. Jacobson,* 1844–1849.

Mr. Jacobson was educated for the ministry in the Theological Seminary at Nisky, came to this country in 1816, and for ten years was a tutor in the Hall. His first pastoral charge was in the Province South. For eleven years he presided over the Young Ladies' Academy at Salem, leaving it to enter upon the duties of Principal at Nazareth Hall.

One hundred and thirty-two pupils are registered for this administration, the number at one time reaching seventy.

In 1848 Mr. Jacobson attended a General Synod of the Church at Herrnhut. Having on his return from abroad been elected a member of the Executive Board of the Province North, he removed to Bethlehem. He was consecrated a Bishop in 1854, retired from public life in 1867, and died in November of 1870.

X. *The Rev. Levin T. Reichel,* 1849–1853.

Mr. Reichel, a son of the first Principal, was born at Bethlehem and educated for the ministry abroad. In 1834 he entered the Hall as a tutor, and in 1837 was called to a charge in the neighborhood of Nazareth.

During this administration the arrangements in the school underwent a change, the course of study was materially modified, the use of the German language in the daily intercourse of the pupils was re-introduced, and day-scholars were no longer admitted.

In 1853 Mr. Reichel was called to the pastorate of the church at Litiz. From 1854 to 1857 he was President of the Executive Board of the Province South. In the last mentioned year he sailed for Europe, having been chosen a member of the Missions-Department of the Unity's Board. He was consecrated a Bishop in 1868.

XI. *The Rev. Edward Rondthaler,* 1853–54,

was born at Nazareth and educated for the ministry in the Theological Seminary at that place. From the Hall, in which he labored in the capacity of a tutor for six years, he was in 1841 called to the charge of a congregation in the neighborhood. Subsequently he was settled at Graceham, Frederick County, Md., and in Philadelphia.

On severing his connection with the Institution in whose interests he wrought zealously, Mr. Rondthaler was appointed Professor in the Theological Seminary, at that time temporarily located at Nazareth. There he died, in March of 1865.

On the 10th of June, 1854, the first Reunion of former pupils of Nazareth Hall, was held. Fifteen pupils, who had been inmates of the school between 1825 and 1830, participated in the festivities of the day. Such was the enjoyment realized on this occasion that resolutions were adopted looking to a second meeting of the kind to be held in June of the following year, to which former pupils without distinction should be invited, and one of them be chosen orator of the day. Since that time eleven Reunions have at intervals been held.

XII. *The Rev. Edward H. Reichel,* 1854–1866.

Mr. Reichel, a grandson of the first Principal of Nazareth Hall, was graduated from the Theological Seminary, at Bethlehem, served as a tutor in the first-named Institution, and in 1849 was settled in the ministry in Camden Valley, Washington Co., N. Y. From that church he was called to the Hall.

The annual increase in the number of pupils calling for ampler accommodations, in the autumn of 1865 a three story wing was added to the Hall, and its interior arrangements modified so as to meet the pressing want. Thus the capacity of the school was permanently increased.

In 1862, Mr. Reichel organized his pupils into a uniformed cadet-company, and introduced military drill as part of the routine of physical culture.

During his incumbency in office, furthermore, the Institution was relieved from financial embarrassments, under which it had labored much to its disadnvatage for a number of years.

Reunions were held annually as late as 1859. At the one of June 11, 1858, a mural tablet, bearing the names of the twelve Principals of the Hall (a tribute from former pupils) was inserted in the wall of the chapel. The Reunion of 1866 was one of more than ordinary interest, calling forth the rehearsal of services in the camp, rendered to their country in the time of her danger, by patriotic Alumni of the Moravian school at Nazareth.

Upwards of six hundred pupils were admitted into the Hall during this administration.

In July of 1866 Mr. Reichel resigned his charge, and is living in retirement at Nazareth.

At the second Reunion of former pupils, held on the 8th of June, 1855, the "Reunion Society of Nazareth Hall" was organized. At this Reunion sixty-four Alumni of the Institution were present. The late Rev. Dr. Joseph F. Berg, at that time pastor of the Second Reformed Church in Philadelphia, was the speaker of the day, and among a number of letters expressive of regrets at inability to attend the gathering, two were communicated to the meeting from pupils who had been denizens of the Hall in 1785. One of these was from London.

The third Reunion was held on the 6th of June, 1856. Several letters from pupils of an early day in this country and abroad, and one from Stephen R. Mallory, a pupil of 1826 and subsequently Secretary of the Navy of the Confederate States, were communicated.

The Rev. Ambrose Rondthaler, of York, was speaker of the day at the fourth, and Philip A. Cregar, Principal of the Hamilton Institute, West Philadelphia, at the fifth Reunion.

XIII. *The Rev. Robert de Schweinitz*, 1866–1867,

was graduated from the Theological Seminary at Bethlehem, and after

having been a tutor in the Hall for six years, was settled in the ministry successively at Graceham, Md., and in Lancaster. Between 1853 and 1866 he was Principal of the Academy for Young Ladies at Salem.

Having been elected a member of the Executive Board of the Province North in 1867, he removed to Bethlehem. He is the presiding officer of that body, and President of the Board of Trustees of Nazareth Hall.

This is the brief record of men who engaged in the cause of education, not for emolument's sake, nor for a name; but because they believed with their Church, that the Gospel ministry is doing a noble work for men, by training the young for usefulness in this life, and is laboring for the glory of God, by fitting them for the life to come.

XIV. *The Rev. Eugene Leibert*, 1867.

Mr. Leibert was graduated from the Theological Seminary of the Moravian Church in 1853. Thereupon he entered the Hall as a tutor. Having been settled in the ministry successively at Sharon, Tuscarawas Co., Ohio, and on Staten Island, he was in July of 1867 called to the Institution over which he has now presided for nine years. During this period the capacity of the school has been greatly increased, and only lately a commodious four story building near the Hall has been purchased in order to meet the wants of its steadily growing patronage. The present number of pupils is *one hundred and fifty*.

Valuable additions, furthermore, have been made both to the library and the scientific apparatus of the Institution.

The ninth Reunion of former pupils, marked by the inauguration of a memorial cenotaph in honor of such Alumni as fell in the defense of their country during the late civil war, was held June 11th, 1868. One hundred and thirty-three former inmates of the Hall, some of whom entered as early as 1788, were present on this interesting occasion.

The programme of the day's exercises, prepared by the Committee of Arrangements, members of which Committee were Andrew A. Humphreys, Maj.-Gen., U. S. A., (a pupil of the class of 1822)—John Baillie McIntosh, Brev. Maj.-Gen., U. S. A., (a pupil of 1837),—Nathaniel Michler, Brev. Brig.-Gen., U. S. A., (a pupil of 1836),—George P. Ihrie, Brev. Brig.-Gen. U. S. A., (a pupil of 1836), and Major Giles Porter, U. S. A., (a pupil of 1810), was the following:

"MEMORIAL DAY, NAZARETH HALL.

"*June* 11, 1868.

"The Alumni will assemble at the Nazareth Hotel at 9½ A. M., and move in procession at a quarter of 10 precisely, in the following order:

"THE NAZARETH BAND.

"*Chief Marshal.*

"PROF. PHILIP A. CREGAR.

"*Assistant Marshals.*

"JOHN THOMAS,

"ROBERT J. MCCLATCHEY, M.D.,

"FRANCIS JORDAN, JR.

"The President of the Reunion Society and the Orator of the Day.

"The Bishops of the Moravian Church.

"The General and other Officers of the U. S. Army and Navy.

"The Trustees of Nazareth Hall and the Rev. Clergy.

"The Invited Guests and Strangers.

"The Alumni.

"The Citizens.

"On arrival at the 'Green,' they will be received by the pupils of the Hall with an address, and after a reply from the President, the divisions will take their places in order around the platform.

"PRAYER—BY THE RIGHT REV. HENRY A. SHULTZ.

"MUSIC—BY THE TROMBONISTS.

"ADDRESS—BY THE REV. EDMUND DE SCHWEINITZ.

"UNVEILING OF THE CENOTAPH.

"HYMN—THE RIGHT REV. DAVID BIGLER OFFICIATING.

"BENEDICTION—BY THE RIGHT REV. PETER WOLLE.

"THE DOXOLOGY—WITH MUSIC BY THE TROMBONISTS.

"Immediately afterward, the meeting of the Reunion Society will be held in the Chapel of the Hall, which the Alumni are urgently requested to attend, in order that their names may be recorded on the minutes.

"At 4 P. M., they will reassemble in the Hall for 'Coffee and Moravian Cake,' when the Military and Naval Reports will be read."

The orator of the Ninth Reunion and Inauguration-day was the Rev. Edmund de Schweinitz of Bethlehem, a pupil of 1834; and to General Humphreys, the senior of his fellow-officers present, was awarded the honor of unveiling the stone. It is a composite structure, rising to the height of thirty-five feet from the center of the green which spreads

out before the Hall. Its base is a block of granite, six-and-a-half feet square. On this rests the pedestal, consisting of slabs of Connecticut sandstone, supporting a solid block of New Brunswick drabstone, into whose southern face is cut the national coat of arms. The pedestal is surmounted by a square die of Italian white marble, on which are inscribed appropriate legends and the names of the fallen Alumni. The obelisk itself is composed of blocks of Cleveland drabstone alternating with slabs of Connecticut brownstone. The south face of the marble bears the following inscription :

"To commemorate the memory of sons of Nazareth Hall, who died that their country might be healed and live, this stone is erected by the Alumni of the Institution in the year of grace, 1868."

On the east face are inscribed the following names :

DAVID BAKER, VAN BRUNT M. BERGEN, HERMAN L. BEITEL, CHARLES M. BERG, EUGENE FER'D CLEWELL, GEORGE LORILLARD FREAM, DANIEL H. FASIG, JOSEPH P. BACHMAN, HORACE C. BENNETT,

and below the comforting words of Scripture :

"They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more; neither shall the Sun light on them, nor any heat. For the lamb which is in the midst of them shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters; and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes."

The North side bears the names of

ASHER GAYLORD, JAMES T. GRAFTON, JOHN C. HAGEN, PLINY A. JEWETT, Jr., CLARENCE KAMPMANN, WILLIAM W. LADD, DAVID T. LATIMER, BENJAMIN F. LANDELL, FRANK POTT,

and the legend,

"The Academy is the nursing mother of patriots, rearing her children in the ways of truth and freedom."

On the West face the record is completed with the names of

CHARLES RYERSON, EDMUND A. SHOUSE, EDWIN A. SKIRVING, CHARLES L. SMEIDLE, CHRISTIAN F. SMITH, CHARLES M. STOUT, ARTHUR L. VAN VLECK, JOHN A. WITMER, JOHN F. WOOD,

and underneath the words of Plato:

"hence it is, that the fathers of these men, and themselves too, being nurtured in all freedom and well-born, have shown

BEFORE ALL MEN DEEDS MANY AND GLORIOUS IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE, DEEMING IT THEIR DUTY TO FIGHT FOR FREEDOM AND THEIR COUNTRY, EVEN AGAINST THEIR COUNTRYMEN."

The Military and Naval Record of the Institution, furthermore, shows that two hundred and six of its pupils entered the Army or Navy of the United States in the Civil War, in addition to the twenty-eight who fell in battle, or died of disease contracted in the service. As far as is known, twenty-eight served against the United States in the Army or Navy of the Confederate States, five of whom were killed or died of disease contracted in the service. Five attained to the rank of General in the army of the United States, and one to that of Fleet Engineer, ranking with Commander. Three attained to the rank of General in the Confederate States' service.*

THE PRESENT STATUS OF NAZARETH HALL.

Design of the Institution.—Proprietorship.—Board of Control.—The Principal.— Tutors.—Revenues.—Location.—Buildings.—Valuation of Property.—Domestic and Scholastic Arrangements.—Discipline and Mode of Instruction.—Course of Studies.—Military Drill.—Calendar.—Expenses of Board and Tuition, &c.

The Design

of this Institution, which is reckoned among the Church enterprises of the Province North of the American Church, is substantially the same as was had in view by its founders. Accordingly it professes to be a school in which *the moral and religious training of youth is shaped after the teachings of Christ, and by no means subordinated to the acquisition*

* The Ninth Reunion led to the publication of a Memorial volume, under the auspices of the Reunion Society, entitled "*Historical Sketch of Nazareth Hall from* 1755 *to* 1869*; with an account of the Reunions of former pupils and of the Inauguration of a Monument at Nazareth, on the* 11*th of June,* 1868, *erected in memory of Alumni who fell in the late Rebellion. By Wm. C. Reichel, class of* 1834. *J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia,* 1869." In addition to a history of the Hall and of the Moravian Theological Seminary of the American Church, the volume contains registers of the Principals, Professors, tutors and students connected with both Institutions up to the time of going to press, accounts of the Reunions, a military and naval record, the names of the contributors to the memorial fund, and a translation of John Gilpin into German by the Rev. Paul Weiss of Bethlehem, a tutor at Nazareth in 1797.

of mere human knowledge. It was projected for "such as were desirous of having their sons instructed and educated to usefulness, and brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord."

The Proprietorship

of Nazareth Hall and its properties is legally* vested in the "Board of Elders," or Executive Board of the Province North; the members of which Board at the same time constitute the Board of Trustees. They reside at Bethlehem, and are three in number.† These also form

The Board of Control,

and, according to the charter of the Institution, "have the care and management of the School and of its estates and properties, and have power to make all needful by-laws and regulations for the appointment of competent professors and teachers, for the fixing and paying of all salaries, for the fixing of the prices of the board and tuition of the students, for the studies and exercises of the students, and for the general well-being of the school."

In them is vested the power of appointing

The Principal

who is chosen from the clergymen of the Church.

The Tutors

are generally graduates of the Theological Seminary and candidates for the ministry.

The Revenues

of the Institution, (after allowing for repairs and improvements,) are added to those accruing from a funded capital and other properties held in trust by the "Board of Elders" for the use and behoof of the Church. These joint revenues are expended in part for the support of the ministry in needy churches, in part for the education of ministers' sons and daughters, in part for the maintenance of ministers' widows and of ministers retired from active service, and in part for incidental charities.

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* The Institution was incorporated by Act of Legislature of Pennsylvania, April 14, 1863; the charter then granted in no wise, however, modified the Proprietorship, which since 1785 has been vested in the predecessors in office of the present Board.

† The Rev. Robert de Schweinitz, the Rev. Lewis F. Kampmann, and the Rev. F. R. Holland, are the present Trustees.

Thus it will be seen, that the Institution is laboring indirectly also for the promotion of the Gospel of Christ.

Nazareth Hall is located in

The Borough of Nazareth,

which, as has been stated, was begun to be built in the spring of 1771, it being the seventh and last settlement made by the Moravians on their great tract. As late as 1850 it was exclusively inhabited by that people. In that year, however, the changes which the Moravians in this country were beginning to effect in reference to the occupation of their estates, authorizing the General Proprietor to dispose of lands and lots in fee-simple to purchasers other than Moravians,—lost for Nazareth, its distinctive character. It ceased to be a denominational settlement, was incorporated a borough in August of 1858, and according to the census of 1870 had a population of 949. Since then it has reached about 1100.

The place lies high, (upwards of five hundred feet above sea-level,) on the dividing line of the slate and limestone region of Northampton County in a rolling section of country, and is favored with proverbially salubrious atmosphere and excellent water. There are points in its immediate neighborhood commanding stretches of landscape, which, for extent of view, and quiet rural beauty, may not be excelled. It is in this charming neighborhood that the inmates of the Hall relax from the duties and discipline of the class-room, in field and aquatic sports,—in the time of ripe nuts and of snow and ice.

The inhabitants of the borough are principally of German extraction, and many of them being descendants of the original settlers, the place retains much of the character which distinguished it while yet a close settlement. Objects of especial historical interest are the Whitefield House (1740) and the ruins of old Nazareth (1743), both within the borough limits; and in the neighborhood—Gnadenthal (1745), Christian's Spring (1747), Friedensthal (1750) and "The Rose" (1752), which point to the early days of the Moravian Economy. Several of these granges, lying on the then frontiers, were stockaded and occupied by Provincial troops in the time of the French and Indian war, 1755–1763.

Distant from Brodhead four, from Easton seven and from Bethlehem ten miles, Nazareth by them is connected with the great national highways of travel by rail. It also has facilities of communication in a branch-line of the Western Union Telegraph, and a Daily Express.

Nazareth Hall was erected

between 1755 and 1758. In May of the first mentioned year the corner-stone was laid,* and by October the building was brought under roof. As to its architectural details and interior finish, it was not completed until in the summer of 1758; a delay, which was unavoidable in times, troublous for the borders of the Province, as were those which succeeded Braddock's disastrous campaign. It is built of the limestone of the neighborhood, is eighty feet long by forty broad, three stories high, and has a broken or gambrel roof, which is surmounted by a balustered terrace and a belfry. Built on the model of the Silesian manor-house, which the early Moravians invariably adopted in the erection of the spacious dwellings which the social polity of their Economy demanded,—Nazareth Hall is an imposing structure, and even now challenges admiration for the chasteness of its design, the justness of its proportions and a majesty of presence which may not be found even in more pretentious edifices of the present day.†

Count Zinzendorf, for whom the Hall had been built, failing to revisit this country, in June of 1759 it was converted into a boarding school for Moravian lads exclusively. In December of 1764 there were as many as one hundred and six pupils in charge of sixteen tutors and twelve assistants, in the building. In May of 1757 a Provincial Synod of the Church held its sessions in the chapel of the Hall, and in the summer of the same year Bishop Spangenberg, who for nearly twenty years superintended the Moravian movement in North America, occupied a suite of apartments.

The Hall and the four buildings (including the Principal's resi-

* The corner-stone was laid on the 3d of May, 1755, with impressive ceremonies, which were conducted by Bishop Spangenberg. Of the memorial documents deposited in the stone, the following are of special interest:—1. A brief review of the status of the Moravian Unity with mention of its controlling officers with whose sanction the building was being erected,—in Latin. 2. A Register of the members of the Moravian Economy in the New World, and of the missions in the West Indies and Surinam, showing a sum-total of 1034 souls. 3. A copy of an Act of Parliament of the 24th year of George the Second, "acknowledging the Moravian Unity to be an ancient Protestant Episcopal Church."

* In October of 1758 Governor William Denny, while treating with the Indians at Easton, one day rode up to Nazareth with his suite, specially to see "the large Moravian house," of which so much was said; and we are told that he was at a loss for words to express his surprise at finding such a stately mansion within the limits of that section of the Province, which had but lately been the theatre of Indian invasion.

dence) now belonging to the Institution, front on a pleasant lawn, and are distant from the main street and business portion of the borough.

In the rear lies the farm, containing some forty acres.

The School has never been aided in the way of grants and endowments. Its estates and properties have accumulated in the course of time, and the increase from the original investment is due to the labor of those who have successively administered its affairs.

The Valuation or Estimated Worth

of these estates and properties, including furniture, stock, equipments, &c., &c., may not be far from $50,000.

The Domestic and Scholastic Arrangements

adopted, are such as are believed to be conducive to the comfort, welfare and mental progress of the pupils.

The pupils of this Institution are constantly under supervision, and to admit of such supervision, are divided, on the basis of age, into companies of from fifteen to twenty, each company being under the care of a preceptor *in loco parentis*. He is required to be with his charge in their room after recitations, in leisure hours as well as in the hours assigned to preparatory study, and to accompany them on their walks, to the play-ground, to the chapel, the refectory and the dormitory. Two preceptors share the duties and responsibilities of supervision for each company, and sleep in the company's dormitory.

The pupils of the Institution take their meals in a common refectory.

Their wardrobe is given into the care of a matron specially engaged for that service who supplies the pupils from the "Clothes-Room" with such articles of apparel as they may require, at a stated hour daily.

The Infirmary is also in charge of a resident matron.

The Principal's lady acts as General Superintendent of the household.

Touching *Scholastic Arrangements*, the pupils of the Institution are divided into classes of from fifteen to twenty, (such division being based upon proficiency, and not upon age,) and constitute a *Senior*, an *Intermediate* and a *Primary Department*.

The Senior Department includes Classes No. 1 and No. 2. Members of this department who finish the course of study prescribed for Class No. 1, are furnished with *Certificates* to that effect, on leaving the Institution.

At the public Entertainments given by the pupils, at the close of the Winter and Summer Sessions in December and June, *prizes are awarded* to, and *honorable mention is made* of such of their number as have distinguished themselves for diligence and meritorious progress.

The Course of Study

embraces the following branches: Spelling, Reading, Arithmetic, Writing, Dictation, History, Geography, Composition, Elocution, English Grammar, Algebra, Geometry, Surveying, Book-Keeping, Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, Chemistry, and Industrial Drawing.

Surveying, Chemistry, Natural Philosophy, Astronomy and Industrial Drawing are taught in the Senior Department only.

Optional Branches are the following: German, French, Latin, Greek, Drawing, Painting,—and Music on the Piano Forte, Organ, Violin and Guitar. For these an extra charge is made.

Lectures on scientifie subjects, illustrated by experiments, are held at stated times, and attended by all the pupils of the Institution.

There is Philosophical and Chemical Apparatus and a Library of *four thousand* volumes.

Discipline and Mode of Instruction.

The object of the discipline of the household is to instil right principles and form good habits. Hence the pupils are strictly subject to a code of rules touching their moral obligations as individuals and their duties as members of a family; while the system of *constant supervision* enables their preceptors to guard them from hurtful influences, which, might not as readily be done otherwise.

The method of instruction is *patient*, *laborious*, and *hence likely to be thorough*.

Religious Exercises.

Devotional exercises are held in the Chapel of the Institution every morning before the recitations of the day open—and in the evening before retiring. The pupils attend Divine service every Lord's day, either in the Moravian Church or in the Chapel of the Hall.

Military Drill.

The pupils, as members of a *Cadet Company*, are drilled in military exercises statedly every week. Their uniform consists of cadet-gray jacket or sack and pants with black trimmings, brass eagle-buttons,

and a gray military cap. This branch of physical culture does not trespass upon hours devoted to recitations or to study.

Calendar.

The scholastic year is not divided into terms. It opens in the last week of August and closes in the last week of June following. In addition to the midsummer vacation, there is a two-weeks vacation at Christmas.

Expenses.

The necessary expense of the scholastic year is Three Hundred Dollars. This includes charges for Board and Washing, Tuition in all the English branches, Instruction in Vocal Music, the use of the Library, Maps and Philosophical Apparatus, attendance of the Matron in the Infirmary, Fuel, Light, the use of Bedding and Table Furniture, Military Drill and the use of Equipments.

There are additional charges made for instruction in the Optional Branches.

Admission.

The age at which pupils are admitted is from ten to fifteen years.

Upwards of THREE THOUSAND Pupils, as has been stated, have been educated in part or entirely within the past ninety-one years, at this now venerable Institution of learning. Many of these are known to have risen to eminence in the various walks of life, and have been or are men of mark in the eyes of the world. It was, however, not for this that they and their fellows were reared and trained by the Moravian Church through its school; but rather, that having been well-grounded in whatever is good and true, they might be fitted for usefulness in their day and generation,—in all things approving themselves workers, diligent and zealous for the welfare of their fellow-men, and doing all things to the glory of God.

HISTORICAL SKETCH

OF THE

MORAVIAN SEMINARY FOR YOUNG LADIES,

AT

BETHLEHEM, NORTHAMPTON CO., PA.

FOUNDED 1785.

THE

Moravian Seminary for Young Ladies,

AT

BETHLEHEM, NORTHAMPTON CO., PENN.

FOUNDED, 1785.

This long established and widely known school is one of five institutions of higher learning in the United States, which are the property of the American Moravian Church, and are conducted for the benefit of that Church and its Christian enterprises, under the supervision of the Executive Boards of its Provinces, North and South.

Four of these schools have been in successful operation for three-quarters of a century.* The one of which the following pages briefly treat is rapidly approaching its centennial, and is, as far as known, the oldest Boarding School for young ladies in this country.

THE AMERICAN MORAVIAN CHURCH

is an integral part of the Moravian Unity, whose organic centre is at Herrnhut, Saxony, where, in 1727, the ancient protestant Unity of the Moravian and Bohemian Brethren [followers of John Huss] was resuscitated among a handful of spiritual descendants of those early confessors of evangelical truth, who left their ancestral seats in search of religious toleration. The Renewed Church of the United Brethren, or the Moravian Church of the present day, dates therefore from the year 1727. Before the expiration of the first decade of its existence, this Church of refugees was firmly established at different points on

* The Seminary for Young Ladies at Bethlehem—Nazareth Hall, a Boarding School for Boys, at Nazareth, Northampton Co., Penn., founded in 1785—Linden Hall, a Boarding School for Young Ladies, at Litiz, Lancaster Co., Penn., founded in 1794—and the Hope Academy for Young Ladies, at Hope, Bartholomew Co., Indiana, founded in 1866, are under the supervision of the Executive Board of the Province North. The Academy for Young Ladies at Salem, Forsyth Co., North Carolina, founded in 1802, is controlled by the Board of the Province South.

the Continent and in Great Britain,—and through its missionaries was preaching the Gospel to the Greenlanders, the North American Indians, the negro slaves of the West Indies and Surinam, and the Hottentots of Southern Africa. It is through this noble work and its widely distant centres in Greenland, Labrador, Canada, the United States, the Mosquito Coast, the West Indies, Surinam, South Africa, Australia and Thibet, that the Moravian Church of the present day is perhaps best known among her sister churches of Protestant Christendom.*

The American Moravian Church constitutes one of the three Provinces into which the Unity is at present divided, and embraces within its ecclesiastical limits a Church North and a Church South, with Bethlehem, Penna., and Salem, N. C., respectively for their seats of government. The Churches of Great Britain and Ireland constitute the British Province, and those of Germany, Holland and Russia the Continental,—with their seats of government respectively at London and Herrnhut. These Provinces are united into one Church, on the basis of a common historic descent, a common faith, and the prosecution in common of the work of Foreign Missions. Touching matters of constitution and government in their respective domains, however, and touching the enterprises in which they have engaged, whether the cause of home missions, education,† or local charities, each is an independent organization. The frame of government adopted by both Provinces and Unity is strictly representative. A Provincial Synod legislates for the Province, and in a Provincial Board is vested the executive power. A General Synod, convened as occasion may require, at Herrnhut, legislates for the Unity, and in a Unity's Board is vested the executive power.

THE MORAVIANS IN PENNSYLVANIA.

The Moravians effected their first permanent settlement in the British Provinces of North America, at Bethlehem, Penna., in 1741—after an unsuccessful attempt to colonize in Georgia. Encouraged in their enterprises in this direction by the British Government, which,

* According to recent returns, the number of converts attached to the Moravian Missions exceeds a grand total of 70,000.

† There are twenty-five Boarding Schools, conducted in the interests of the Continental Province; ten for boys and fifteen for girls. Those at Lausanne and Montmirail, Switzerland, and at Montauban, Province of Guienne, France, are most favorably and widely known. The British Province has fifteen; seven for boys and eight for girls.

by Act of Parliament,* granted them special privileges within its Colonial possessions, they resolved to plant their Church within its jurisdiction in the New World, with the Province of Pennsylvania for the centre of its operations, and a mission among the Indians as one of its principal objects. To this end the heads of the Church purchased lands in that Province—eventually becoming the proprietors of 10,000 acres in two parcels, lying within the limits of the present Northampton County—and in the interval between 1742 and 1762 annually forwarded colonists from abroad, some of whom were settled at points on these estates, and others, subsequent to 1752, on a great tract of 100,000 acres in western North Carolina. Bethlehem, as has been stated, was begun to be built in 1741, and immediately became the seat of the Board of general control, at the head of which stood the senior Bishop. It was the only settlement made on the lower Moravian tract in the Forks of Delaware. On the upper tract, six distinct improvements were made within the first ten years of its occupation, and in 1771 the town (now the borough) of Nazareth was laid out.

THE MORAVIAN ECONOMY.

For upwards of twenty years after entering Pennsylvania, the Moravians in that Province constituted one body politic, being united in an Economy. Coöperative as was this feature in their system of colonization, it differed materially from the communistic movements of a later day, in as far as aggrandizement in things temporal, either for the individual or for the corporation, was utterly foreign to its design and spirit. Its sole aim was the support of a Gospel ministry and the maintenance of foreign and domestic missions. It was for this that the mother-church ventured of her limited means in the purchase of real estate and in the transportation of colonists,—and to aid her in her efforts to extend Christ's kingdom, those colonists now voluntarily entered into an agreement to live and labor as members of one family. The surrender of personal property into a common treasury was no requirement for admission into this Economy. Its members contributed merely their individual labor for the common good, whether as artisans or husbandmen, and in return were supplied with the necessaries of life. The mutual obligation ended here. In this way the farms, mills and workshops which had been cleared or erected at different points, were made to do service in the interests of the work

* Entitled "An Act for encouraging the people known by the name of *Unitas Fratrum* or United Brethren, to settle in his Majesty's Colonies in America," being an Act of the 22d year of George II.

which the Church had taken in hand, the revenues accruing from them aiding materially in the support of a flourishing mission among the Delaware and Mohican Indians,* a stated ministry, and a corps of evangelists who preached the Gospel in the rural districts of the Province. The period of greatest activity in the history of the American branch of the Moravian Unity of the last century, falls within the times of its Economy. It was only when the spirit which had animated its founders began to decline, that it ceased to be efficacious as an auxiliary, and then it was dissolved. This came to pass in the spring of 1762. Subsequent to that year, the relations hitherto existing between the mother-church and her colonial dependencies began to be modified. The landed investments in this country, which were held by the former, for the use and behoof of the Unity, were, by synodical enactment, gradually conveyed to the American branch of the Church, with a view of enabling it to become self-sustaining. This change, in course of time, brought with it others touching matters of ecclesiastical constitution, government and polity, and shaping them gradually into their present form.

THE FIRST MORAVIAN BOARDING SCHOOLS

in this country were the institutions in which the children of the Moravian Economy were educated. As the parents of these children, by reason of the responsibilities they assumed, were incapacitated from providing for their offspring, the education and maintenance of the latter devolved entirely upon the Church. The sons and daughters of both laymen and clergymen were accordingly placed at schools, at Bethlehem and Nazareth, whose government, domestic arrangements and routine-life closely resembled those of the family, and which, in fact, were designed as far as possible to compensate the pupils for the loss of home. *Parental discipline, thorough instruction in useful knowledge and scrupulous attention to religious culture,* were characteristics of these early Moravian schools. With the dissolution of the Economy, which was followed by important changes in the polity of the Moravian settlements, these institutions were closed, and thereafter the Church provided merely for the education of the sons and

* The status of the Moravian mission among the Indians (Monseys, Delawares and Cherokees) of this country at present, is the following: *Stations,* 4; *Missionaries,* 8; *National Assistants,* 13; *Station Schools,* 2; *Pupils,* 53; *Converts,* 420. The Stations are New Fairfield (1792), Ontario, Canada West; New Westfield (1866), Franklin Co., Kansas; New Springplace (1801) and Wood Mount (1870), Cherokee Country, Indian Territory.

daughters of its clergymen and missionaries, either in day or boarding schools.

The first boarding school for girls in this country, under the auspices of the Moravians, was opened in Germantown in the spring of 1742. It was in charge of Benigna, the daughter of Count Zinzendorf, who accompanied her father to the new world. Others were subsequently established in the German districts of the then counties of Bucks and Berks. These were conducted in the interests of the Domestic Mission of the Church.

BETHLEHEM

was begun to be built in the spring of 1741 on a tract of 500 acres of land, situated at the confluence of the Menakasy Creek and the Lehigh or West Branch of Delaware, within the limits of what was then Bucks County. Its founder was Bishop David Nitschmann, a native of Zauchtenthal, Moravia, and the handful of men, who, under him, felled the first trees and blocked up the first house, were some of the colonists whom the Church had settled in Georgia in 1735. In December of 1741, immediately upon his arrival in the country, Count Zinzendorf visited the place and gave it the name it bears to the present day.

Between 1744 and 1762, Bethlehem was the home of Bishop Augustus G. Spangenberg, who, with his assistants Bishop J. Frederic Cammerhoff and Bishop Peter Boehler, (some time the intimate friend of the Wesley brothers) administered the secular and spiritual concerns of the Moravian Economy, and also directed the Church's twofold work of Foreign and Domestic Missions in the new world. In this interesting period of its history fell the so-called French and Indian war; and when, subsequent to Braddock's defeat, the enemy invaded the eastern portion of the Province, devastating with torch and tomahawk,—the secluded Moravian town was on several occasions literally a frontier-post, and almost in a state of siege. At exposed points it was stockaded, and into its large houses there now crowded hundreds of panic-stricken fugitives from the surrounding country. It had become a bulwark of the borders.

Its Revolutionary experiences were no less exciting; and although its inhabitants as a people scrupled to bear arms, and may not be reckoned among the patriots of the camp—nevertheless they contributed freely of their substance to the common cause, and ministered, twice in the course of the great struggle, to hundreds of sick and wounded of the Continental army. Such was the case for the first

time, when in December of 1776, following the success of the British arms on Long Island, the removal of the General Hospital from Morristown to points in the interior, became an imperative necessity. Bethlehem then received for its quota upwards of eight hundred of the two thousand in hospital. One hundred and ten of these lie buried on the borders of the present borough.

With the beginning of September of 1777, opened the most eventful period in the Revolutionary history of Bethlehem. For scarcely had the excitement incident on the arrival of two hundred prisoners of war (one hundred of these were partisans of Donald McDonald from the Cross Creek settlement, near Fayetteville, N. C.,) fully subsided, when intelligence came of reverses to the patriot army, succeeded by a rumor that Bethlehem had been selected as headquarters. On the 11th of September was fought the battle of Brandywine or Chad's Ford, at which point Washington had made an unsuccessful stand for the defence of Philadelphia. Following this disaster and Howe's movement upon the then federal city, the military stores of the army of the North were hurried inland from French Creek, and by the 23d of the aforementioned month upwards of nine hundred army wagons were in camp on the outskirts of Bethlehem. Meanwhile Baron de Kalb and a corps of French engineers had arrived, their errand being to select an advantageous position for the army in the vicinity of the town, should Howe follow up his successes, and compel its shattered regiments once more to make a stand. A change in that general's programme, however, drew the main army away, and thus the town failed to witness what might have proved a decisive engagement in a most critical period of the American Revolution.

On the 19th of September, Dr. Jackson of the Hospital, brought the following order from Trenton, addressed to the Rev. John Ettwein:

"Sir: It gives me great pain to be obliged by order of Congress to send my sick and wounded soldiers to your peaceable village, but so it is. We will want room for two thousand at Bethlehem, Easton and Northampton, and you may expect them on Saturday or Sunday. These are dreadful times. I am truly concerned for your Society, and wish sincerely this stroke could be averted; but it is impossible.

"WILLIAM SHIPPEN."

"On Saturday, the 20th Sept. 1777," writes a chronicler of those stirring times, "we began to realize the extent of the panic that had stricken the inhabitants of the capital, as crowds of civilians as well as men in military life began to enter the town in the character of fugi-

as soon as possible an answer will be given whether the request can be complied with or not.

"4. No boy under the age of seven years, and above the age of twelve years, can be admitted, some particular cases excepted.

"5. The usual time for admittance is in the beginning of the months of April and October.

"6. Boys who have already been seduced into sinful practices and irregularities cannot be admitted, and it is requested, where this is known, that no application may be made in their behalf. In like manner it is unavoidably necessary to reserve the liberty to return to their parents or guardians such scholars as shall be so unhappy as to come into and persevere in evil courses, and seduce others into sinful things. But in such cases previous notice will be given.

"7. Instruction will be given in this school in Reading, Writing, Arithmetic; the English, German, French, Latin and Greek languages; and in History, Geography, Mathematics, Music and Drawing.

"8. If it is desired that any scholar, besides the public lessons, shall have private instuction in any particular language or science, a separate consideration will be paid for the same, which, in every such case, will be settled beforehand, with the parents or guardians.

"9. A particular attention will be paid that *the scholars are constantly under inspection, not only in school hours, but also at all other times.*

"10. A like regard will also be paid as well to their morals as to their health, by proper exercises, cleanliness, gentleness of deportment, etc.

"11. It is earnestly wished that the visits of the scholars to their parents, relations and friends, especially if they live at a considerable distance, may occur as seldom as possible, because they frequently dissipate the mind of youth and cause more damage than pleasure.

"12. Every scholar from six to twelve years of age pays for tuition, board, lodging, wood, etc., $66.66 per annum, and every scholar above twelve years, $80.00. The payment to be made quarterly, the first quarter to be paid at the admittance of a boy, and so every quarter following.

"13. Besides the above, every scholar who comes to this school pays at his entrance one guinea, for the use of the library, procuring musical instruments, etc. If parents of property should find themselves inclined to add to this entrance money, it will be thankfully acknowledged.

"14. The diet of the boys is plain and wholesome. For breakfast,

bread and butter and milk, now and then tea or coffee; at dinner, boiled or roasted meat, with suitable vegetables; for supper, bread and butter, milk, salad, etc.

"15. Clothing, linen, bedding, books, medicine, etc., will be provided by the parents or guardians, or, if desired, by the Inspector of the school. An account of these extraordinary expenses will be sent in every quarter of a year, and it is expected that the payment will be made punctually and without delay.

"16. All parents and guardians are requested to provide decent but plain clothes for the scholars, and to avoid all excess and vanity therein."

Thus then, did this now time-honored Institution set out upon its career, in which it soon won a wide-spread reputation for salutary discipline and well-grounded instruction. An inspection of its Register, on which are recorded the names of upwards of *Three Thousand Pupils* from the States, Canada, the West Indies and the old country, testifies how ably that reputation was sustained.

Thirteen Principals have thus far administered the affairs of Nazareth Hall; the present incumbent is the fourteenth.

THE FOURTEEN PRINCIPALS OF NAZARETH HALL.

I. *The Rev. Charles G. Reichel, 1785–1802.*

Mr. Reichel, a graduate of the Moravian Theological Seminary at Barby, Saxony, came to this country in the autumn of 1784, in response to a call from the Executive Board to take charge of the recently planned Boarding School at Nazareth. On the 3d of October, 1785, the day on which it was opened, he assumed the duties of presiding officer. Its beginnings were necessarily humble. There were but eleven pupils entered on that day, and these were sons of members of the Moravian Church. Joseph Shaw of Philadelphia was the first lad, not of Moravian parentage, admitted. In 1787 John Konkaput, a Housatonic Indian from Stockbridge, Mass., was placed at the Institution by the United States Government. Accessions of pupils from the West Indies date from the year 1788; and from that time forward scarce a year but what sons of English and Danish planters from those Islands were inmates of the Hall. In 1791 it was found necessary to divide the scholars into three distinct classes or "room-companies." During Mr. Reichel's administration, one hundred and sixty-three pupils were connected with the Institution.

The order of daily scholastic exercises, in 1798, was the following:

"From 7½ to 8½ A. M.—German and English Reading, Grammar and History.

"From 8½ to 9 A. M.—Children's meeting, a short devotional exercise, in English and German.

"From 9 to 10 A. M.—Latin, Corn. Nepos and Gedike's Reader, Geography, (Reichel's or Morse's United States), Natural History, with Seman's Text Books.

"From 10 to 11 A. M.—Arithmetic, Geometry, Book-keeping and Mathematical Geography.

"From 2 to 3 P. M.—Writing and Drawing.

"From 3 to 4 P. M.—French."

Special attention, furthermore, was paid to the study of the English and German languages, the pupils being required to express themselves exclusively in the one or the other, on alternate days, in their intercourse with each other and their preceptors. The first examination of classes open to the public was held in October of 1789.

In August of 1786, fifty-five and a half perches of land lying west of the Hall, were laid out into a park. It was subsequently enlarged, planted with forest trees, shrubs and wild flowers, and thus became "the shades of the Academy," in which successive generations of its inmates sought rest and recreation from mental toil.

In the spring of 1802 Mr. Reichel was called to the pastorate of the Moravian church at Salem, and appointed President of the Executive Board of the Southern Province. Preparatory to entering upon his new office he was consecrated a Bishop. Having in the interval between 1811 and 1818 resided at Bethlehem, he returned to Europe in the last mentioned year, and died at Nisky, Lower Silesia, in April of 1825.

II. *The Rev. Jacob Van Vleck, 1802–1809.*

Mr. Van Vleck was a native of New York, and his parents members of the church which the Moravians organized in that city in 1748. After having pursued a collegiate course of instruction in the school which was opened in the Hall subsequent to the dissolution of the Economy, he, in 1771, went abroad to prepare for the ministry at the Theological Seminary at Barby. Returning to his native country after a seven-years' absence, Mr. Van Vleck was ordained, was in 1790 appointed Principal of the Young Ladies' Seminary at Bethlehem, and in 1802 succeeded Mr. Reichel at Nazareth Hall.

One hundred and nineteen pupils, of which number but eighteen were Moravians, were admitted during his administration. As the

sons of American parents were now beginning to preponderate in the school, the German language, which had at first been the vehicle of instruction to a great extent, was supplanted as such by the English. It was found necessary also to bring the curriculum more in conformity with that of other schools in the country.

With the growth of the Institution, the difficulty of procuring liberally educated preceptors grew apace, and as the expense incurred in engaging the services of tutors from the Church abroad was burdensome, it was resolved to make special provision for this pressing want at home. Accordingly, in 1807, a collegiate and Divinity school was established at the Hall, in which young men of the Church were trained as preceptors while studying for the ministry. Such was the origin of the present Theological Seminary of the American Moravian Church, now located at Bethlehem. Since 1810 this Institution has supplied most of the teachers employed in Nazareth Hall.

In July, 1809, Mr. Van Vleck was called to the pastorate of the congregation at Nazareth. He next ministered to the churches at Litiz and Salem. In 1815 he was consecrated a Bishop, and removed to Bethlehem. At that place he died in July of 1831.

III. *The Rev. Charles F. Seidel, 1809–1817.*

Mr. Seidel, a graduate of the Moravian Theological Seminary at Nisky, came to the country in 1806, and entered the service of his Church in the Province South. In 1809 he took charge of the Hall, and for eight years superintended its affairs. A memorable day in his administration was the 3d of October, 1810, it being the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the school. The occasion was impressively observed; the chapel was tastefully decorated, the pupils for the first time occupied a common refectory, and a musical entertainment closed the festivities of the day. In 1815 the customary examination of the pupils before the annual summer vacation, was made public.

In 1817 Mr. Seidel was called to the pastorate at Bethlehem. He was Principal of the Young Ladies' Seminary at that place between 1823 and 1836. In the ministry up to his 78th year, and some time a member of the Executive Board af the Province North, he retired from official life in 1855. He died at Bethlehem in April of 1861.

IV. *The Rev. John C. Beckler, 1817–1822.*

Mr. Beckler, a graduate of the Theological Seminary at Nisky, having served for six years in the joint capacity of tutor at the Hall

and assistant Professor in the Divinity School, was settled in the ministry successively at Philadelphia and on Staten Island. In the autumn of 1817 he entered upon his duties as Principal.

Subsequent to 1822, he was pastor at Litiz, and having been consecrated a Bishop, was appointed President of the Executive Board of the Province South. In 1836 he returned to Europe, filled several appointments in the Continental Church, and died at Herrnhut in August of 1857.

A residence for the Principal, who with his family had hitherto been domiciled in the Hall, was erected and occupied during this administration.

V. *The Rev. Wm. H. Van Vleck, 1822–29.*

Mr. Van Vleck, a son of the second Principal, was educated in the Theological Seminary at Nazareth, and discharged the duties of a tutor in the Hall, prior to his entrance into the ministry. His first charge was the Moravian church in Philadelphia, to which he was appointed in 1817. As a Principal he was as successful as he was esteemed as a pastor, and the Institution entrusted to his care flourished as it had never done before. The number of pupils reached seventy-one.

Subsequent to his retirement from the school, Mr. Van Vleck took charge of the Moravian church in New York, was sometime President of the Executive Board of the Province South, and while senior pastor at Bethlehem, died in January of 1852.

Bishop William Henry Van Vleck was well known as a divine beyond the limits of the Church in which he labored diligently and acceptably in the Gospel.

VI. *The Rev. John G. Herman, 1829–1837.*

The sixth Principal of the Hall was a graduate of the Theological Seminary at Nisky, came to this country in 1817, and after having labored in the ministry for twelve years, successively at Newport, R. I., at Philadelphia and Lancaster, took charge of the Institution at Nazareth.

His administration was eminently prosperous, the number of pupils eventually reaching seventy-three. These were now divided into five "room-companies," entrusted to nine tutors for supervision and instruction.

The semi-centennial of the Institution was observed with fittting demonstrations on the 3d of October, 1835. A "love-feast," of

which the pupils and the members of the Nazareth congregation jointly partook in the chapel, and an illumination of the park at night with transparencies bearing texts of Scripture, were among the pleasing features of the day's celebration. "Hitherto the Lord hath helped us," and "Jesus Christ, the same to-day, yesterday and forever," were texts indicative of trust in the Divine aid for the success of a work undertaken for the glory of God.

Eight hundred and seventeen pupils were admitted during the first half-century of the Institution's existence.

204	were from	Philadelphia.
117	"	other points in the State of Pennsylvania.
159	"	the City and State of New York.
53	"	Baltimore.
82	"	the West India Islands.
49	"	Bethlehem.
18	"	Nazareth.
14	"	Litiz.
12	"	Salem, N. C.
109	"	other States of the Union, Canada and from abroad.

In 1836, the refectory, which had hitherto been in the basement of the Hall, was transferred to a wing attached to the east end of the building.

On severing his connection with the Institution for whose welfare he had labored so successfully, Mr. Herman assumed the pastorate of the Bethlehem congregation. In 1844, on being called to the Missions-Department of the Unity's Executive Board at Herrnhut, he sailed for Europe. In 1846 he was consecrated a Bishop. On his return from abroad in 1849, he was settled at Salem. Here he was President of the Executive Board of the Province South. He died in July of 1854, in the State of Missouri, while on an official visitation to the Cherokee Mission in the Indian Territory.

VII. *The Rev. Charles A. Van Vleck, 1837–1839,*

a brother of the fifth Principal and a graduate of the Theological Seminary at Nazareth, after having been settled in the ministry successively at Bethania, in the Province South, at Newport, R. I., at Lancaster and York, was called to Nazareth Hall.

On severing his connection with the Institution, Mr. Van Vleck was appointed a Professor in the Theological Seminary, then at Bethlehem. In 1844 he removed to Greenville, Tenn., took charge of a Female College at that place, and died in December of 1845.

VIII. *The Rev. Charles F. Kluge, 1839–1844.*

The eighth Principal of Nazareth Hall was a graduate of the Theological Seminary at Nazareth, a tutor in the Institution between 1821 and 1828, Principal of Linden Hall at Litiz, and subsequently pastor of the Moravian Church in New York.

Important changes in the internal and domestic arrangements of the school were effected in the course of this administration. Ever since the erection of the Hall, its lower floor was occupied as a place of worship, by the Nazareth congregation. As, on the completion of a church edifice in 1840, it was vacated, the Trustees of the Institution resolved to purchase the building, which up to this time had been rented from the steward of that congregation,—it having been conveyed to that body in 1771, when a division of a portion of the Unity's estates in this country was effected. It was hereupon thoroughly renovated, and remodeled and modernized as to its interior. The lower floor was converted into a suitable chapel, a new refectory and kitchen were added, and the providing of table-board assigned to a matron under the immediate direction of the Principal's lady. Previous to this date the pupils had been boarded by contract. It was soon apparent that these changes were decidedly beneficial.

In 1844 Mr. Kluge was appointed the Unity's Financial Agent for the Province South, and removed to Salem. Having been elected a member of the Finance Department of the Unity's Executive Board at Herrnhut, he sailed for Europe in 1854. He returned to this country in 1857, and resides at Nazareth.

IX. *The Rev. John C. Jacobson,* 1844–1849.

Mr. Jacobson was educated for the ministry in the Theological Seminary at Nisky, came to this country in 1816, and for ten years was a tutor in the Hall. His first pastoral charge was in the Province South. For eleven years he presided over the Young Ladies' Academy at Salem, leaving it to enter upon the duties of Principal at Nazareth Hall.

One hundred and thirty-two pupils are registered for this administration, the number at one time reaching seventy.

In 1848 Mr. Jacobson attended a General Synod of the Church at Herrnhut. Having on his return from abroad been elected a member of the Executive Board of the Province North, he removed to Bethlehem. He was consecrated a Bishop in 1854, retired from public life in 1867, and died in November of 1870.

X. *The Rev. Levin T. Reichel*, 1849–1853.

Mr. Reichel, a son of the first Principal, was born at Bethlehem and educated for the ministry abroad. In 1834 he entered the Hall as a tutor, and in 1837 was called to a charge in the neighborhood of Nazareth.

During this administration the arrangements in the school underwent a change, the course of study was materially modified, the use of the German language in the daily intercourse of the pupils was re-introduced, and day-scholars were no longer admitted.

In 1853 Mr. Reichel was called to the pastorate of the church at Litiz. From 1854 to 1857 he was President of the Executive Board of the Province South. In the last mentioned year he sailed for Europe, having been chosen a member of the Missions-Department of the Unity's Board. He was consecrated a Bishop in 1868.

XI. *The Rev. Edward Rondthaler*, 1853–54,

was born at Nazareth and educated for the ministry in the Theological Seminary at that place. From the Hall, in which he labored in the capacity of a tutor for six years, he was in 1841 called to the charge of a congregation in the neighborhood. Subsequently he was settled at Graceham, Frederick County, Md., and in Philadelphia.

On severing his connection with the Institution in whose interests he wrought zealously, Mr. Rondthaler was appointed Professor in the Theological Seminary, at that time temporarily located at Nazareth. There he died, in March of 1865.

On the 10th of June, 1854, the first Reunion of former pupils of Nazareth Hall, was held. Fifteen pupils, who had been inmates of the school between 1825 and 1830, participated in the festivities of the day. Such was the enjoyment realized on this occasion that resolutions were adopted looking to a second meeting of the kind to be held in June of the following year, to which former pupils without distinction should be invited, and one of them be chosen orator of the day. Since that time eleven Reunions have at intervals been held.

XII. *The Rev. Edward H. Reichel*, 1854–1866.

Mr. Reichel, a grandson of the first Principal of Nazareth Hall, was graduated from the Theological Seminary, at Bethlehem, served as a tutor in the first-named Institution, and in 1849 was settled in the ministry in Camden Valley, Washington Co., N. Y. From that church he was called to the Hall.

In June of 1818 the "Musical Entertainment" customarily given by the pupils at the close of the annual term, was held for the first time in the Moravian church, and was followed by a four weeks' vacation. Hitherto there had been no such recess.

The number of pupils now reached one hundred and thirty, a seventh division or room-company was organized, fourteen resident tutoresses being employed.

While thus in the prosecution of a noble work, and in the very prime of early manhood, this amiable and gifted Christian educator, was in July of 1818 removed from the sphere of his usefulness by death.

Mr. Steinhauer was well known and highly respected as a scholar and a man of science, beyond the pale of the Moravian Church. In October of 1817 he was elected a member of the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia. The pages of its Transactions contain contributions from his pen.

The vacancy occasioned by the demise of the seventh Principal was filled for the interval between July of 1818 and January of 1819, by

VIII.—*The Rev. Charles F. Seidel,*[3]

one of the pastors of the Bethlehem Church.

Forty-four pupils were admitted by him and the number rose to one hundred and forty.

IX. —*The Rev. John F. Frueauff, 1819–1821.*

Mr. Frueauff, a graduate of the Barby Theological Seminary, came to this country in the autumn of 1788, having been called to serve his Church in the capacity of a tutor at Nazareth Hall. His first appointment in the ministry was at Schœneck, near Nazareth. Subsequently he labored as pastor in Philadelphia, Nazareth and Litiz, and was sometime Principal of Linden Hall.

In January of 1819, he was appointed to the head of the Institution at Bethlehem. One hundred and fifteen pupils entered during his term of office.

Mr. Frueauff, at the time of his death in November of 1839, was a member of the Executive Board of the Province North.

Mrs. Frueauff died at Bethlehem in August of 1828.

X.—*The Rev. Lewis David de Schweinitz, 1821–1822.*

Mr. de Schweinitz, a great-grandson of Count Zinzendorf in the maternal line of descent, was born at Bethlehem, and was educated

for the ministry at the Moravian Theological Seminary at Nisky, Prussia. His first appointment in the service of his Church was in the American Province South. Thence he was called to Bethlehem, in 1821.

Forty-one pupils were admitted into the Institution during his incumbency, which covered the interval between December of 1821 and August of 1822. In the last named month he was appointed Financial Agent of the Unity's Executive Board for the Province North. At the same time he was a member of the Provincial Executive Board and senior pastor of the Bethlehem congregation. He died in February of 1834.

Mr. de Schweinitz was widely known and highly esteemed outside of his own church, both in this country and abroad. He was a member of the Academy of Natural Sciences and of the American Philosophical Society, and a corresponding member of several leading scientific associations on the Continent. His name is to the present day an authority in matters touching the domain of Flora.

Mrs. de Schweinitz died at Bethlehem in October of 1858.

XI.—*The Rev. Charles F. Seidel, 1822–1836,*

a native of Saxony and a graduate of the Nisky Theological Seminary, came to this country in 1806 and received his first appointment in the Province South. Between 1809 and 1817 he was Principal of Nazareth Hall.

In August of 1822, Mr. Seidel was called to the head of the Institution of which we write, administering its affairs with eminent ability for fourteen eventful years, in which period he admitted six hundred and forty-two pupils.

Mr. Seidel did much towards elevating the schools of music, both vocal and instrumental, and the beginnings of the reputation the Seminary at present enjoys for the excellence of its instructions in this ornamental branch of female education, were made by its highly accomplished eleventh Principal.

He also enlarged and beautified the grounds.

In the summer of 1826, a residence conveniently situated near the school was exchanged by the Principal for a suite of apartments in one of the Economy buildings, hitherto occupied by himself and his predecessors in office.

The patriotism of the young ladies at the Institution in 1826, is on record in the following correspondence:

"BETHLEHEM, September 23, 1826.

"TO HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN QUINCY ADAMS,

President of the United States:

"Your Excellency will pardon the liberty which the undersigned, Principal of the long-established Seminary for female education at Bethlehem, Penna., presumes to take in addressing to you these lines.

"The pupils of our Institution wishing to demonstrate their profound respect for Mrs. Adams, have prepared a piece of ornamental needle-work, which they have requested me to present in their name to your honored lady. Confident that Mrs. Adams will accept this trifling token of respect, the members of the youthful community under my charge offer it in childlike simplicity of purpose. I would request that you be pleased to point out an address according to which it can be forwarded to her conveniently and in safety.

"Permit me to subscribe myself, with the assurance of the most perfect respect,

"Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

"CHARLES F. SEIDEL."

To which Mrs. Adams replied:—

WASHINGTON, November 7, 1826.

"TO THE YOUNG LADIES OF BETHLEHEM SEMINARY:

"The extreme ill health under which I have labored ever since my return to Washington has prevented the earlier acknowledgment of the receipt of the elegant specimen of workmanship so beautifully executed by the pupils of the Bethlehem Seminary and presented to me in so flattering a manner.

"The great interest I must ever take in the exertions of my sex to attain to excellence and perfection in the cultivation of their minds and in the acquirement of useful and elegant accomplishments, may perhaps entitle me to express my admiration of the work with which you have honored me, in which the purest taste and neatest execution are conspicuous, and return my grateful thanks for the honor thus conferred on me by the distinction so bestowed,—a sense of which is deeply impressed on my heart.

"With assurances of the highest respect, permit me to offer to the young ladies of the Bethlehem Seminary the best wishes for their happiness and prosperity.

"LOUISA CATHARINE ADAMS."

Mr. Seidel severed his connection with the school in March of 1836. Subsequently he was senior pastor of the Bethlehem congregation and sometime a member of the Executive Board of the Province North. In 1855 he retired from official life, and died at Bethlehem in April of 1861.

Mrs. Seidel died at that place in October of 1857.

XII.—*The Rev. John G. Kummer, 1836–1843.*

Mr. Kummer was born on the island of St. Thomas, was educated at Nazareth Hall, and entered the service of his Church in the capacity of a tutor at that school in 1815. From 1826 to 1830 he was Principal of Linden Hall. In the last named year he was settled at Nazareth.

Mr. Kummer entered upon the duties of Principal of the Young Ladies' Seminary at Bethlehem in March of 1836, and with his energetic wife labored in its interests for seven years.

The 21st of May, 1836, was appropriately observed as the fiftieth anniversary of the day on which the first pupil was admitted into the Institution.

Mr. Kummer engaged the services of a drawing-master,* introduced Physics and Chemistry into the course of study, employed a Professor to lecture on these and other scientific branches, and added largely to the stock of Philosophical Apparatus.

On the 18th of November, 1842, his wife was called from the midst of her activity to the eternal world.

Three hundred and seventy-five pupils entered the Seminary during this administration.

On retiring from its head, Mr. Kummer was settled at Litiz. At that place he died in August of 1846.

In the interval between October of 1843 and June of 1844,

XIII.—*The Rev. John G. Herman,*

senior pastor of the Bethlehem congregation and a member of the Provincial Executive Board, was acting Principal.

Mr. Herman had been Principal of Nazareth Hall between 1829 and 1837. In 1844, on being called to the Missions-Department of the Unity's Executive Board, he sailed for Europe. In 1846 he was consecrated a Bishop. On his return from abroad in 1849, he was settled at Salem and was appointed President of the Executive Board of the Province South. He died in July of 1854, in the State of Missouri, while on an official visitation to the Cherokee Mission in the Indian Territory.

Mrs. Herman died at Salem in January of 1869.

XIV.—*The Rev. Henry A. Shultz, 1844–1847.*

Mr. Shultz was born at Hope, a mission station in Dutch Guiana, S. A., and was educated at the Theological Seminary at Nazareth. His first appointments in the ministry were in the Province South. Thence he was called, in 1842, to the pastorate of the Moravian church in Philadelphia.

Mr. Shultz introduced painting-in-oil among the accomplishments taught at the Institution,—purchased a collection of Grunewald's

* Gustav Grunewald, a meritorious artist, who was connected with the Institution for more than thirty years, (1836–1868).

works in colors, crayon and pencil, and formed a "select class," some members of which were, under his direction, trained for teachers. He also erected a gymnasium.

Four hundred and fifteen pupils were admitted into the Seminary during this administration.

In October of 1847, Mr. Shultz was called to the pastorate of the Bethlehem church. In 1848 he was elected a member of the Executive Board of the Province North. Subsequently he was pastor at Litiz, Lancaster, Bethlehem and Nazareth. In 1864 he was consecrated a Bishop. He retired from official life in 1871 and resides at Bethlehem.

Mrs. Shultz died at that place in December of 1849.

XV.—*The Rev. Herman J. Titze, 1847–1849,*

a graduate of the Moravian Theological Seminary at Gnadenfeld, Silesia, came to this country in 1832, and entered Nazareth Hall in the capacity of a tutor. His first appointment in the ministry was at Gnadenhuetten, Tuscarawas Co., Ohio.

Mr. Titze entered upon the duties of Principal of the Seminary in October of 1847, and during his administration admitted ninety-four pupils.

In the summer of 1848 a two-story addition was built at the southwest corner of the house. The chapel on the upper floor was dedicated to the worship of God, by the late Bishop William Henry Van Vleck on the 3d of October of the aforementioned year. The lower floor was occupied as a refectory.

On severing his connection with the Institution, Mr. Titze was sometime a Professor in the Theological Seminary and subsequently pastor of the congregation in West Salem, Edwards Co., Illinois. He has retired from official life, and at this writing is a resident of that place.

Mrs. Titze died at West Salem in March of 1865.

XVI.—*The Rev. Sylvester Wolle,* 1849–1861.

Mr. Wolle was born in 1816 near Nazareth, and was educated at the Theological Seminary at that place. Having served four years in the capacity of a tutor at Nazareth Hall, he was settled in the ministry at Schœneck and subsequently at Gnadenhuetten, Ohio. From the latter place he was called to the head of the Young Ladies' Seminary at Bethlehem, in July of 1849. Its affairs he administered for twelve eventful years with unprecedented success.

Recognizing the importance of affording his pupils all due advantages for the acquisition of knowledge, in order that the Institution entrusted to his care, while maintaining its traditional prestige for thoroughness and excellence of instruction, might compete with other seminaries of the day in meeting the requirements of new modes of thought and new generations of men, its sixteenth Principal wrought zealously for the attainment of this end. He accordingly remodeled the course of study, introduced regular Professors into his corps of teachers, and to raise the standard of the schools of music both instrumental and vocal, engaged the services of graduates of the Conservatories of Music on the Continent.*

These changes were soon productive of most gratifying results; the number of pupils increased from year to year, and at the close of the annual term in June of 1853, reached one hundred and fifty-seven.

It becoming evident that ampler accommodations than could be furnished in the "old house" were requisite to meet the demands of a steadily growing patronage, Mr. Wolle, as early as 1852, projected the erection of a new building, vacated the residence occupied by himself and his predecessors since 1834, and discontinued admitting day-scholars.

In midsummer of 1854, the work of erecting the present east wing of the Seminary buildings, was auspiciously begun. This addition was occupied in the month of November. It is a handsome four-story brick dwelling, admirably arranged as to its interior for its intended use, heated by furnaces and conveniently supplied with gas and water. The Principal occupies a suite of apartments on the first floor. The reception rooms are embellished with paintings by Grunewald.†

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* In a rendition of "The Creation" by the Philharmonic Society of Bethlehem at their musical anniversary in June of 1853, the parts of the score for female voices were assigned to the select choir of the Seminary. "The Seasons," "The Lay of the Bell," "Paradise and the Peri," "The Lyric Songs of Athalie," and portions of "The Messiah," "The Last Judgment," and the "Stabat Mater," were works of the great masters of harmony, with which the pupils of 1852 to 1858 were familiarized, and which they interpreted at their musical entertainments with truthfulness that would not have been discreditable to professional vocalists.

† It was at a dinner given to the Trustees of the Institution by the Principal, when the new building was occupied, that the preparation of a memorial volume relating to the Seminary's rise and progress was proposed and its execution entrusted to one of the then Professors. The work, entitled "*A History of the Rise, Progress and present condition of the Moravian Seminary for Young Ladies at Beth-*

Mr. Wolle also laid out the grounds of the Institution anew, and in 1852 included a portion of the so-called "Sisters' Hill" within their limits. This was sometime the "deer-park."

The accommodations afforded by the new addition being no longer adequate, in the spring of 1859, ground was broken in view of erecting at the west end of the "old house," a wing in all respects similar to the one completed in 1854. This wing includes a well-appointed Infirmary, has a swimming-bath in the basement, and is provided with all modern conveniences.

In the early spring of 1857 Mr. Wolle, having been elected a delegate to the twenty-seventh General Synod of his Church which convened at Herrnhut in June of that year, sailed for Europe. He was abroad seven months; his brother, the Rev. Francis Wolle, meanwhile administering the affairs of the school.

Having been chosen a member of the Executive Board of the Province North in the spring of 1861, Mr. Wolle severed his connection with the Institution, whose interests he had so materially advanced and into which he had admitted upwards of one thousand pupils. The highest number at one time under his care was two hundred.

Mr. Wolle died at Bethlehem in August of 1873. Mrs. Wolle resides at that place.

Such is the brief record of men who engaged in the cause of education, not for emolument's sake, nor for a name; but because they believed with their Church that the Gospel ministry is doing a noble work in training the young for usefulness in this life, and in bringing them under influences that may be effective toward fitting them for the life to come.

Not all of these, it is true, labored with equal success; it was perhaps that some labored under discouraging circumstances and in trying times, and others in auspicious days and in the years of plenty; yet the record of them all, it must be said, is one of faithfulness to

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lehem, Pa., with a Catalogue of its Pupils, 1785–1858, by W. C. Reichel," appeared in 1858 from the press of J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia. Besides an outline history of the Institution, "*The Souvenir*" contains Catalogues of its Principals, Tutoresses and Pupils, copious extracts from a Journal of occurrences conducted by its junior pupils prior to 1800, and transcripts of Dialogues prepared for use on public occasions,—and is illuminated with portraits of Principals, views of the Seminary buildings at different periods, and of scenery in the neighborhood of Bethlehem. A second edition of the work, revised and enlarged, with a continuation of the history and Catalogues to 1870, by W. H. Bigler, was issued in that year.

duty in reliance upon the Divine aid. And it was perhaps because of this, and because of the faith of its founders, who in faith dedicated the Institution in its infancy, to the service of the Master,—and because the childlike faith of the fathers was held sacred and cherished by the children, that the gates of this now time-honored seat of learning have been permitted to stand open for ninety-one years for the entrance of mothers and daughters and daughters' daughters—and for the Christian education of those to whom is chiefly committed the training for good or evil of the successive generations of men.

More than SIX THOUSAND pupils, as has been stated, have been admitted up to this time into the Moravian Seminary at Bethlehem. Of some of these there is no knowledge; and large is the number that has passed into the eternal world. For those who still tabernacle in the flesh, be it in the latter days of their pilgrimage or in the glory of womanhood, their Alma Mater has diminished naught of her interest; and she rejoices as often as she learns that her children gone out into the world are ornaments to society, and that in their households they teach the lessons of heavenly wisdom she strove to inculcate in the days of their girlhood at school.

XVII—*The Rev. Francis Wolle, 1861,*

the present well-known Principal of the Moravian Seminary for Young Ladies at Bethlehem, was born near Nazareth in 1817, educated at Bethlehem, and first served his Church in the capacity of a tutor at Nazareth Hall, from 1839–1846. In 1856 he was appointed Vice-Principal of the Institution at whose head he has now stood for almost fifteen years.

In that interval of time he has built successfully upon the foundation laid by his predecessors, and has been signally prospered in his labors, having admitted nearly three thousand pupils.

The largest number registered for any one academic year in the annals of the school, was for the year ending with June of 1866, and reaches three hundred and eighteen.

In December of 1863 the Rev. Francis Holland (the present Principal of the Hope Academy for Young Ladies) was appointed Vice-Principal, and in 1866 he was succeded in that office by Mr. Benjamin Van Kirk, the present incumbent.

The fiftieth anniversary of the occupation of the "old house" in 1815, was festively observed on the 10th of November, 1865.

The chapel erected by the fifteenth Principal in 1848, being found too small to accommodate the numerous friends who desired to be

present at the semi-annual entertainments, and to seat the members of the household on special religious occasions, ground was broken in the autumn of 1867 for the erection of a more commodious structure. In July of 1868, the building was finished, and on the 9th of the month the chapel on the upper floor was dedicated to the worship of God. The new wing, which joins the old chapel on the south, has three stories, and its first floor is occupied as a refectory. An organ was erected in the Chapel in the summer of 1869.

In the summer of 1873, Mr. Wolle was constrained to add a fourth wing to the buildings thus far erected and occupied. It joins the chapel on the south, has four stories, contains a gymnasium, a large lecture-room, and a suite of dwelling rooms and dormitories. At the same time he built a large and well-appointed steam laundry.

The present number of pupils at the Institution is one hundred and eighty.

THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE MORAVIAN SEMINARY FOR YOUNG LADIES AT BETHLEHEM.

Design and Character of the Institution.—Proprietorship.—Board of Trustees.—The Principal.—The Corps of Teachers.—Revenues.—Location and Buildings.—Valuation of Property.—Domestic and Scholastic Arrangements.—Government and Mode of Instruction.—Course of Studies.—Archives.—Calendar.—Expenses of Board and Tuition, &c.

The Design

of this Institution, which is included among the Church enterprises of the Province North of the American Church, is substantially the same as was had in view by its founders. As to its character, it professes to be a school in which *the moral and religious training of the young is shaped after the teachings of Christ, and by no means subordinated to the acquisition of mere human knowledge.* It has never sought the reputation of a *fashionable* school.

The Proprietorship

of the Seminary and its properties is legally* vested in the "Board of Elders," or Executive Board of the Province North; the members

* The Institution was incorporated by Act of Legislature of Pennsylvania, April 3d, 1863; the charter then granted in no wise, however, modified the Proprietorship, which since 1785 has been vested in the predecessors in office of the present Board.

of which Board reside at Bethlehem, and are three in number.* These also constitute

The Board of Trustees,

who, according to the charter of the Institution, "have the care and management of the School and of its estates and properties, and have power to make all needful by-laws and regulations for the appointment of competent professors and teachers, for the fixing and paying of all salaries, for the fixing of the prices of the board and tuition of the students, for the studies and exercises of the students, and for the general well-being of the school."

In them is vested the power of appointing

The Principal

who is chosen from among the clergymen of the Church.

The Corps of Teachers

consists, at this writing, of twenty resident tutoresses; ten teachers of special branches, to wit: German, French, Latin, Vocal and Instrumental Music, fine Needle-work and Wax-work; four Professors, to wit: two of Music, one of Natural Sciences, and one of Painting and Drawing; and two occasional Lecturers on Elocution and Natural History.

The Revenues

of the Institution, (after allowing for repairs and improvements,) are added to those accruing from a funded capital and other properties held in trust by the "Board of Elders" for the use and behoof of the Church. These joint revenues are expended in part for the support of the ministry in needy churches, in part for the education of ministers' sons and daughters, in part for the maintenance of ministers' widows and of ministers retired from active service, and in part for incidental charities.

Thus it will be seen, that the Institution is laboring *indirectly* also in the interests of the Gospel of Christ.

The Borough of Bethlehem

dates back to the spring of 1741, when the Moravians made the first improvement on the Allen tract in the Forks of Delaware and began to build Bethlehem. Although the Economy, of which it was the

* The Rev. Robert de Schweinitz, the Rev. Lewis F. Kampmann, and the Rev. F. R. Holland, are the present Trustees.

central point, was dissolved in 1762, Bethlehem continued a close settlement and was inhabited exclusively by Moravians as late as 1844. In that year, however, the changes which that people in this country was beginning to effect in reference to the occupation of its estates, authorizing the General Proprietor to dispose of lands and lots in fee-simple to purchasers other than Moravians,—lost for Bethlehem its distinctive character. It ceased to be a denominational settlement and was incorporated a borough in March of 1845. According to the census of 1850, its population was 1506. Since then it has steadily increased; a growth which is owing partly to its situation in the heart of the valley which is the thoroughfare of the great traffic in anthracite, and partly to its close connection with the eastern cities by rail. In 1860 its environs on the south bank of the Lehigh were selected as the seat of an iron industry, which has now assumed magnificent proportions. Works for the production of spelter and zinc oxide were erected there in 1852. Around these there has gradually crystallized the borough of South Bethlehem, incorporated in August of 1865, with a population of 3,556, according to the census of 1870.

The population of Bethlehem borough, according to the census of 1860, was 2,834,—according to the census of 1870, 4,512. The present population of the two boroughs and the adjacent suburban villages, may not be far from 15,000, and should the rate of increase for the future be at all commensurate with that of the past, the time may not be distant, when the so-called "Bethlehems," will be consolidated and incorporated a city.

Bethlehem is well situated on high ground on the left bank of the Lehigh, and has good water and a salubrious atmosphere. The scenery in its immediate neighborhood is confessedly beautiful, and there are points along the river and its embowered islands which are quite unique in their charms. These have been favorites with the successive generations of pupils at the Seminary.

Excepting the row of ancient looking stone dwellings on Church street and the precincts of the Moravian cemetery, there is little left to tell of the olden time. All things else are modern and new, and there is a freshness about them which speaks of the vigor of youth and presages a prosperous growth for the future. The town is compactly built, the streets are wide and well-shaded with trees, and the residences, stores, hotels and churches indicate a people of taste, thrift, intelligence and enterprise.

Bethlehem is an important station on the Lehigh Valley R. R. and the Lehigh and Susquehanna Branch of the Central R. R. of New

Jersey, and is also the terminus of the North Pennsylvania R. R.—being in this way closely connected with the great national highways of travel. Telegraphs, Expresses and twenty-one incoming and outgoing daily mails afford additional facilities of communication with every part of the country.

The Seminary

is conspicuously located, near the Moravian church, and has a frontage of 232 feet on what was in the original plan of the settlement intended to be its public square. As has been stated, its buildings were erected at six different times, in the interim between 1748 and 1873, and constitute an imposing pile, on a plot of five acres of ground.*

There is a truck-farm of eleven acres belonging to the Institution.

The Seminary has never been aided in the way of grants and endowments. Its estates and properties have accumulated in the course of time, and the increase on the original investment is due to the labor of those who have successively administered its affairs.

The Valuation

of these estates and properties, including furniture, stock, equipments, &c., &c., may not be far from $100,000.

The Domestic and Scholastic Arrangements

adopted, are such as are believed to be conducive to the comfort, welfare and mental progress of the pupils.

The pupils of the Institution are under constant supervision, and to admit of this, are divided, on the basis of age, into companies of from fifteen to twenty, each company being under the care of a tutoress. She is required to be with her charge in their rooms after recitations, in leisure hours as well as in the hours assigned to preparatory study, and to accompany them on their walks, to the Chapel, the refectory and dormitory. Two tuoresses share the duties and responsibilities of supervision for each company, and sleep in the company's dormitory.

The pupils of the Institution take their meals in a common refectory.

The wardrobe of the junior members of the household is given into the care of the tutoresses of the junior department.

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* A model of the Seminary buildings, on a scale of one-eighth of an inch to the foot has been recently made, and is to be placed, together with specimens of needle-work and paintings in water-colors, executed by pupils who were inmates of the Institution between 1785 and 1800, in "Pennsylvania Educational Hall," at the Centennial Exhibition.

The Infirmary is in charge of a resident matron and an assistant matron.

The acting physician is the medical director of the household.

The Principal's lady is the General Superintendent of its various departments.

Touching *Scholastic arrangements*, the pupils of the Institution are divided into classes of from fifteen to twenty,—such division being based upon proficiency, and not upon age—and are assigned accordingly to one of the following four Departments: *Primary*, *Middle*, *Junior* or *Senior*.

Such pupils as have finished the course of study prescribed for the higher departments with credit, are, on leaving the Seminary, furfurnished with certificates to that effect—the charter of the Institution providing for this distinction, as follows: "The Trustees, in connection with the Principal and his assistants shall have power to grant and confer such degrees in the liberal arts and sciences of such branches thereof to such students of the Seminary or others as from their proficiency in learning they may deem justly entitled to such honors, and such as are usually granted by Institutions of a similar kind and to grant diplomas or certificates under their common seal as may authenticate and perpetuate the memory of such graduation."

The Course of Study

embraces the following branches:

a. For the *Primary Department*—Spelling and Definitions, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Grammar, Geography, History of the United States, and Biblical History.

b. For the *Middle Department*—The same, with the use of Lyman's Historical Chart, substituted for United States History, and Analysis.

c. For the *Junior Department*—Grammar, History continued, Political and Physical Geography, Astronomy, Arithmetic and Algebra, Geometry, Natural Philosophy and Chemistry, Rhetoric, Book-keeping, Natural History, Physiology and Latin.

d. For the *Senior Department*—Rhetoric, Criticism, Prosody, English and General Literature, Logic, Mythology, Physical Sciences continued, Algebra continued, Geometry continued, Moral Science, Intellectual Science, Mineralogy, Geology, Botany, Latin, etc., etc.

Exercises in Composition, Reading, Penmanship, and Arithmetic, are common to all classes.

Optional Branches are the following: French, German, Italian, Spanish, Drawing in Pencil and Crayon, Painting in Oil or Water

Colors, Music on the Piano Forte, Guitar, Organ and Harp, Singing, Ornamental Needle-work and Work in Wax. For these an extra charge is made.

Special courses of Lectures on Natural History and Elocution are delivered before the pupils of the Institution annually, by professional Lecturers.

The departments of Chemistry, Physics, Physiology, Mineralogy, Ornithology and Botany, are well supplied with scientific apparatus or cabinets of specimens.

The Library of the Institution contains upwards of *five thousand* volumes.

There are forty-six pianos and two cabinet organs in use.*

Government and Mode of Instruction.

The government of the household aims at instilling right principles and forming good habits. Hence the pupils are amenable to a code of rules touching their moral obligations as individuals and their duties as members of a family; while the constant supervision which characterizes the daily *regime* enables the tutoresses to exercise an influence for good over their charge, which otherwise might not be done.

The method of instruction is patient, laborious and hence likely to be thorough. The

Religious Instruction

imparted by the Principal is *scrupulously unsectarian.* Devotional exercises are held in the chapel every morning before the duties of the day begin. The pupils attend Divine service on the Lord's day, either in the Moravian Church or in the Chapel of the Institution.

Calendar.

The scholastic year is divided into three Terms. The Christmas term opens after the midsummer vacation and closes in the third week of December; the Easter term closes the week before Easter; the summer term closes in the last week of June. There is a two-weeks' vacation at the close of the first and second terms respectively.

Foundation Day (October 2d) is annually observed.

* Among the many relics of the olden-time preserved in the "Archives" of the Seminary, illustrating the various stages of progress through which the Institution has passed since 1785, there is the spinet or virginal, on which lessons were given to the first pupil, in February of 1785. It is one of T. C. Meerbach's make, Gotha, 1769.

Expenses.

The necessary expense of the Scholastic year of three terms, is Two Hundred and Eighty Dollars. This includes Board, Washing, Tuition in all the English branches, Instruction in Latin, Choir Singing, the use of the Library, Blank-books, Stationery used for school purposes, use of Readers, Maps, Globes, Philosophical Apparatus and Chemicals, Medical Attendance from *the Physician of the house*, Special Lectures when given in the Seminary, Fuel, Lights, Baths, Pew Rents, the use of Table Furniture, as Knives, Forks and Spoons; also Table Napkins and Bedding.

There are additional charges for instruction in the optional branches.

Admission.

No applicants under eight or above nineteen years of age are admitted.

The well-known house of Francis Jordan & Sons (late Jordan & Bro.), of Philadelphia, has been Agent for the Seminary, as well as for Nazareth Hall, since 1793.

The following circular needs no explanation:

MORAVIAN SEMINARY FOR YOUNG LADIES.

Rev. Francis Wolle, *Principal.*
B. Van Kirk, M. A., *Vice Principal.*

Bethlehem, Pa., May, 1876.

Presuming that the Centennial attractions at Philadelphia will draw many of our former pupils near to their Alma Mater, we have planned a special gathering for the day of the closing of our School year. We hereby extend a cordial invitation to a Reunion *of the pupils of former days.*

The Meeting is proposed for Tuesday, the 27th day of June, *at three o'clock, P. M., in the Chapel of the Institution. The Entertainment is to take place at seven o'clock P. M., in the Moravian Church.*

As it is impossible to reach all our former students, please notify as many as you may believe interested. All shall be heartily welcome.

If you resolve to be present at the Reunion *please drop a card to*

Yours Truly and Respectfully,

Francis Wolle.

TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF PUPILS

ADMITTED INTO THE MORAVIAN SEMINARY FOR YOUNG LADIES AT BETHLEHEM, IN THE SUCCESSIVE DECADES BETWEEN 1785 AND 1876.

Whence admitted.	1785 to 1790	1790 to 1800	1800 to 1810	1810 to 1820	1820 to 1830	1830 to 1840	1840 to 1850	1850 to 1860	1860 to 1870	1870 to 1876	Total.
Pennsylvania	11	122	99	145	159	188	275	477	740	540	2756
New York	29	89	85	150	120	155	107	264	361	271	1631
New Jersey	5	19	5	39	55	47	48	125	197	151	691
West Indies	9	19	18	9	9	12	13	3	1	3	96
Maryland	10	24	28	58	32	12	9	31	38	17	259
Rhode Island	2	8	15	1	7	.....	.....	.....	4	5	42
Ohio	1	3	7	8	2	.....	4	12	38	24	99
Connecticut	6	26	16	6	5	8	1	3	15	11	97
South Carolina	1	5	12	2	18	2	2	10	4	2	58
Massachusetts	.....	3	.....	4	.....	.....	1	1	9	7	25
Virginia	.....	6	55	35	23	13	23	25	19	5	204
Georgia	.....	4	32	10	20	5	2	16	18	6	113
Vermont	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	2
Delaware	.....	1	3	6	2	1	2	8	24	19	66
North Carolina	.....	2	9	.....	.....	2	6	6	4	.....	29
South America	.....	2	3	.....	.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	7
District of Columbia	.....	.....	1	16	1	1	2	10	20	15	66
Kentucky	.....	.....	4	3	4	1	1	6	7	5	31
Canada	.....	.....	2	1	2	.....	.....	2	3	.....	10
Florida	.....	.....	.....	2	1	.....	3	2	1	.....	9
Tennessee	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	12	20	31	29	93
Michigan	.....	.....	.....	1	1	1	.....	2	10	9	24
Louisiana	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	6	10	15	6	3	41
Alabama	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	6	2	9	4	3	30
England	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	3
Mississippi	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	5	10	2	2	4	29
Bermudas	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	1	2	5
Missouri	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	1	5	16	8	33
Illinois	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	2	7	31	27	80
Arkansas	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	2	2	2	7
Texas	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	3	4	4	12
Maine	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	.....	1	3	7
Iowa	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5	15	17	37
Indiana	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	16	24	4	44
California	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	8	9	4	21
Central America	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	3	.....	4
Wisconsin	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1	.....	2
Kansas	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	2	3
Sandwich Islands	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	1
Ireland	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	1
Indian Territory	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	10
Mexico	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	2	5
Nova Scotia	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	1
Oregon	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	2	4
Montana Territory	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	2
Colorado Territory	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1
West Virginia	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1
	74	334	394	498	475	474	541	1102	1679	1211	6782

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